

THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



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THE SIDDHĀNTA KAUMUDĪ.



मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाष्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this
Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me*.

Note —The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are
Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patanjali. Their sayings or works are respectively known
as the Sūtras, the Vārtikas, and the Bhāṣya. The word "Kaumudī" means Light,
or the Revealer and "Siddhanta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after
full investigation or discussion. The word "Siddhanta Kaumudī" therefore,
means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or
demonstrated by the great Grammarians.

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

^१ अइउया । ^२ ऋलृक् । ^३ एओङ् । ^४ ऐऔच् । ^५ हयवर्द्ध । ^६ लण् ।

^७ अमङ्गलनम् । ^८ भ्रमञ् । ^९ घटधष् । ^{१०} जवगडदश् । ^{११} खकळठथचदतच् ।

^{१२} कपय् । ^{१३} शषसर् । ^{१४} हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्यानि ॥ एषामन्त्या इति ॥ लणसूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ इकाराविष्वकार
द्व्यक्षारणार्थः ॥

^१ a i u (ṇ); ^२ ṛ ! (k); ^३ e o (ñ); ^४ ai au (ch), ^५ ha ya va ra (t),
^६ la (ṇ) or l (aṇ), ^७ ṇa ma ṇa na na (m), ^८ jha ḍha (ñ); ^९ gha ḍha dha
(sh); ^{१०} ja ba ga ḍa da (ś); ^{११} kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ta (ṣ). ^{१२} ka
pa (y), ^{१३} śa sha sa (r), ^{१४} ha (l).

These fourteen aphorisms are called "the Maheśvara Sūtras" or the aphorisms of Maheśvara. They are useful for forming technical terms or Pratyāhāras like अण् &c. The final consonants in these (e.g. ण्, क्) are called इत् a word which is defined later on. The अ in the Sūtra लण् is also इत्. The अ in the other consonants like ह्, य्, व् &c. is not इत्, but only for pronunciation.

Note —The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not an इत् letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, कल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चश् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 43 pratyāhāras, as given below —

एठ् । यञ् । अण् । छच् । अट् । झच् । भश् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अच् । ङक् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यच् । मच् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अच् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । बल् । रल् । झल् । शल् and र ॥

Paribhāṣā I—The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण् । There arises consequently the doubt, whether the pratyāhāras अण् and उण् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अण् and उण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣā —

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहावलक्षणम् ।

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must never-the-less teach something definite"

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sūtra I. 1 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sūtra and that the term उण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sūtra (Keilhorn)

Note :—The letter ह् occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last. The object of the first ह् is to include that letter in the Pratyāhāras अट्, अच्, हश् and इण्, so that the rules applicable to these Pratyāhāras, should apply to ह् also. Thus अहेण, the न changed to ण though ह् intervenes (VIII 4 2 S 197) देवा हसन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह् by VIII 2 17 S 167 देवो हसति, here the visarga is changed to ह् by VI 1 114, S 166 लिलिहिव्वे or लिलिहिह्व, here ध is optionally changed to ह after ह् by VIII 3 79

S 2325 The second ह् in the last sūtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyāhāras, वल्, रल्, झल् and ञल् ॥ As स्वप्तिह्, रुदिहि, here ह् is added before ह् by VII 2 35 S 2184 स्निहिस्या or स्नेहित्वा, here the ह् is optionally changed into ए by I 2 26 S 2617 अदाग्धाम् here स is elided by VIII 2 26 S 2281 अलिङ्गन् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्त after the root ending in ह्, by III 1 45. S 2336

Note —The अ in लण् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyāhāra र्, so that र्, may denote not only the single letter र्, but the two letters र् and ल् ॥ This is useful in sūtra I 1 51 S 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriddhi of ल् becomes अल् and आल् ॥

१। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

इलिति सूत्रेऽन्यमिस्स्यात् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14th sūtra in the above) let the final letter (i. e ल्) be इत् ॥

Note —The sūtra has been explained in two different ways by the author First “In the (or of the) sūtra हल् (14 sūtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (i. e ल्) is इत् ॥” The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, i. e “In upadeśa or technical formulae and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient”

२। आदिहलन्त्येन सहैता । १। १। ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च सज्ञा स्यात् । इति हलसज्ञायाम् ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sūtra to the technical term हल्, (i. e to the word हल् taken as a सज्ञा or technical term denoting all the consonants beginning with ह् of sūtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sūtra, and not as the sūtra 14th, of the above alphabets, we come to the second interpretation of the sūtra हल् अन्त्यम् ॥

२। हलन्त्यम् । १। ३। ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्य हल् इत् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम् । ततो अण् अच् इत्यादि सज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 a. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत् ॥

Upadeśa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of instruction only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sañjñās or terms like अण्, and अच् &c.

All the final consonants of roots affixes &c are indicative. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ण्, here ण् is इत् ॥ क् ल क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए

औङ्, here ङ is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्, here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeṣa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words

Note —This sūtra आहिरन्त्येन सहेना explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras Thus the pratyāhāras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the 'final indicator letter?' Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ई of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes The present sūtra clears up the doubt A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३। उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १। ३। २ ॥

उपदेशेऽनुनासिकोऽजित्सज्ञः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्या पाणिनीया ॥ लण्सूत्रस्यावर्णेन सङ्गोच्चार्यमाणो रेफो रल्योः सज्ञा । प्रत्याहारिष्वित्तां न ग्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । न ह्यत्र ककारे परेऽच्कार्यं दृश्यते । आहिरन्त्येनेत्येतत्सूत्रेण कृताः सज्ञाः प्रत्याहारशब्देन व्यग्राह्यन्ते ॥

3 The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeṣa or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pāṇini's Grammar say that the Anunāsika words in the sūtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pāṇini Thus the अ of the sūtra लण् (6th alphabet sūtra), is considered as anunāsika, and therefore, it is इत्, the result of which is that we can form a Pratyāhāra र with the इ of the sūtra ह्यवरद् and the अ of the sūtra लण्, and thus this Pratyāhāra र Ra denotes the two letters ई and ल् ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लण् was said to be इत् in the 1st page)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyāhāra the इत् letters should not be counted Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only, the इत् letters ण् क्, ङ् and च्, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, ङ् are not vowels, by Pāṇini himself treating them as consonants, as the word अनुनासिक in this very sūtra shows For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunāsika would have been changed to च् before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pāṇini has shown that क् is not a vowel

The technical terms formed with the help of the sūtra, आहिरन्त्येन &c. (I 1 71 S 2) are called Pratyāhāra

Note —Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words * Thus in किवन्, विद्, विच्, the anunāsika इ is इत् The original sūtra contains the word 'upadeṣa' which we have translated as technical term 'Upadeṣa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or ganapāṭha or dhātupāṭha &c .

Note —From this sūtra up to sūtra 9 of the third Pāda of the 1st Adhyāya of Pāṇini there is a description of servile or indicative letters called इत्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upadesa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एङ् 'to increase,' the final ञ् is indicative, the real root is एङ् ॥ So also the final ञ् of स्पर्ज् is इत् ॥

Note —If the word is not an upadesa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अञ्च ञ् अय ॥ A word may be an upadesa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III 2 74 S 3418 (आतो मनिन् वनिन् वनिपञ्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadesa that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras VII 2 16 S 3036 (आहितञ् &c).

४ । ऊकालोऽङ्गस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

उञ्च ऊञ्च उञ्च वः । वा काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽञ्च क्रमात् द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतसप्तः स्यात् । स प्रत्येकपुष्पात्तादिभेदेन विधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उई=व, that is, the व. is the plural of उ, (as साधव is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ ॥ The genitive plural will be वाञ्च meaning "of u's") Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ's, get respectively the name of *hrasva*, *dirgha* and *pluta*. Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is *udatta*, *anudatta* *svarita*

The उ *u* having one *mātrā* or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is *pluta*. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mātrā*. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase द्वस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a *Samāhāra* *Dvandva* compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S 821.

The word *Kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As उधि 'cuid' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्तः अन्वास Devadatta! Here अ *a* is *pluta* or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras I 2 47 S 318 VII 4 25. S 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S 93

५। उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २६ ॥

तात्त्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषुर्ध्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽनुदात्तसङ्गः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udātta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c. as औ, ऐ ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udātta by the rule that declares all Nipātas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ऐ is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' यत् is acute on the final, being a substantive, for all फिट् (Prātīpadikas) are antodātta by the rule किषोऽन्त उदात्तः (Phit Sūtra I 1) यत् + अच् Here अच् being a सुप् termination is anudātta by III 1. 4 S 3709 Then त् of यत् is replaced by अ, the affix अच् is replaced by शी (VII I 17 S 214), and we have ऐ + ई = औ, the ए the single substitute for औ + ई is udātta by VIII. 2 5 S 3658.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called udātta or *acute* accent. The udātta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small उ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६। नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्पष्टम् । अर्वाङ् ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अर्वाङ् ॥ This is a compound of the noun अर्वन् with the verb अङ्ग (अर्वन्तमङ्गति) ॥ The word अर्वन् is formed from the root अङ् 'to go' with the affix वनिष्, there is गुण् of अङ् and we have अर्वन् ॥ The affix वनिष् is anudātta, being a वित् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709), and अङ् being a dhātu is udātta (VI. I. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अर्वन् is also ādyudātta. The अ of अच is also udātta, because it is a dhātu (VI. 1 162 S 3671). Then by II 2 19 S 782 (उपपदमतिङ्) we compound the upapada अर्वन् with अङ्च्, and add the affix क्विन् by III 2 59. S 373 (क्विविङ् &c). Then by samāsa accent (VI 1 223 and 3734) or by krit accent (VI 2 139 S 3873) the word अङ्च् retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent. Then the न् of अर्वन् is elided, and we have अवे + अङ्च् = अर्वङ्च्. The loss of accent takes place by VI 1 158 S 3650. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

In pronouncing an anudātta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

७। समाहारः स्वरितः । १। २। ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तत्वे वर्णधनौ समाहिते यस्मिन्तोऽच् स्वरितसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I 2 28 S 35 is understood here also. The *svarita* or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter.

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729. "The affixes having an indicative त् have *svarita* accent." As कन्या kanyā शिष्यम् śiṣyām, क्वे kve.

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udātta vowel with an anudātta vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८। तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् । १। २। ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वग्रहणमन्तन्त्रम् । स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धदुशत्त बोध्यम् । उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषादनुदात्तम् । तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे श्रवण स्पष्टम् । अन्यत्र मूलात्तश्रुति प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धा । क्वे बोधा । रथानां न वे' १ राः । शतचक्रं शो' ३ ह्य' ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः । अग्निमलिं इत्यादनुदात्तश्रुति । स नवावेधोऽपि प्रत्येक-मनुदात्तकानुदात्तकत्वाभ्या द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udātta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sūtra is redundant. In a *Svarita* accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the udātta accent. The remaining

half, will consequently be anudātta. If an udātta or another svarita follows it then this anudātta portion of the accent is distinctly heard. Otherwise, according to Prāṭisākhya, the udātta portion is only heard. In the following, the anudātta is heard क्वश्चोऽश्वा ; रथानां न वे १ ऽराः, सुतश्चक्रुः यो १ ऽहः ॥ While in the following the udātta is heard अग्निमोले पुरोहितम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dīrgha or pluta, as it is udātta, anudātta or svarita. Every one of these nine, has two more forms nasal and not nasal as is taught in the next sūtra.

Note —According to Siddhānta, the word ह्रस्व is useless. According to Kāśikā, it is important, as given below

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udātta and anudātta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svārita*, its mātṛā being one, half will be *udātta* and the other half *anudātta*. If a long vowel, whose mātṛās are two, be *svārita*, then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udātta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudātta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svārita*, then first half measure will be *udātta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudātta*. In short, the udātta portion of a *svārita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svārita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony, in कन्या kanyā, the long *ā* is *svārita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in मानवाका ३ manavakā, here *a* prolated is *svārita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave

In the above examples, क्व १ ऽश्वा &c, the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of किम्, formed by adding the affix अन् (V. 3. 12. S 1959) and substituting क्व (VII 2 105 S 1960). The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the तिन् affix अन् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word वः becomes anudātta by VIII 1 18, S. 403. अश्वा is ādyudātta, because it is derived from the root अश् with the affix क्वनिन्, the affix being तिन् makes the word ādyudātta (VI. 2. 197, S 3686). Now वः + अश्वाः = वाश्वाः, the anudātta combining with udātta becomes udātta (VIII 2. 5, S 3658) therefore वा of वा becomes udātta. The svarita क्व being followed by the udātta वा, causes the latter half : e the anudātta half of the svarita to be heard. This is indicated by १ namely svarita above and anudātta below. This is a short svarita.

In the example रथानां न वेऽरा, the svarita is a long vowel. The word वे is udātta by Phṛt accent, as shown above (S. 5). अरा is also finally udātta by Phṛt accent. The udātta १ of वे combining with the anudātta अ of अरा,

becomes svarita (VIII 2 6. S 3659), वे'; this svarita followed by udātta ओ' of ओरैः, is heard in its anudātta portion वे ॥

In the third example शतचक्र ओ ॥ ५४५, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudātta portion of the svarita is heard. The word चै is antodātta by Phit accent (See S 5), the visarga is changed to उ, and चै+उ=चो by guna, and this ओ' becomes udātta, the resultant of udātta plus anudātta is udātta. In अहं the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudātta. The anudātta अ of अहं combining with the udātta ओ' of ओ', becomes all svarita (VIII 2 6, S 3659) : e ओ' ५; this-svarita ओ' is followed by the svarita अ' of हं, and hence the anudātta portion of svarita ओ' is heard here also. The word अहं is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the तिन् affix प्यन् to the root अह् (VI 1 185, S 3729). The अ of अह् does not take Vṛiddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhāṣā II—सज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहित, the ई' of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-ṣuti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudātta, the udātta half of the svarita is heard

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोश्चार्थमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तदित्यम् । अ इ उ ऋ एर्षा वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ ऋवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । तेषां ऋस्वाभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called *anunāsika*

The result of the six sūtras given above, is this. The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel ॠ has twelve forms, because it has no long form. The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

ताल्वहस्त्याननाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नभेदेतद्वयस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अनुनासिकसंज्ञी यानां कण्ठः । इक्षुययानां तालु । ऋद्विषाणां मूर्धा । लतुलसानां दन्ताः । उपपृथ्मानीयानामाँष्ठौ । औष्ठिगनानां नासिका च । एवैवोऽकण्ठतालु । आशैतोः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वाश्लेषस्य जिह्वामूलम् ।

नसिकादु स्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि न यत्रो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्यश्चतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेष्वस्पृष्टविवृ-
त्तसंवृतमेवान् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयत्नं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषस्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमुष्मणां स्वराणां च । ह्रस्वस्थीब-
र्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called savarna, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c, as well as a common ābhyantara prayatna. That is, when the place and prayatna are the same, then the letters are savarna.

1. The letters अ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, इ, : have throat as their place and are gutturals or Kantha
2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, ष, have the palate and are palatals or Tālavya.
3. The letters कू, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the murdhā, and are cerebrals or Murdhanya.
4. The letters ल, त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स, have the teeth and are dentals or Dantya.
5. The letters उ, प, फ, ब, भ, म, × व, have the lips and are labials or Oshthya.
- a. The letters ङ, झ, ञ, न, न, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
- b. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are Kantha—tālavya i. e. gutturo—palatals.
- c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are Kantha—oshthya i. e. gutturo-labials
- d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is dant-oshthya i. e. dento-labial.
- e. The letter × क is Jihvā-mulīya or root of the tongue.
- f. The letter • म anusvāra is pure nasal.

The above are the *sthāna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The Prayatna is of two sorts, the inner called ābhyantara, and the external called bāhya. The first or ābhyantara is of four kinds, namely, sprishṭa, īshat sprishṭa, vivṛita and samvṛita.

1. The *sparsā* letters have sprishṭa prayatna.
2. The antastha letters have īshat-sprishṭa prayatna.
3. The ushma letters and the vowels have vivṛita prayatna.

4 The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pāṇini himself in the last sūtra of his Grammar, *i. e.* in the sūtra अअ (VIII 4 68 S 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivṛita, is now made samvṛita. (See the following sūtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूय सवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्य चाष्टाध्यायी सपूर्णा प्रत्यसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्रादस्या विवृतत्वमस्येव । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The open अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted, but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneous-ness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debaired. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtādhyāyī, Pāṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ, which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne)

The present sūtra occurs in the second division of Ashtādhyāyī, *i. e.* the last three Padas. The whole Ashtādhyāyī has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group. For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set (7½ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvṛita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivṛita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sūtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripādi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas (7½ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सपादसप्तधाध्यायी प्रति त्रिपाद्यसिद्धा त्रिपाद्यमपि पूर्वे प्रति पुरं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रत्ययस्त्वेकादशधा ॥ विहारः संवारः श्वासा नाशो बोधोऽबोधोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राणो ऽनेतोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति ॥ लयां दम् । लयः कःपौ विसर्गः शर एव च । एते श्वासानुप्रदाना भोवाकर्त्तव्यं विवृण्वते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्युः सवृत्ता नादभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्गयमगा यणश्चाल्पासवः स्पृता ॥ वर्गेष्वाद्यानां
 चतुर्णा पञ्चम परे मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णं प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिकर्त्ता । चखखनुः ।
 अग्निः । घृन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कखगघेभ्य परे तत्सदृशा एव यमा । नञ् वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः खयस्तथा
 तेषामेव यमा जिह्वामूलियोपध्मानीयौ विसर्गः शषसाश्चेत्येतेषां विवारः श्वासोऽघोषश्च । अन्येषां तु सवरा
 नादो घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमा प्रथमतृतीययमा यरलवाश्चाल्पप्राणा । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः ।
 बाह्यप्रयत्नाश्च यद्यपि सवर्णसंज्ञायामनुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरतम्यपरिक्षायामुपयोक्ष्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कादयो
 मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरलवा अन्तस्थाः । शषसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वरा । *क=पाति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्थ-
 विसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वामूलियोपध्मानीयौ । अ अः इत्यच परावतुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रयत्नाविवेकः ॥
 * कलवर्णयोर्मिथ सावर्ण्यं वाच्यम्* ॥ अकारहकारयोरिकारशकारयोर्ऋकारषकारयार्लकारसकारयोश्च मिथः
 सावर्ण्यं प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra Therefore the Tripādi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyāyi rules Even in the Tripādi, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent

Thus the letter अ is samvrita really, though treated as vivṛita.

As regards the Bāhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivāra, 2 samvāra, 3 svāsa, 4 nāda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prāṇa, 8 mahāprana, 9 udātta, 10 anudātta, 11 svaṇta

Verse—The double of khay (ख, फ, छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the *क and *प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svāsa, aghosa, and expand the throat, i.e. are of vivāra prayatna The other letters (i.e. the हश्च, letters, the yamas of हश्च letters and the anusvāra) are ghosha, samvāra, and nāda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and यण् letters are alpa-prāṇa

Explanation —The word यम is a Prātisākhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth i.e. by a nasal. Thus पलिकर्त्ता, चखखनुः, अग्निः, घृन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ग् and घ् are yama i.e. only those letters which have the same form i.e. the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama. The खश्च letters are the first and second letters of the varga. the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c. The yamas of these खश्च letters, so also the Jihvāmūliya, Upadhmāniya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha.

Though the Bâhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savanahood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to ऋ are sparsa The four letters अ, इ, ए, व, are antastha. The four letters श, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara The × क and × प are called Jivamûlhyā and Upadhmanīyā (They represent the lost syllabants of क varga, and प varga)

अ ऋ अ. इ these are anusvāra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthāna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort)

1. *vārt* :—The letters ऋ and ॠ should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sūtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ becomes homogeneous with इ

इ	"	"	श
ऋ	"	"	ष
ॠ	"	"	स

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sūtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant

Note —The following lines summarise the above, the *vowels* are vivāra, svāsa, and aghosha The इश् letters are samvāra, nāda, and ghosha The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and अण् letters are alpa-prāna, The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and शल् letters are mahā-prāna.

१३ नाऽऽज्जलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् स च हल् चेत्येतौ मिथः सवर्णौ न स्त । तेन दधीत्यस्य हरति शीतलं अत्र सान्द्रमित्येतेषु परेषु यणादिकं न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव हकारादीनामपि अहणकशास्त्रबलादप्यस्य स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sūtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants Therefore in दधि + हरति the इ of दधि is not changed to इ before ह, nor in दधि + शीतल the इ is lengthened before श; nor in दधि + अत्र, and दधि + सान्द्र any change takes place. But for this sūtra, the letters इ &c would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४ । अणुदित्सवणस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

प्रतीयते विधीयते इति प्रत्ययः । अविधीयमानाऽणु उदिच सवर्णस्य सज्ञा स्यात् । अत्राणु परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु ङु तु पु एत उदिच ॥ नदेवम् अ इयश्चादशाना सज्ञा । तयोकारोकारौ । ऋकारश्चिश्चतः । एव लृकारोऽपि । एवौ द्वादशानाम् ॥ एतैरेतैतोश्च न मिथ सावर्ण्यम् । ऐंआजिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात् । तेनैचश्चतुर्विंशते सज्ञा स्फुरिति नापाठनायम् ॥ नाऽङ्गलाविति निषेधा यद्यप्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकानामेव तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः । तत्राऽऽकारस्यापि प्रभिलङ्गत्वात् । तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र ह्रौड इति ढत्व न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा । तेनाननुनासिकास्त द्वयोर्द्वयो सज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyâhâra अणु i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyâyâs or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyâhâra अणु in this sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अणु pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अणु, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include then homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङु, तु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8 S. 195 Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आङ्गुण (VI. 1 87 S 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guna is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईश = नरेशः, but महा + ईश = महेशः । So also in sūtra अस्य चो (VII. 4 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included, thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वाकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्योति च (VI. 4. 148 S 311) 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168. S 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āsansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV 3 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one

The word अप्रत्ययः in the sūtra means "that which is not ordained (pratiyate = vidhiyate)" That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sūtra means "The अणु letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अणु here is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण्. The words कु, चु, ङु, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उदिच ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters ; so also इ and उ . The ए denotes 30 letters, and so also लृ . The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ औ denote 12 letters.

2 *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sūtra ऐ औच् ? These letters need not have been taught separately . Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sūtra नाञ् हलौ (I 1. 10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sūtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sūtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and ह ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sūtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as ‘ There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters ’ Therefore in विश्वपाणि the letter आ is not changed to ङ by VIII. 2 31 S. 3579 (ङ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samāmnāya means the sūtras teaching the alphabets, i. e. the 14 Maheshvara sūtras.

The letters अ, इ, ल are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therefore, a non nasalised अ, इ, ल will denote also the nasalised letter : i. e. the simple letter अ, इ, ल include the nasalised अँ ईँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sūtra अणुदिन् &c therefore is that the अणु letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Māhesvara sūtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also . But र and ह though included in अणु pratyāhāra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

त परी यस्मात्स च तात्पर्योच्चार्यमाणसमकालस्यैव सज्ञा स्यात् । तेन अत् इत् उत् इत्यादयः घण्णां घण्णा सज्ञा । ऋदिर्ति इतिज्ञानाच्च ॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class . Thus अ includes आ, and इ, ई, &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इत् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sūtra consists of two words तपर and तत्कालस्य Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII.1 9 S 203. अतोभिस एस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i e. short अ), एस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षे ॥ But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभि ॥

Therefore अत्, इत्, उत् denote six letters each, namely अ, ई, अं, अँ, अः, अँ ॥ अत् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐच् वृद्धिसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, āt and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicative only, and is for the sake of the pratyāhāra aich, and the pratyāhāra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicative त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very आ having two mātrās or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mātrās only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mātrās may be more than two. A short vowel has one mātrā, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mātrā. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ + आ = आ, as

महा + आशय = महाशयः ॥ Here हा has two matras and not four So also in खद्देडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ए has only two, not four, mât-râs.

१७। अदेङ् गुणः। १। १। २ ॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसज्ञः स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called guna.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guna letter, as the initial vowels in the following — अस्ति, "he moves", एति "he comes", ओत्सति "he goes" Here the initial vowels of the roots क्, ह्, and डङ् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like निदेर्युणः (VII 3 82 S. 2346) "Let there be guna substitute for the ik of the root निद् 'to melt.'"

१८। भूवादयो धातवः। १। ३। १ ॥

क्रियावाचिनो भवादयो धातुसज्ञाः स्युः ॥

1 The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations The ten classes are as follows —

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad 3. Hu 4 Div 5 Su 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9 Kri 10 Chur.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the regular sandhi of भू + भादि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि, while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root According to it the sūtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवौ, भूवौ भादी येषां भूयते तथा वा सङ्ज्ञाः "word Bhû &c, and like वा denoting action are called Dhâtu" वा "to blow."

१९। प्राग्निश्चरान्निपाताः। १। ४। ५६ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhiri-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word चा of I. 4. 55 S 2575, namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their own name as well as the name Nipâta

The letter र in प्राप्तीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I 4 97 S 644 should be taken as the limit, and not sūtra III. 4. 13 S 3440 which has the word isvare also.

२० । चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अब्रव्यायाश्चादयो निपातसज्ञा स्युः ॥

20. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अब्रव्यायाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words pra. &c., are called Nipāta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, भु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, सु, उत्, अग्नि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the pra &c, words two names, namely, those of Nipātas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i. e., when they are in composition with verbs Not so, however, the chā &c, words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipātas. As परा जयति सेना "the excellent army conquers" Here the word परा is not a Nipāta.

२२ । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14 S 2287) Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायक, परिणायकः ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसज्ञा गतिसज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् भु अव निस् निर दुस् दुर् वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उत् अग्नि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words pra &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा सज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. “ May or may not ” is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ —prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule, the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two This sūtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root श्लि ‘to swell,’ by virtue of the rule विभाषा इवे (V. I. 30 S 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasârana or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुश्राव or श्लिष्यात् ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूपं सति शब्दशब्दे वा सज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्वं which means ‘one’s own’ denotes ‘the meaning,’ and the word रूपं denotes ‘the individual form of a word’ The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्वं and रूपं, viz, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः, ज्वलनः, &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषण तदन्तस्य सज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥ उगिर्गुणं महणवर्जम् ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself

This sūtra consists of three words.—येन ‘by what (attribute),’ विधिः ‘rule,’ तदन्तस्य ‘having that (attribute) at its end.’

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842) declaring “let there be the affix यत् after the vowels.” Here the phrase “after the vowels” means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चैयत्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels, a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III 3 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart —The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, S 686 declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्ट + भितः = कष्टभितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परमभितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes Thus sūtra IV. 1 99, S 1101, declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्" Thus नड + फक् = नाडावन । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूचनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूचनड will be called सौचनाडिः and not as above

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following —

Vart —The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicative डक् (ड, ढ, ळ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I 1 26, S. 3012) has an indicative ड, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कृतवती (IV 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इस् says "after अ there is the affix इस्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इस् = दक्षिः the son of Daksha.'

२७ । विरामोऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामवोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cēssation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtras VIII. 3 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामविवक्षितः सानिधिः संहितासङ्गः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, (*there being the intervention of half a mâtṛā or prosodial length between them*) is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhitâ, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As दृष्टान्न = दधि + अन्न

२९ सुबन्तान्तःपदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तान्तान्तं च परसङ्गं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अज्झिभरव्यवहिता हलः सङ्गा स्युः ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगे गुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्व गुरुसङ्गं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घञ्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long Vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).



अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHĀSHĀS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिवाक्याभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयते तत्रेक इति वक्ष्यन्त पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthāni, whenever *guna* or *vridhhi* is enjoined about any expression by using the terms *guna* or *vridhhi*, it is to be understood to come in the room of the *ik* vowels only (*i*, *u*, *ri*, and *ṛi* long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi* is ordained by employing the terms *guṇa* or *vṛiddhi*, there the word “*ikah*” in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of *ik*,” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthāni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares.—“when a sārvaadhātuka or an ārdhādhātuka affix follows there is *guna* of the base” Here the sthāni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word “*ikah*” must be read into the sūtra The rule then being, “when a S. or an A. affix follows there is *guna* of the *ik* vowels of the base.” The *guna* of इ or ई is ए, of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of ॡ is अल्; and their *Vṛiddhi* is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी + अस्ति = ने + अस्ति = नयति “he leads.”

३५ । अचञ्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतवाक्यैर्व्याजिविधीयते तत्राऽच इति वक्ष्यन्त पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book ‘short’ ‘long’ or ‘prolated’ is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, there the word *achah*, in the genitive case, meaning “in the place of the vowel” is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sūtra I 2 47 S 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form" The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is — the *harsva* is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form As *इ* is shortened to *रि* in forming the compound with *अति* in *अतिरि*, नौ to *अतिनु*, ना to *अपनु* #

३६ । आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

ट्कितौ यस्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory *ट्* or *क्*, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters *ट्* and *क्*. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is *ट्* that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined, while a *क्* augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35 S. 2184) which says "ārdhahātuka affixes beginning with a consonant except *य*, have *इट्*". The question may arise where is this *इट्* to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ārdhahātuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory *ट्* shows, that it is to be placed before the ārdhahātuka affix. Thus the future termination *स्यति*, is an ārdhahātuka affix when this is added to the root, it takes the augment *इट्*. Thus *भू + इट् + स्यति* = *भविष्यति*, 'he will be'. Similarly *लभिता* 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3 40 S 2595 the root *भी* takes the augment *षुक्* in forming the causative. This having an indicatory *क्* is to be added after the word *भी*, as, *भी + षुक् + णिष् + ते* = *भीषयते* 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिदचोऽन्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अथ इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अन्तां मध्ये योऽन्यस्तस्मात्परस्तस्यैवान्तावयवौ मिस्त्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory *म्* comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory *म्*. The augments having an indicatory *म्*, technically called *मित्* augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called *नुम्*, in which *ड* and *म्* are *इट्*, and the actual augment is *न्*. When, therefore, it is said "let *नुम्* be added to the word," the letter *न्* is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of *पयस्* 'milk' is formed in the following way. — *पयस्*

+ नुम् + इ (VII 1 72 S 314) = पयास्ति (VI. 4 8 S. 250) Here न् is added between य and स् i e after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened Similarly वृत् + य + ति (III 1 77 S 2534) = वृत् + नुम् + य + ति (VI 1 59 S 2402) — वृत्ति । Similarly विहृणोति ।

The word अक्षः is in the genitive case, having the force of nūdhārana or specification, it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1 49 S 38 and III 1 2, S 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८ । षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

अनिर्धारितसम्बन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या । स्थान च प्रसङ्गः ॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini The genitive case or śāsththi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 34 the word इक् is in the genitive case, the literal translation being — "of ik there is guna and vṛddhi" But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead Similarly in sūtras अस्तेर्भू (II 4. 52 S 2470), or कुत्रो वधि (II, 4 53 S. 2453), the words 'astī,' and 'brū' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वध् instead respectively' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of भस्, so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of वृ.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyādhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashtī The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्यो, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound, on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठकालः &c Or स्थानेन योगोऽस्या अस्ति, the ए in sthāne is anomalous.

३६ । स्थानान्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यत्रानेकविधमान्तये तत्र स्थानत आन्तये बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness —(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c), (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to *e* used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows *ak*, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—*इण्ड + अम = इण्डाम*, here the substitution of the long *आ*, for the two short *अ*'s, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both *अ* and *आ* are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the *guṇa* substitutes of *इ* and *उ* out of the three *guṇa* letters *अ*, *ए* and *ओ*, we find that *अ* is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* *अ* and *इ* and *उ* have all one *mātrā*, while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get *ए* and *ओ*; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, *येता स्तोता*.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५१ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. , When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sūtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sūtra. When in a sūtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sūtra is to be performed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1 77 S 47) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into 'इच्, उच्, ऋच्, एच्'. The literal translation of the sūtra being — 'Of इक् there is यण् in अच्'. The force of 'in' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उदकम् = इधुदकम्, so माध्विद्म्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

४१ । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १ । १ । ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणान्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4 61, S 118 declares that 'after उद्, of sthā and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद् is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter य् must be substituted in the place of stha, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्थ-थानम्.

४२ । अलोन्त्यस्य । १ । १ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टाऽन्यस्यादेशः स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared त्यादहीनाम् "in the place of त्याद् &c., there is अ". It does not mean that the whole word त्याद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so, but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्याद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३। डिच् । १। १। ५३ ॥

अयमप्यन्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ड (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra I 1 55, S. 45 By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3 25, S 921) by which it is declared—'In the place of words ending in क there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas' Now the substitute आनङ् is a डिन् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, viz, the क of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word ; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

४४। आदे परस्य । १। १। ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sūtra I 1. 52, S 42 (अलोऽन्यस्य) To give an illustration—there is a rule (VI 3 97, S. 941) by which it is declared · "In the place of अच् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as—'In the place of अच् there is ई when अच् follows द्वि or अन्तर्' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अच् but only one. By sūtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अच्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word, such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अच् and we have द्वि + अच् = द्वीप् (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) 'an island,' अन्तरीप 'promontory.'

४५। अनेकाल शित्सर्वस्य । १। १। ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्यसूत्रापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औशिवादावादेः परस्येत्येतदपि परस्वादानेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra हुवो वक्ति (II. 4. 53 S. 2453) which means 'in the place of हू let there be वच्'. Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word हू and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb हू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of हू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sūtra अष्टाभ्य औश् (VII. 1. 21, S. 372) "after the stem of अष्टा औश् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औश् is a शित् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes णस् and जस् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule आदेः परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जस् and णस् would have been replaced by औ. This sūtra is in fact an exception to the last sūtra.

४६ । स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितस्युक्तं शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परमित्यान्तरङ्गापवादनामुत्तरं बलीय ॥ अस्ति च बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्ग ॥ अकृतव्युहाः पाणिनीया ॥ निमित्तं विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्तं कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras; प्रत्यय (I. 1. 1 S. 180.) चातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1 S. 200). अस्व (VI. 4. 129 S. 233).

Āparibhāṣā. Of (these four kinds of rules,—viz.) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaranga (rule), and an apavāda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note —By I 4 2, S. 175 we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व) This Paribhasha further expands the same

An *anitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule As तुदादिभ्यः ञः (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदाति, रुधादिभ्यः ञम् (III 1 78, S. 2543) as रुणाद्धि, Here the *nitya* affixes ञ and ञम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86 S. 2189 Similarly धिनवाद् and धिनवान् Here the augment आद् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the *subsequent* (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the द् of धितु before the affixes व and न ॥

Thus तुद् + तिर् VII. I 77 S. 3576 Vikarana ञ before Sarvadhātuka; (*nitya*).

VII 3 86 S. 2189 Guna for द् (para but *anitya*). III. 1 77 S. 2534 applies before the substitution of guna for द् and it would apply also if guna were substituted for द्, and if तुद् were changed to तौद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before ञ is added to तुद्, but after the addition of ञ to तुद् guna could not by VII. 3 86 be substituted for द्, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate Accordingly III 1. 77 is *nitya* and VII 3. 86 is *anitya*; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद् + ति, and subsequently VII. 3 86 is no longer applicable. A *nitya* is thus defined —A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

An *antaranga* rule possesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. *Antaranga* is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a *bahiranga* rule, in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that *antranga* rule is *bahiranga* In the formation of आमणिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun आमणी, we have two rules, first VII. 1 73 S. 320 by which न्, is added before the dual case affix णी, and I. 2. 47 S. 318. which requires the shortening of the stem आमणी to आमणि ॥ Though the न् augment is *nitya*, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the *antaranga* rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न् been added first, then आमणीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An *apavāda* possesses greater force even than an *antaranga* rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter. Thus *वैत्यारि*, श्रीश ॥ *वैत्य* + *अरि* or श्री + ईश, here the antaranga rules *अप्रशुणः* and *इकोयर्णाच्च* would supersede even the *पर* rule of *savarna-dīrgha*, and *अ* + *अ* would be *अ* ई + ई would be *यी* ॥ But *savarna-dīrgha* rule being an *apavāda* rule supersedes the antaranga *guna* and *yan-ādesā*.

Paribhāṣā. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of *स्योन*, from *सिञ्* + *न*, ऊ is substituted for the *ञ्* of *सिञ्* by VI. 4. 19 S. 256 I we obtain thus *सिऊ* + *न*. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* VI. 1. 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of *ञ्* for *इ* before *ऊ* and VII. 3. 86 by which *guna* should be substituted for the penultimate *इ* before the affix *न*, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect? The substitution of *ञ्* for *इ* is caused by *ऊ*, that of *guna* for *इ* by *न*, as then the cause *ऊ* of the substitution of *ञ्* lies within or before the cause *न* of the substitution of *guna*, and, on the other hand, the cause *न* of the substitution of *guna* without or beyond the cause *ऊ* of the substitution of *ञ्*,—the substitution of *ञ्* for *इ* and the rule VI. 1. 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga*, and the substitution of *guna* for *इ* and the rule VII. 3. 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga*. Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhāṣā. The followers of Pāṇini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, 'an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

अचसंधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण स्यादचि सहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत आन्तर्यामीका-
रस्य यकारः । सुध्व्य उपास्य इति ज्ञाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sūtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule. Thus सुधी+उपास्य Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthāna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध्व्य+उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication.—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ७७ ॥

अचः परस्य यणे द्वे वा स्तो न स्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह्), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter य् is doubled, and we have:—

सु ध्व्य ध्व्य+उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्लिधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्थान्यलाभ्यविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाच्स्वमाभित्याग-
चिचोति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनल्लिधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (ādeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute **अ** should be considered as **ई** which it has replaced; and as **ई** is a vowel, this **अ** should be considered as a vowel. That being so, **अ** is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so **अनादि** does not apply, and **अ** should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sūtra itself, which says **अनन्विधौ**—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied" The **अ** is like **ई**, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like **अनादि** ॥ The **अ** therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this **अनन्विधौ** exception set aside by the following sūtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अन्विध्यर्थमिदम् । परनिमित्तोऽजादेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूताश्च पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words.—**अचः** genitive of the pratyāhāra **अच्** meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin', loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Therefore **अ** would be स्थानिवत् to **ई** because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely **उ** of **उपास्य** and the rule of doubling is to be applied to **अ** a letter which precedes **अ** ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sūtra.

५१ । न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णाऽनुस्वारदीर्घजम्बविधिषु ॥ १ । १ । ५८ ॥

पश्च अस्मादयमे द्विर्वचनादौ च कर्तव्ये परनिमित्तोऽजादेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावे निषेधः ॥

51 Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'

2 द्विवचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters' In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्ध् + उपास्य Here ह् is changed into ध्. If this ध् were sthānivat to ह्, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before ह् would be inapplicable. But ध् is not equivalent to ह्, though its substitute, and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुध्धुपास्य. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthāni.

3. वरेविधि, 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्'

4. बलोपविधि 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'

5. स्वरविधि 'a rule relating to accent.'

6. सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'

7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anusvâra'

8. दीर्घविधि 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'

9. जश्चिधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of piatyâhâra जश्च, in the place of hard consonants'

10. चर्चविधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर्च piatyâhâra instead of other consonants

५२। भ्रलं जश्चशि ॥ ८। ४। ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम्। इति धकारस्य दकारः ॥

52, In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्ध् + उपास्य = सुध्धु + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sūtra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥

मसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्तिः ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तदिह धकारयकारयो-
र्द्वित्वविकल्पाच्चत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुष्ठुपास्यः ।
मध्वरिः । धावशः । लाकृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुधृधृ+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonant, namely the letter धृ should be elided. But this mishap to the letter धृ is prevented by the following *Vārtika*. यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the धृ is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vārtika* which requires the doubling of धृ also, यणोमयोद्वेवाच्ये "The letters of the यण् class are reduplicated after letters of the मय class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of धृ and य optionally.

1. One धृ and one य as सुधृयुपास्य ।
2. Two धृs and two यs as सुधृधृयुपास्यः ।
3. Two धृs and one य as सुधृधृयुपास्यः ।
4. One धृ and two यs as सुधृयुपास्यः ।

So also मधु + धरिः = मध्वरिः ; धावशः, लाकृतिः ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिर्नाशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशे किम् । तत्त्वकथने द्विवचनं भवत्येव । पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी ॥ तत्परे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि पापे ॥ वा हतजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word ādint follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debar the reduplication required by sūtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

स्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet. But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vart —So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनी स्वमसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vart —Optionally so when the words हस्त and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्रजग्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

असादिषु वर्णेषु सयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इन्द्र । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śākaṭāyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्द्र, राष्ट्रम्, राष्ट्रम् ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकट्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । अर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57 According to the opinion of Śākalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्योणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्वं न । राजम् । पाजम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As राजम्, पाजम्,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेकहकाराभ्यां परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तः । हृद्यनुभवः ॥ न हृद्यस्ति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह following a vowel.

The word यर् of VIII 4. 45 S 11 6. is understood here. 'According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus हृद्यनुभवः, न हृद्यस्ति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोपः स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकत्र रूपं तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भकल तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्यत्यादित्य हविरित्यादौ ॥ यमा यमीति यथासंख्यविज्ञानाग्नेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्य हवि To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (यत्) by IV 1 85, S 10 77 and we have आदित्य, now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules Hence this lopa-rule. Thus âditya+ya (IV. 1. 85)=âdity+ya (the *a* is elided by VI 4 148 S. 3 11.)=âdityya. Then by applying the present rule we have âditya with one y only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyâhâra, i. e. य, व, र, ल, झ, म, ङ, ण and न; when यम् follows another यम्, here the substitute and sthâni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathâ sankhya I. 3 10, S 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on and not य followed by व, or र etc Therefore there is no elision of म in माहात्म्यम् though म a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः क्रमादय् भव् आय् भाव् एते स्वरचि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय्, आय्, भव् and भाव् when a vowel follows.

Note—The yathâ sankhya rule 1 3 10 S 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अय्, ऐ by आय्, ओ by भव् and औ by भाव् ॥ Or अय् would be the proper substitute of ए, अय् of आ etc, by the rule of sthâne-antartama I 1 50 S 39 For ए etc are compound letters or diphthongs, ए=अ+इ, ओ=अ+उ etc and so their most approximate substitutes are अय्, भव् etc Hence the author of Siddhânta has not read the yathâ sankhya rule here, but later on

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and व् in these substitutes, इत् letters? For were we not taught in sūtra हलन्त्यम् 1 3 3 S 1 that all final consonants are इत्? If then, these य् and व् be इत्, then they require to be elided by the following rule

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ६ ॥

तस्येता लोपः स्यात् । इति यद्योलोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एव च्छेत्संज्ञापीड न भवति हरये । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62 Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final इ, and व् in अइ, अइ, आइ and आइ, because these letters are not इत् or indicator Why are they not indicator? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only in fact, the इ and व् do not get the designation इत् at all here

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have इरे + ए = इरये, विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अक = नायक, पौ + अक = पावक ॥

इ३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ इ । १ । ७६ ॥

यकारादेशे प्रत्यये परे ओङितोरव् आव् एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसोर्यदिति यत् । नावा तार्थं नाव्यम् । नौवयोधर्मेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्धृतौ छन्दस्युपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्यूतिः । ऊतियुतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकाराद्गोर्धृतावित्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्यावर्त्तनीति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त आदेशः स्यात् । वकारो न छप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz अव् and आव् Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sūtra, those which end in व् (viz अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ Thus गो + य = गव् + य = गव्य milk By sūtra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat) Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c

Vart.—The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas As गो + यूति = गव्यूति as आनो मित्रा वरुणा धृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vat.—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road—as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वान गत ॥ गव्यूति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sūtra III. 3 97 S 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्यूति, should not the व् be elided by VIII 3, 22. S. 171 or by VIII 3 19 S 67 No For the sūtra वान्तोयि प्रत्यये has really a व् in latency before it, the real sūtra being व्वान्तो &c. This व् is invisible by the rule लोपो व्यावर्त्तनी VI. 1. 66 S 873 So also in the vārtika गोर्धृतौ छन्दस्युपसङ्ख्यानम्, there is this invisible व् before छ ॥ Therefore the ādeśa is अव् with the व्, that is, the व् is not elided.

Why the **व्** is not liable to elision in **गन्व** and **नान्व** by the application of VIII 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in **गङ्गुति** only? The rules VIII 3 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only. Now **गो** before **वृति** is a Pada; while **गो** or **नौ** before **यत्** is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I 4 18 S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेष्वन्तदेशस्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लव्यम् । अवभ्यलाव्यम् तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ भोयते । भौयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs **आ** and **औ** of a root, are substituted **अव्** and **आव्** respectively, before an affix beginning with **य्**, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words **एचः**, **वान्तोधि** प्रत्यये are understood in this sūtra. The word **तन्निमित्त** means 'caused by that' i. e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with **य्** ॥ Thus **लृ** forms its Future Passive Participle by **यत्** (III 1 97 S 284 2.) this affix causes the guna of **ऊ** by VII 3 84 S 2168 Thus **लृ + य = लो + य**, which according to the present sūtra becomes **लव्यम्** ॥ So also **पू + य = पव्यम्** ॥ **लृ + प्यत्** (III 1.125 S 3304) = **लो + य = अवदय लाव्यम्** and **अवभ्य पाह्यम्** ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix. Thus the Passive of **वे** with the upasarga **आ** is **आ + वे + यक् + ते** ॥ Hereby Samprasāraṇa (VI 1.15 S 2409), **वे** becomes **उ**, as **आ + उ + य + ते**, now by sandhi **आ + उ = ओ** VI 1 87 S 69, we have **ओ + यते = भोयते** ॥ Since **ओ** is not caused by **य**, there is no **अव्** substitution. So also **भौयत**, **लौयमानिः**, **लौयमानिः** (IV.1 95 S.1095). The word **एच** in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, **ओ** and **औ** before **य** are changed then only to **अव्** and **आव्** when **य** has caused the production of **ओ**; **औ**; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the **य** has caused the production of **ओ** and **औ** or not.

६५ । क्षय्यज्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तदेशनिपातनार्थमिदम् ॥ क्षेतु शक्य क्षय्यम् । क्षेतु शक्य ज्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । क्षेतुं क्षेतुं योग्यं क्षेत्य पाप जेत्य मनः ॥

65. In **क्षय्य** and **ज्य** there is substitution of **अय्** for **य** only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots **क्षि** and **जि** before the affix **यत्** (III. 1.97 S. 2842). assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As **शक्यः** **क्षेतु = क्षय्य**. (**क्षि + य = क्षे + य**), so also **ज्य** ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe **क्षेत्य पापं**, **जेत्य मनः** ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६ । क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८२ ॥

सस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थायेव तदर्थम् । केतारः क्रीणीयुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारितं क्रय्यम् । क्रेयमन्यत् । क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थः ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्, the guna ए being changed to अ ॥ The word तदर्थम् means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers. As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं वो धान्यं न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७ । लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽपि परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति लोपश्चास्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् स्वरसन्धिः । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः श्रियायुद्यतः । गुरा उत्कः । गुरावुत्कः ॥ कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्रास्तेरलोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणावादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तेति सूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ तन्निषेधान्न स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अय् letter, according to the opinion of Śākalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels, because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S 12 intervenes and makes this *lopa* as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे + एहि = हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो + इह = विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रियै + उद्यतः = श्रियाउद्यत or श्रियायुद्यत, गुरौ + उत्कः = गुराउत्कः or गुरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि + सन्ति and कौ + स्तः the rule VI. 1. 77 S 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्तः the अ being elided. An *ādeśa* is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sūtra I 1. 56 S.49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sūtra I 1. 58 S 51. for an *ādeśa* is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padānta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sūtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sūtra is a Padānta rule and hence the *ādeśa* is not equal to a Sthāni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उज्जर or अस्मायुज्जर, द्वावश्च or द्वा अश्च, असावाहित्य or असा आहित्यः ॥

६८ । एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६ । १ । ८४ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68 From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted"

This is an *adhikāra sūtra* In every *sūtra* upto VI. 1. 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one These form the well known rules of *ekādesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६६ । आद्गुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णाच्चि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणादेशः स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेश । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The *guṇa* is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ + a vowel = *guṇa*).

The word अच्चि is understood here For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, *guṇa*. Thus उप + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्र, रमा + ईश = रमेश, गङ्गा + उदकम् = गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

क इति विंशत सन्नेत्युक्तम् । तत्स्थाने ओऽण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते । तत्रान्तरसम्याल्लुक्कण्डि-
रित्यबाऽर् । तवल्कार इत्यत्राऽर् । अचो रहाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् *pratyāhāra* comes as a substitute for क् it is always followed by a र्.

This *sūtra* consists of three words *uṣ*, उः which is the genitive singular of क् and means literally 'of क्' or 'in the place of क्', the second word is अण्, a *pratyāhāra* denoting अ, इ and उ long and short, the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This *sūtra* is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of क् ल् Thus, there are only three *guṇa* vowels अ, ए and औ Of these what is the proper *guṇa* for क् ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the *guṇa* of क्, and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the *guṇa* of क्, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र् in the text has been taken by some to be a *pratyāhāra* formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्, and thus it includes the letters र् and ल्. In that case the *sūtra* would mean that अण् substitutes of क् and ल् are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus the *guṇa* of णि = अर्, of लि = अर्

It has already been taught that कृ is the name of 30 letters. *Viz.*—18 forms of कृ and 12 forms of लृ. In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र्. Therefore कृष्ण + कृद्धिः = कृष्णद्धिः. Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of कृ. Similarly तव + लृकारः = तवलृकारः. Here अ is followed by लृ as the nearest substitute of कृ. Similarly there is doubling when the rule अचो र्हाभ्याम् (VIII. 4 46 S 59) is applied

७१। झरोद्धरि सवर्णे। ८। ४। ६५॥

हलः परस्य झरो लोपा वा स्यात्सवर्णे ह्रिः। द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम्। असति लोपे द्वित्वलोपयोर्वा द्विधम्। सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति त्रिधम्। कृष्णद्धिः। कृष्णद्धिः। कृष्णद्धिः॥ यण इति पञ्चमी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम्। लस्य त्वनाचि चेति। तेन तवलृकार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम्॥ Verse द्वित्वं लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोरुभयोरपि। तवलृकारादिषु बुधैर्बोध्य रूपचतुष्टयम्॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध्. But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्s. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्s. Thus Kṛishṇaiddhiḥ, or Kṛishṇaiddhiḥ or Kṛishṇardddhiḥ

By the Vārtika यणो मयो द्वेवाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case, namely, when the Vārtika is translated as "after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the कृ is also doubled in तवलृकार. The लृ here also will be doubled by the rule of अनचिच्च (VII 4 47 S 48). Therefore तवलृकारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned. As Tavalkārah, Tavalikkārah; Tavalkkārah, Tavalkkārah.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि। ६। १। ८८॥

आदेशि परं वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। गुणापवादः। कृष्णेकत्वम्। गङ्गाय। देवैश्वर्यम्। कृष्णोत्कण्ठयम्॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ-I-diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here. For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sūtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa + Ekavam = Kṛishṇai katvam, Gangā + oghaḥ = Gangaughāḥ, Deva + aiśvāryam = devaiśvāryam. Kṛishṇa + autkaṇṭhyam = Kṛishṇaṭ kaṇṭhyam.

७३ । एष्यधत्तुदसु । ६ । १ । ८६ ॥

अवर्णादेजाद्योरेत्येधत्तोरुक्तादि च परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । पररूपयुगापवादः । उपैति । उपेधते । प्रष्टोहः । एजाद्योः किम् । उपेत । मा भवान्प्रेदिधत् । पुरस्तादपवादस्याधेनेय वृद्धिरेकं पररूपमित्यस्यैव बाधिका न त्वोमाङोश्चेत्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वादिरेदिणोः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वनेरितु शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्राकृष्टोऽङोऽपेधेयुः * ॥ प्रौढः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ “अथेति सूत्रे राजे पृथग् भ्राजिग्रहणा-वज्ञापकात्” । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन क्तान्तमेव गृह्यते न तु क्तवत्त्वन्तस्यैकदेशः । प्रौढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष इच्छाया तुसादिः । इष गती दिवादिः । इष आभिर्ष्य क्रयादिः । एषां घञि प्यति च एष एष्यः इति रूपे । तत्र पररूपं प्राप्तेऽनेन वृद्धिः । प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उच्छे । यश्च ईष गतिरिसादिर्धनेषु । तयोर्दिर्घोपधत्वात् ईषः । ईष्यः । तच्चाहुणे प्रेष । प्रेष्यः ॥ कृते च तृतियासमासे * ॥ सुखेन कृतः सुखा-र्त्त । तृतिथेति किम् । परमर्त्त ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनार्णदशानावृण * ॥ प्रार्णम् । वत्सतरार्णमित्यादि ॥ ऋणस्थापनयनाय यदन्यदण क्रियते तदणार्णम् । दशार्णो देहाः । नवी च दशार्णा । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूमौ जले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-*ए* of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-*ऊ* of ऊद् (the substitute of वा in वाद् by VI. 4 132 S 329).

The whole of the last sūtra and आत् are understood here. The एच् of the last sūtra qualifies the root इ in एति, *i. e.* when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule. The एच् does not qualify the root एध as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊद् for ऊ is not a diphthong. Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप + एधते = उपेधते, प्रष्ट-*न-ऊह* = प्रष्टोह ॥ In the last example, guna was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S 69, the present sūtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead. In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI. 1. 94, S 78 this sūtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sūtra is an exception to VI. 1. 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोर्त्तरान् “Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules.” Therefore the present rule does not apply here, — उप + आ-*इ*त = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply) Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-*इ*त = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एधि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vārt —The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vārt —The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix यञ् added to ईरगतौ: (Ad. 8. स्वनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1. 32. S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वनाभिप्रायेणेन ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78 S, 2988).

Vārt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊह, ऊदि, एव, एव्य, as प्रौहः, प्रौढ, प्रौदि, प्रैवः, प्रैव्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्वयणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sutra VIII. 2 36 S. 294 where the word आज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊह and not to ऊहवान्. Therefore we have प्रौढवान् and not प्रौढवान्. The word एव is derived from the root इष् 'to wish' (Tud 59), इष् 'to go' (Div. 18) and इष् 'to repeat' (Kry 53), by adding the affix चञ्, and the word एव्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यन् ॥ This Vārtika ordains Vriddhi, while VI 1 94 would have caused पररूप ॥ While the roots ईष् 'to glean' and ईष् 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh 115 and 642), form ईष and ईष्य with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रैष. and प्रैष्यः ॥

Vārt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by क्त and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound as सुखेन क्तः = सुखार्तः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vārt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the word कृण follows the following —प्र, वस्ततर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वस्ततरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vārt —So also when the words कृण and दृश are followed by कृण—as, कृणार्णम् and दृशार्णम् ॥ The word कृणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt. The Dasârna is the name of a river and of a country. The word कृण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt.

७४ । उपसर्गादति धातौ । इ । १ । ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्नादुपसर्गादकाराद्यै धातौ परे वृद्धिरेकादिशः स्यात् । प्रार्च्छति । उपाच्छति ॥

74. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short अ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with क्, the Vriddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent क् ॥ This debars the guna taught in VI 1 87 S 69. Thus उप + कच्छति = उपाच्छति, प्रार्च्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच । इ । १ । ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकविशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यादिवत्स्यात् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तत्वे ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding An ādeśa is like the sthāni, but in an ekādeśa, the sthāni is indeterminate, or rather the sthāni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding Hence the necessity of this sūtra

Therefore the र् is Padanta in उपाच्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies —

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि भवसाने च परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तवद्भावेन पदान्त-
रेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभययक्षु कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोरित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उपसर्गेणैव धातोराक्षेपे सिद्धे धाता-
विति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76 The Visarjanīya is substituted for र् before a खर consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word र् is understood The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of उपाच्छति should be changed into visarga, but this is not so, because Pānini himself in his Sūtras उभययक्षु (VIII 3 8, S 3630) and कर्तरिचर्षिदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhātu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son

The repetition of the word dhātu in the sūtra VI 1 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of ऋ The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this ऋ.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ६ । १ । ६२ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादकाराद्यै सुब्धानौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्थनीयति ।
प्रार्थनीयति । सावर्ण्यात् लवर्णस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्राल्कारीयति । प्रल्कारीयति । तपरस्वादीर्घे न । उपऋकारीयति
उपर्कारीयति ॥

.77 According to the opinion of Āpiśali, the Vri-
ddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of
a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning
with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्थनीयति or प्रर्थनीयति प्राल्कारीयति or प्रल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ल are
considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sūtra
includes ल also The name of the Grammarian Āpiśali is mentioned for the
sake of respect, the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short ऋ and short ॠ are only to be taken, because the letter ऋ in the sūtra has a त after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ऋ. Therefore we have only one form in उप + ऋकारीयति = उपकारीयति

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । २४ ॥

आहुपसर्गादेडासौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रेजते । उपोषति । इह वा सुपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाक्य-
भेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एडासौ सुधातौ वा ॥ उपेडकीयति । उपैडकीयति । प्रोषीयति । प्रौषीयति ॥
एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । अवेव भोक्ष्यसे । अनवक्त्वावेव शब्दः । अनियोगे किम् । तत्रैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here. In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूपम् ॥ This debars Vṛiddhi taught in VI 1. 88 S 72. Thus प्रेजते, उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sūtra the option allowed by VI 1 92, S 77 according to them the para-rūpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots. Thus उपेडकीयति or उपैडकीयति, प्रोषीयति or प्रौषीयति,

Vārt —The Para-rūpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेवभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty. When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place as तत्रैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अच्चाऽन्यादि णि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अर्चां मध्ये योऽन्यः स आर्च्यस्य तद्विज्ञः स्यात् ॥ शक्रन्धादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ० तथा
देः ॥ शक्रन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवेरो । सीमान्तोऽन्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा ।
पतञ्जलि ॥ सारङ्गः पशुपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । ओत्वाष्टयोः समासे
वा ॥ स्थूलौतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बौष्ठः । बिम्बौष्ठः । समासे किम् । तत्रौष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called णि.

This sūtra defines णि. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is णि, so also in सोमसुत् the portion उत्.

The word अच' in the sūtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhāraṇa or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels'

This sūtra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vārtikas*.

Vārtā —The Para-rūpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc. It takes place in the द्वि position of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of आत् is understood here. Had the Para-rupa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्ईषा. The following is the list of Sakandhwādī words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakās (शक + अन्धु well) 2 कर्कन्धु —the well of the Karkās 3 कुलदा—unchaste woman (कुल + अदा) 4 सीमन्त—सीम + अन्त (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5 मनीषा—the lord of the mind 6 हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick). 7 लाङ्गलीषा. 8 पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made i. e. an honored man). So also 9 सारङ्ग when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्ग—सार + अङ्ग. (the chief member of a body)

The Śakandhwādī is an Ākritigana, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rupa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus घृत + अण्ड = घृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मार्तण्ड. We have the regular form मार्तण्ड also

Vart —The Para-rūpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word as स्थूल ओतु = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतुः, so also विम्बोष्ठी or विम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory, as तवोष्ठ

८० । ओमाङोअ । ६ । १ । २५ ॥

ओमि आङि चात्परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । शिवाद्येनम् ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम्, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओम् नमः = शिवायौ नमः Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question :—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule ?

Answer .—The आत् could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्व धातु-उपसर्गेण युज्येत the upasargā must first combine with the dhātu and then other Sandhi-rules must take place. The combination of उपसर्ग and धातु is an antaraṅga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiraṅga rule. Therefore आ first combines with the dhātu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव ॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतो । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वनिरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । पदत् इति पठिति ॥ एकाच्चा
न ॥ अदिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त, when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound. Thus पदत् + इति = पठिति ॥

Vārt —This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following —अत् + इति = अदिति ॥

८२ । नाम्नेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

नाम्नेडितस्य प्रागुक्तं न स्यादन्त्यस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुल द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनाद्द्वित्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त् + इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vārtik —There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows,

The doubling takes place by this *Vārtika*. The word âmreḍita is defined in the next sūtra

८३ । तस्य परमांनेडितम् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य पर रूपमांनेडितसज्ञः स्यात् । पदत्पठति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called âmreḍita (repeated).

Thus पदत् पदत् + इति = पदत्पद + इ + ति = पदत्पठेति. Now, this para-rūpa rule is optional. The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पदत् + पदत् + इति = पदत् पठति. The त् is changed to इ by the next sūtra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । ३९ ॥

पशन्ते झलां जशः स्युः । पदस्पदसि ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ष, ग, ङ or ढ is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् भव, श्लिङ् भव, अग्निचिद् भव, विष्ट्व भव ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽचि परे दीर्घ एकदिश स्यात् । दैत्यारिः । श्रीशः । विष्णुदयः । भवि किम् । कुमारी शेते । नाञ्जलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्यविधिनियेधाभ्यां प्रागनिष्पत्तेः । अकः किम् । हरये ॥ “ अकोऽकि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥ ” ऋति सवर्णे ऋ वा ॥ होतृकार । होतृकारः ॥ लति सवर्णे लृवा ॥ होल्लकार । पक्षे ऋकार सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकार । ऋति ऋ वा लति लृ वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेय वर्णद्वय द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ तयोरेका मात्रा । अभिता-
ऽञ्भक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्य द्वौ लकारौ । शेष प्राग्वत् । इहोभयत्रापि ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिभावां वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दैत्य + अरि = दैत्यारि , श्री + ईशः = श्रीश ; विष्णु + उदय = विष्णुदयः । Why do we say “when a *vowel* follows”? Observe कुमारी शेते The word भवि is understood here also The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word भवि understood The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I 1. 10 S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुविस्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्यय (I 1 69 S, 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाञ्ज श्लौ (I. 1 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्णे rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished Therefore first the rule of नाञ्ज श्लौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्णे definition (I 1 9 S 10) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्य (I 1 68 S 25) Therefore in नाञ्ज श्लौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the class of homogenous vowels i e only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्णे vowels which I 1 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्णे by I 1 10 the *long* ई and श would be savarna. The sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः would have been more clear if stated as अकोऽकि दीर्घः । Why do we say ‘an अच् or simple vowel?’ Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say ‘by a homogenous vowel?’ Observe दधि + भव = दध्यन्न ॥

Vât.—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional so also with लृ ॥ This vâtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvrita and the other vivrita, or (2) because their prosodial length is $1\frac{1}{2}$ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऊकाल &c)

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short क् or short ल् (which comes in the place of क् + क् or क् + ल्) is *really* long consisting of two mâttras, in this way '—होत् + क्कारः = होत् इ र् + क्कारः ॥ These two र's are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtâ, for each consonant has half a mâtâ. Thus one mâtâ of two र's and one mâtâ of क् make two mâtâs really and though apparently short क् is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ल् there are two ल's. In other words, the short क् (that comes in the place of two क्'s) contains latent in it two र's, of one mâtâ and its own self of one mâtâ. Similarly the single *substitute* ल् contains merged in it two ल's (of one mâtâ) and its own self of one mâtâ.

Thus होत् + क्कारः = हात्कारः or होत्कारः, so also होत् + ल्कारः ॥ होल्कारः or होत्कारः ॥ The शीर्ष of ल् is क् ॥

Moreover, by the rule of क्त्वक् VI 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङ् पदान्तादति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादेकोऽति परे पूर्वैकपदेकोद्देशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे + अव = हरेऽव, विष्णो + अव = विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अद् and अत् ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोको वेदे धेङन्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभाव स्यात्पदान्ते । गोअमम् । गोऽमम् । एङन्तस्य क्तिम् चित्रवमम् । पदान्ते क्तिम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गाऽम or गो अमम् ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रयु + अमम् = चित्रवमम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form यु and so the rule does not apply

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अन्ति परे पदान्ते गोस्वङ् वा स्यात् । गवामम् । पदान्ते क्तिम् । गवि । अवस्थितविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvṛtti of अति ceases, that of अचि manifests itself. Thus गो + अय = गवायम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवोद्वम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽयम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवोद्वम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭāyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvṛtti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhāśhā, hence in गवाक्ष the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे च । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गोपेवङ् स्यादिन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्र ॥

Note —The Pāṇini reads this sūtra as इन्द्रे च निव्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sūtra, instead of this.

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेषां नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ भव गौभरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एता वित्यादावयमेव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्ण इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो मा भूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ भव गौभरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sūtra applies fully, for the long ई of हरी being Pragrihya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form. The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, ई ए ई. In चक्री + भव = चक्रि भव "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sūtra and the subsequent sūtra find scope, and the subsequent sūtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word *nitya* prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

६१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ । १२७ ॥

पदान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽचि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । भव ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थश्चकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि भव । चक्रीयत् । पदान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यौ ॥ न समासे * ॥ वाच्यम् ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्थम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + भव = चक्रि भव ॥ In the alternative we have चकषत् ॥

The name of Śākalya is mentioned for the sake of respect. Because the alternative nature of this sūtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahābhāṣya, the च in the sūtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvṛtti of Prakṛti-bhāva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakṛti bhāva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + अन् = चक्रिअन् = चक्रयन्, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौर्वै ॥

Two Vārt:—This rule of Śākalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samāsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् —Thus अय ते योनिऋत्विजः, प्रजां विशाम ऋत्विज्याम्. The word ऋत्विज is formed by a सिच् affix, namely by चस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to ऋतु and therefore the ङ is changed to व ॥ Before a सिच् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4. 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरण, सौवश्व, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थस् which are so by II. 2. 18 S. 761. Thus वाप्यश्व is an example of compound, and पार्श्वस् formed by the affix णस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

ऋति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म ऋषि । ब्रह्मर्षिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आच्छत् । समासेऽप्ययं प्रकृतिभाव । सप्तऋषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śākalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्मा + ऋषि = ब्रह्मऋषि or ब्रह्मर्षि. ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + आच्छत् = आच्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + ऋषीणाम् सप्तऋषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खद्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अक)"? Observe वृक्षावृक्षः (वृक्षौ + ऋक्ष) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also

९३ । वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pada of the Eight Adhyāya), is always to be supplied: "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the three words i. e. "the last vowel

(दि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pāda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (दि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

६४ । प्रत्यभिवादे ऽशूद्रे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्य तस्य दे प्लुत स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् । भो आयुष्मानधि देवदत्तः ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवादे गार्ग्यहम् । भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गि ॥ नाम गोत्र वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । नेह । आयुष्मानधि ॥ भो राजन्धविशा वेति वाक्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानधि भोः । आयुष्मानि धीन्द्रवर्म ३ । आयुष्मानि धीन्द्रपालित ३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śūdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2 touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udātta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śūdra.

Thus अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta" is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्तो ३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vārt.—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादे गार्ग्यहम् is said by Gārgi. To this the Guru replies.—भो आयुष्मती भवगार्गि! ॥

Ishu.—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यासि, देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vārt—The prolotion is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादे देवदत्तोऽहम् ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भो ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादे इन्द्रवर्माह भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मन् ३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्मन् ॥ Vaishya अभिवादे इन्द्रपालितोऽहम् भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित । ॥

९५ । दूराशूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरास्तबोधने यद्वाक्य तस्य दे प्लुत स्यात् । सकृन्पि देवदत्त ३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling'. Thus there is prolation here सक्तुन् पिब देवदत्ता ३ O devadatta 'drink the gruel' "

६६ । हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयोः प्रयोगे हूतवृत्ते यद्वाक्यं तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुतं स्यात् । हे ३ राम । राम हे ३ ॥

96. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ राम, or राम हे ३ ॥

९७ । गुरोरनुतोन्नत्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

हूतवृत्ते यद्वाक्यं तस्य ऋङिन्नस्यान्नस्यानन्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुतं स्यात् । हे ३ वदन् । देवदत्त ३ त् । देवदत्त ३ । गुराः किम् । वकारान्तरस्याकारस्य मा भूत । अनुतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकमहणं पर्यायार्थम् । इह प्राचामिति यागो विभज्यते । तेन सर्वं प्लुतो विकल्प्यते ॥

97 In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sūtras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sūtra indicates a special sthānin for the pluta vowel taught by the two previous Sūtras. With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus हे ३ वदन् or देवदत्त ३ or देवदत्त ३ ॥

Why do we say गुरोः "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनुतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३ ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time, not देवदत्त ३ ३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option. So in one alternative, there is no prolation at all.

९८ । अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते । ६ । १ । १२६ ॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्य इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्वति । अप्लुतकार्यं यणादिकं करोतीत्यर्थः । सुश्लोक ३ इति । सुश्लोकेति । वल्किम् । अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयेत प्लुतश्च निषिध्यत । तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात् । अग्री ३ इति ॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapāṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts, i. e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapāṭha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi. Thus सुश्लोका इति = सुश्लोकेति ॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as", instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta"? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity. There is prakṛti bhāva in the case of pluta and pragrīhya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrīhya, nor a pragrīhya, a pluta. But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrīhya at one and the same time, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्री, the इ is pragrīhya. It may be made pluta also as अग्री ३ ॥ Now if before इति the pluta became apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्री इति formed by अग्री ३ + इति ॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrīhya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended. Hence the pluta is heard in अग्री ३ इति ॥

९९ । ई ३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य । ६ । १ । १३० ॥

इ ३ प्लुतोऽपि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात् । चितुहि ३ इति । चितुहीति । चितुहि ३ इदम् । चितुहीदम् । उभयत्र विभाषितम् ॥

99. According to the the opinion of Chākṛavarmaṇa, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चितु हि ३ इति = चितुहीति ॥ चितु ही ३ इदम् or चितुहीदम् ॥ The name of Chākṛavarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule. This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति ॥ In the case of इति it allows sandhi optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains prakṛti bhāva optionally, when there would have been always prakṛti bhāva by VI. 1. 125, S. 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prāṇa and aprāṇa both.

१०० । ईदूदेद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईदूदेद्वन्त द्विवचन प्रगृह्यसज्ञं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णु इमौ । गङ्गे अम् । पथेते इमौ । मणीवोष्ट्येति तु इवार्थे वचस्यो वा बाध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sūtra gives three of these terminations, *vis.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—हरी एतौ, विष्णु इमौ; गङ्गे अम्. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

Vart.—The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + १३, = मनीव "like two gems." So also इव्यसीव "like a couple," अम्यसीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात् । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्पराधीकृतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्त । अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्णवम् भासाते । नास्किव । अमुकेऽव । अस्मि नादमहणे एकारोऽप्यनुवर्तेत ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Pragrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by व्, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अमी and अम्. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of अमी and अम् nom. plur. masc and nom dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वम् भासाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म्"? Because in the example अमुके + अव = अमुके व, the ए, preceded not by व but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 7). S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sūtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अय प्रगृह्य स्यात् । अस्मे इन्द्रावृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561). Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial ष is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽजिनपात आङ्बर्जं प्रगृह्य स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्कः । उ उमेश । अनाङि-
त्युत्तरङिवाकाः प्रगृह्य एव । आ एव तु मन्थसे । आ एव किल तत् । डिन्नु न प्रगृह्यः । ईषदुष्णम्
ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाऽभिधिषौ च यः । एतमातं कित विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipāta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations —(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "near to," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, अ गच्छ 'to go आगच्छ' 'to come,' आ + इति = एति, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मन् "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c, it is a pragrihya, as आ एव किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एव मन्थसे. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओइन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्य स्यात् । अहो ईशा ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a prāgrihya.

As अङोईशा ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

सबुद्धिनिमित्तक ओकारो वा प्रगृह्योऽवैदिके इतौ परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति ।
मनार्थ इति किम् । ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is prāgrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

^{१३}In āisha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा
ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उअः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उअ इतौ वा प्रायुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उअ before *iti*, according to Śākalya is a Prāgrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उअ meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उअ इतौ दीर्घोऽनुनासिक प्रगृह्यद्वय ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The particle ऊँ replaces उअ in non-vedic literature, and it is a prāgrihya in the opinion of Śākalya.

Before the word इति the word उअ is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal ॥ ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति ॥

१०८ । मय उओ वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उओ वो वा स्याद्वि । किमु उक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्गानुस्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and ज), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktām or kimvuktam. The उ is a Prāgrihya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व् being considered asiddha, the व् is not changed to anusvāra in the above example.

When this इ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मञ्च consonant, then by I 1 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrahya, then it is changed to इ by वणादेश (VI 1 77 S 47), or to इ by the present sūtra. In the case of वणादेश इ, there is anusvāra by VIII 3, 23, S 122 as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrahya, then it is changed to इ by the present sūtra as किंविति or किमु इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the ई will be nasal as किंमिति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किम् ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६ । इदुतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे । १ । १ । १९ ॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नमीदृशन्तं प्रगृह्य स्यात् । सोमो गौरी अधिष्ठितः । मामकी तन् इति । सुपं सुलुगिति सप्तम्या लुक् । अर्थग्रहणं किम् । वृत्तावर्थान्तरोपसङ्गान्ते मा भूत् । वाप्यामश्चो वाप्यश्च ॥

109 The finnal ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrahya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII 1 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or ओ, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच्, or आत् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ) In forming the L. S. of तन् "body," we have तन् + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तन् + ऊ = तन् "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतन् (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिष्ठित (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long ई and ऊ are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrahya.

It is only long ई and ऊ which are pragrahya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII 1. 39) दा (ऌ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवति य इन्द्राय सुतोमो वदाद्यत् (Rig Veda V 37 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrahya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + दा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here ई is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrahya. Thus मती + इति = मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्यान् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided ; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi, as, वाप्यश्व "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada), for words like वापी &c, in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case, while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । इधिँ । इधि । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragrihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragrihya. The अण् here is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus इधिँ or इधि,

Why do we say 'which is not a pragrihya' ? Observe अग्नी,

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तो इचुना इचुः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । इतिशेते । रामश्चिनोति । सञ्चित् ।
शार्ङ्गिज्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to ष and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with श as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिश्शेते,

2nd स in contact with च —as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामश्चिनोति,

3rd तु with शः—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with च —सत् + चित् = सञ्चित्.

5th. चकार followed by तकार, as, यज + न (III. 3 90 S 3268) = यज + ष = यज्ञः, याच् + न = याच्यमा ॥ In fact the instrumental case इचुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and च is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by इचु, or इचु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th (a) स followed by च is changed into ष as, भस्त् + ति = भृश्त् + श + ति (III 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1 16 S 2412) = भृश्त् + ति = भृश्त् + ति = (VIII. 4 53 S 52) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्त् forms मज्जति, वस्त् forms वृज्जति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII 4 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sūtra been स्तो योः इचु i e. instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शात्परस्य तवर्गस्य ऋत्वं न स्यात् । विभ । प्रभ ॥

112. In the room of त् there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and तोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule Thus विच्छ + न (III. 3 90. S. 3268) = विश्च + न (VI 4 19 S. 2561) = विश्नः ॥ Similarly प्रश्नः :

११३ । ष्टुना ष्टुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तो ष्टुना योगे ष्टु स्यात् । रामषष्ठ । रामटीकते । पेटा । तटीका । अकिण्ठौकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sūtra Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस् + षष्ठ = रामषष्ठः

(2) स with ष्टु, as, रामस् + टीकते = रामटीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेट् + ता = पेटा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with ष्टु, as तत् + टीका = तटीका ॥ अकिण्ठ + औकसे = अकिण्ठौकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्तादोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति लुप्तपट्टीक पदम् । पदान्ताद्वर्गात्परस्यानाम् स्तो दुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते । पदान्तात्किम् । इहे । दोः किम् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनामवतिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्यः ॥

114. After ष्टु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट् + सन्तः = षट् सन्तः ॥ षट् + ते = षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईङ् + ते = ईङ् + टे = ईङ्ते ॥

Why do we say दो 'after ष्टु'? Observe सर्पिष् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix नाम्'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vārtika.—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्यः six cities'

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

तवर्गस्य षकारे परे न ष्टुत्वम् । सन्षष्ठः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सत् + षष्ठ = सन्षष्ठः ॥

Here the Sutra **झला जशान्ते** (S 84) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard. Thus **वाक् + ईशः = वागीश** ; **चित् + रूपम् = चिद्रूपम्** ॥

११६ । यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८ । ४ । ४५ ॥

यः पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्पुरारि । एतद्पुरारि । स्थानप्रत्यक्षा-
भ्यामन्तरतमे स्पर्शे चरितार्थो विधिरय रंके न प्रवर्तते । चतुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यये भाषाया नित्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् ।
चिन्मयम् । कथं तर्हि मरोदमा ककुघन्त इति । यवादिगणे इकारनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a यः letter (every consonant except ह्) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतन् + पुरारि = एतन्पुरारि. or एतद्पुरारि । This rule does not apply to र् as चतुर + मुख = चतुर्मुख ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada' ? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेदि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vārtā —When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasansation is obligatory in the secular language. Thus तन् + मात्रम् = तन्मात्रम्, similiary चिन्मयम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal. How do you explain the form ककुघन्त in the sentence मरोदमा ककुघन्त ? Because the द् is used in यवादि class (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Ganapātha VIII 2 9).

११७ । तोर्लि । ८ । ४ । ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परे परसवर्णः स्यात् । तल्लयः । विह्वल्लिखति । नकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तन् + लये = तल्लयः ; विह्वान् + लिखति = विह्वल्लिखति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal ण ॥

११८ । उद्ः स्यास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । ६१ ॥

उद् परयो स्यास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । भदि परस्य । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् । भन्नाभोषस्य महाप्राणस्य सस्य तादृश एव यकारः । तस्य झरोद्वरीति पाक्षिको लोपः । लोपाभावपक्षे तु यकारस्यैव भ्रवणं न तु खरि चेति अर्थम् । अर्थं प्रति यकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (i. e. a dental is substituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थाता = उद् + याता (VIII. 4¹ 63 S. 120) = उत् + याता (VIII 4 55 S. 121) = उत्थाता, उत्थातुम्, उत्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भः, as, उत्तम्भिना, उत्तम्भितुम् &c (See I. I. 67 S 41 and 54 S. 44)

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Maháprāṇa स् is changed to थ् which is also Aghosha and Maháprāṇa. This then is optionally elided by झरोझरि (S 71) But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the थ् is heard in pronunciation

By the rule खरिच (S. 121), the थ् is not changed to खर् letter, because the rule of खर्च is not applicable to थ्; for this थ् is considered as non-existent for the purposes of खर् rules.

११६ । झर्योहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

झय परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नाहवतो महाप्राणस्य सवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्धरि । वाग्हरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter ह्, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyāhāra झय् includes अ॥ Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of ह् will be घ् by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because ह् is a ghosha (sonant); Maháprāṇa (aspiated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also घ् Thus वाक् + हरि = वाग्धरिः or वाग्हरिः ।

१२० । शदछोऽदि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पशान्तात् झयः परस्य शस्य छो वा स्याददि । हस्य ऋचुत्वेन जकार कृते ॥

120. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, घ or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, nowever, applies to surd mutes. The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sūtra. Thus तत् + शिव = तद् + शिव (S. 84) = तद् + छिव = तच् + छिव = तज् + छिव. At this stage applies the next Sūtra

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ६५ ॥

खरि परे झलां चरः स्यु । इति जकारस्य चकार । तच्छिव । तच्छिवः ॥ छत्वमनीति वाच्य-
इ* ॥ तच्छ्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । भवि किम् । वाक् ऋचोतति ॥

121. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute खर् when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sūtra. Therefore झ् is changed to ख् and we have the form तच्छिव or तच्छिवः

Vārtika —It should rather be stated when a letter of अन् प्रत्यहारा follows. The sūtra only gives अद् letters, the Vārtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals Thus तत् + श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन

Why do we say when a letter of अन् प्रत्यहारा follows? Observe वाक् इत्येतत्ति.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याज्जलि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । हरि वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122 The Anusvāra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिवन्दे ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sūtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sūtra अलोऽन्त्यस्य (S. 42), therefore not here, गम्यते.

१२३ । नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

नस्य नस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशासि । आक्रस्यते । झलि किम् । नन्यत ॥

123. The Anusvāra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशासि, आक्रस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See गम्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पादि.

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्ण । ८ । ४ । ५८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्डितः । शान्तः । शुम्भितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र णत्वे प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धत्वाद् अनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वात् णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvāra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्डितः, शान्तः, शुम्भितः these are thus formed.—To the causal *churādi* root अङ्क. (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त Thus अङ्क+क्त The causal sign इ is elided by the sūtra निष्ठायां सदि (VI 4 52 S 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कित. The इ here is the इद् augment. Or it may be from the root अङ्क (meaning lakshana) where the augment जुम् becomes anusvāra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes इ.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pūjā), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4 30 S 424.

कुण्डित is formed from the root कुण्डि (meaning pratighāta) The augment वृष् is added to the root before the सेद् participial affix. This वृ is changed into ण्

शान्तिः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasāma) with the affix क्ति (See VII 2 27 S 3068). The अ of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666 The म् is changed to न् by the present rule

गुम्फित. is formed from the root गुम्फ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII 4 2. S. 197 Because the णश्च is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24 S 123 the न is first changed into anusvāra (VIII. 2. 1 S 12) That anusvāra is again changed into न् by the present rule, न् being homogeneous with त् ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1 S 12) the ण is never substituted for न ॥

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

दान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य ययि परे परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । त्वङ्करोषि । त्वं करोषि । सँव्यन्ता । सयन्ता । सँवस्वरः । यँलोकम् । यल्लोकम् । अचानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवला ॥

125 In the room of anusvāra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus त्वङ्करोषि or त्वं करोषि ; सयँव्यन्ता or सयन्ता, सँवस्वरः or संवस्वरः, यल्लोकम् or य लोकम्.

Here the anusvāra has become nasal य ङ् ण् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः कौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

क्विवन्ते राजतौ परे समो मस्य न एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म् is substituted for the म् of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्ति ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म् for न् is for the sake of preventing the anusvāra change (VII 1 40 S 3562). Why do we say ' before राज् ' ? See सयन् (VI 4 40 S. 2986. Vārt). Why do we say ' of सम् ' ? Observe किं राट् (V 4 70 S 955) Why do we say ' ending with क्विप् ' ? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III 2 61 S 2975 the ञ् is changed to ञ् by VIII. 2. 36 S 294 which is changed to ङ् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by व्यञ् affix, as it belongs to Brāhmanādi class.

• १२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

अपरे हकारे परे मस्य न एव स्याद्वा । झल झल चलेन । किम् झलयति । किं झलयति ॥ यत्रलपरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. **ख** is optionally substituted for **म्** before that **ह** which itself is followed by a **म** ॥

The **ख** may be changed to anusvāra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with **ह** ॥ Thus **किं** or **किम् हल्लयति**, 'what does he cause to shake' ?

Vart —Before **ह्य**, **ह्**, and **ह्र**, the preceding **ख** may be changed to **घ**, **व** or **ल** respectively.

Now, by this *Vārtika*, three letters **ख**, **घ**, **ल**, are ordained in the room of **ख**, **घ**, **ल**. But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sūtra should be remembered —

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसबन्धी विधिर्यथासंख्य स्यात् । किंघः किंघः । किंल्लयति । किंल्लयति । किंल्लयति । किंल्लयति ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, **ख** would be replaced by **घ**, **घ** by **व** and **ल** by **ल**. Thus we have **किंघः ह्यः** or **किं ह्यः**, **किंल्लयति** or **किंल्लयति**, **किंल्लयति** or **किंल्लयति**.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किंल्लयते । किंल्लयते ॥

129. **न** is optionally substituted for **म्**, when it is followed by **ह** which has a **न** after it.

ख becomes **न** before a word beginning with **ह**, as **किंल्लयते** or **किंल्लयते**.

१३० । डणोः कुक् डक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

हकारणकारयोः कुक्डुकावागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक्डुकोरसिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वं न ॥ चयो द्वितीया शरि पौस्करसावेरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ्खण्डः प्राङ्खण्डः । प्राङ्खण्डः । सुगण्डपण्डः सुगण्डपण्डः । सुगण्डपण्डः ॥

130. The augment **क्** is added to a final **ङ**, and the augment **ट्** to a final **ण**, before a sibilant, optionally.

The **कुक्** and **डक्** augments being considered as asiddha, there is no **न** change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard. Before giving

the examples of this sutra, the following *Vartika* must be applied, in order to get the proper forms.

Vārtika —According to the option of Achārya Paushkarasādi, the letters of च्च pratyāhāra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of श्श pratyāhāra)

Thus प्राङ्ख्यः or प्राङ्मयः or प्राङ्मयः, सुगन्धः or सुगन्धः or सुगन्धः

१३१ । डः सि धुट् । द । ३ । २६ ॥

डात्परस्य सस्य धुङ्गा स्यात् । षट्सन्त' । षट्सन्तः ॥

131. After a word ending in इ there may optionally be added the augment घ् to a word beginning with स्र ॥

Thus षट्सन्तः or षट्सन्त-

The word दुः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of दुः, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमीनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

१३२ । नञ्च । ८ । ३ । ३० ॥

नकारान्तात्सस्य धुङ्ङा । सन्त्सः or सन्स ॥

132. After a word ending in **र**, **धुह** is optionally the augment to a word beginning with **स** ॥

Thus सन्तः or सन्त ॥

१३३ । शि तुक् । ८ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शे परे तुग्या स्यात् । शश्छोऽटीति छत्वविकल्पः । पक्षे ह्यरोह्यरिति चलोपः । सञ्छुम् । सञ्छुम् । सञ्छामुः । सञ्छामुः । सञ्छामुः । मछौ अचछा अचछा अक्षाविति चतुष्टयम् रूपाणा-
मिह तुकछत्वचलोपानां विकल्पनात् ॥

133. The augment **क्** may optionally be added to a word ending in **क्**, when a word beginning with **क्** follows.

By rule VIII. 4 63 S 120 there is an optional छ By the rule श्रुतं VIII. 4 65 S 71 there is elision of the छ in the other alternative. Thus सञ्जुः or सञ्जुः or सञ्जुः or सञ्जुः

१३४ । डमो ह्रस्वादचि डमुणित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३२ ॥

इत्थात्परो थो डम् तदन्त यत्पद तस्मात्परस्थाचो नित्य डमुडागम स्थात् । प्रत्यङ्ङात्मां
सुगण्णीश्च । सन्नच्युत ॥

134. After a word ending in इ, ए or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant इ, ए or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word **ङम्** is in the Ablative singular here ; and **इत्वात्** qualifies **ङम्** , and **ङम्** itself qualifies the word **पदस्य** understood, and thus there is *tadanta-viddhi*. Though the word **पदस्य** (VIII. 1. 16 S 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with **ङम्** ॥ **अचि** is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sūtras **ङम्** is a *pratyāhāra* meaning **ङ**, **ण** and **न** , and so also **ङुद्** is a *pratyāhāra* containing the three augments **ङुद्**, **णुद्** and **नुद्** ॥

In other words **ङ** is augment after **ङ**, **ण** after **ण** and **न** after **न** ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus **ङुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ङ** , as **प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा** ॥ **णुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **ण** , as **सुगणीयः** ॥ **नुद्** is the augment after a word ending in **न** , as **सम्युक्तः**

१३५ । समः सुदि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो हः स्यात् सुदि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. **ह** is substituted for the **म** of **सम्** (and thereby **अँ** or **अं** is substituted for **अ**) when the augment **स्** follows, in a *samhitā*.

१३६ । अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अत्र रुप्रकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sūtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—"But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which **ह** has been ordained."

This is an *adhikāra* sūtra For the letter which stands before that letter for which **ह** has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where **ह** is the subject of discussion.

Thus sūtra VIII 3 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of **सम्**, there is **ह** when **सुद्** augment follows." The vowel **अ** of **सम्** becomes nasal, as **सैस्कर्त्ता** **सैस्कर्त्तुम्**, **सैस्कर्त्तव्यम्** ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रो पूर्वस्यात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात् । खरवसारयोर्विसर्जनीय ॥

137. After what precedes **ह**, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then *anusvāra* shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasa is not substituted, we add an *anusvāra* to such vowel. The word **अन्य** should be

read into the sūtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्णः. " a letter other than a nasal ", i. e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before ह ॥

Thus VIII 3 5. S. 135 teaches ह substitution of the व् of सव् an anusvāra would be added As सस्कृत्ता, सस्कृत्त्व्यम् ॥

Some say " the word पर in the sūtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्य from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकान्यः; i. e., the anusvāra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvāra is an *augment* and not a *substitute*. It is an augment to the vowel which precedes ह ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीय the ह is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् .

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य स स्यात् । एतदपवादो वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्राप्ति ॥ संपुक्तानां सो वक्तव्य *॥ सस्कृत्ता ॥ सस्कृत्ता ॥ समो वा लोपमेके इति भाष्यम् *॥ लोपस्यापि रूपकरणस्थत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकार रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं नूतनेव । तत्रानपि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे विसकारमपि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयमानामकारोपरि शर्तुं च पाठस्योपसंख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्य-
त्वात् । अनुनासिकवर्ता चयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतमानुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एवामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकस द्वित्वे त्रित्वमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽष्टोत्तरशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII 3 36 S 151. Then we have the following Vārtika which ordains स् always, and never visarga.

Vārt — For the finals of सव्, पुव् and कान् there is always substituted स् . Thus applying the previous four rules we have सव् + कर्ता = सव् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S 2550) = स् + ह + सुट् + कर्ता (VIII. 3 2. S. 136) = सस्कृत्ता or सस्कृत्ता ॥

According to Mahābhāṣya, there is elision of स् after सव्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word सस्कृत्ता ॥ Thus सस्कृत्ता and सस्कृत्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सस्कृत्ता, सस्कृत्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4 47 S 48 to this latter, and have three स्, as सस्कृत्ता, or सस्कृत्ता ॥ The anusvāra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सस्कृत्ता, सस्कृत्ता and सस्कृत्ता, we get three more by doubling the क् by the vārtikā शर खय ॥ The three forms having anusvāra, will also double their anusvāra in addition to क् doubling Thus we have 12 forms in anusvāra and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled. and thus with one त, two त and three य, we have 3 × 18 = 54 forms. This will be doubled (2 × 54 = 108) when अच् is nasalised.

१३६। पुमः खय्यम्परे। ८। ३। ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुम्भादस्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्येति वत्त्वपदुदासात् × क × पयोः प्राप्नो । अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु वत्त्वप्राप्नो । सपुक्रानामिति सः । पुंस्कोकिल । पुस्कोकिल । पुंस्पुत्रः । पुस्पुत्रः । अम्परे किम् । पुक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुदाश । खयाच्चादेशे न पुख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to ऊँ or ऊँ) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुंस is formed by the Unâdi affix डुस्सुन् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or रुढि words. If the word पुंस be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception “apratyaye” of the sūtra .VII. 3 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to ख by VIII 3 41 S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vārtika सं पुक्रानामिति सः (see the preceding sūtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिल = पुर + कोकिल = पुस् or पु × क + कोकिल (VIII 3 41 S 155) = पु स्कोकिलः or पुंस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S 135 & 136) Similarly पुंस्पुत्रः or पुस्पुत्र

Why do we say ‘before a surd mute’? Observe पुदाशः, पुगवः (V 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say ‘followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal’? Observe पुक्षीर, पुक्षुर ॥

Vārtika —Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम्, in those cases where खयाम् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476) As पुख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष् (III 3. 115 S. 3290)

१४०। नद्वयप्रशान्। ८। ३। ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रु स्यात् न तु प्रशान्शब्दस्य । विसर्गः । सत्वम् । २चुत्वम् । शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि । शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि । चर्किच्छायस्व । चर्किच्छायस्व । पदस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् । सन्त्सरु खङ्गमुष्टि । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ढ, थ, च, ढ, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sūtra. The word अप्रशान् in the sūtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive. शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3 7 S. 140) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII 3.15 S 76) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3 34 S 138) = शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि (III 4. 40 S. 3361) = शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि or शार्ङ्गिच्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S 136, S. 137). Similarly चर्किच्छायस्व or चर्किच्छायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe दृष्टि ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to रु before ति, because it is not final in a pada. Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्'? Observe प्रशान् तनोति प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम follows छच्'? See भवान् स्वरुक् ॥ स्वरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called स्वरुक्: (कन् V. 2. 64 S 1864).

१४१ । नृन्पे । ८ । ३ । १० ॥

नृनित्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नृन् before प् ॥

Thus नृन् + पाहि = नृर् + पाहि = नृः + पाहि (VIII. 3 15, 8 76) At this stage applies the following sūtra.

१४२ । कुप्वोः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाञ्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ स्तः । चाद्विसर्गः । येन नाप्राप्त इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु शर्परे विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौममित्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नृन् × पाहि । नृः × पाहि । नृः पाहि । नृ पाहि । नृन्पाहि ॥

142. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sūtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्त &c. this sūtra debar the sūtra VIII 3 34 S 138 which ordains स् for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमच् &c.

Thus we get नृन् × पाहि or नृः × पाहि or नृः पाहि or नृ पाहि or नृन्पाहि ॥

१४३ । कानाम्नेडिते । ८ । ३ । १२ ॥

कान्नकारस्य रुः स्यादाम्नेडिते परे सपुक्रानामिति स यद्वा ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmredita.

Here by the vārtika, under S 138, the रु is changed to स् ॥ Or the next sūtra applies :—

१४४ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एष्विण उत्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादन्यत्र तु सः । × क × पयोरपवादः । इति सः । कौत्स्कात् । कात्स्कात् । कत्स्कः । कौत्स्कुतः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. स् or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavāda to Sūtra VIII 3 37 S 142 ए is substituted after इ 01 इ, and स् everywhere else Thus कस्क्, 2, कौतस्कुनः (with अण् of कुत आगतः) 3 धातुष्पुवः (VI 3 23 S 981) 4 ह्यनस्कर्ण (VI 3 21 S 979) 5 सद्यस्काः, 6 सद्यस्त्री (from का 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadādi class) 7 साद्यस्क् (from सद्यस्त्री in the sense of तच्चभवः क्रतु) 8 कांस्कान् (the ह is by VIII 3 12 S 143) 9 सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10 चतुष्कपालम्, 11 धनुष्कपालम् 12 बर्हिष्पूलम् 13 यजुष्पाचम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere It is an, ākṣiptigana

Thus कांस्कान् or कास्कान् ॥

१४५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145 In the sūtras of Pāuini beginning with this up-to VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra, exerting its influence upto VI 1 158 Whatever we shall say in the sūtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice

१४६ । छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे परे तु गगमः स्यात्संहितायाम् । इतुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जन्वेन च । तत्तत्तत्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्पूर्वं इतुत्वेन च । तस्य चत्वेन च । इतुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चो कुरिति कुत्व न । स्वच्छाया । शिवच्छाया ॥

146. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by छ, is added the augment त् in Sanhitā. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वभासिद्धम् (VIII. 2 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form

Thus स्व + छाया = स्वत् + छाया Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4 40 S 111 requiring the त् to be changed to च, (2) VIII 2 39 S 84 requiring the त् to be changed to इ. By the maxim पूर्वभासिद्धम् the च will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जइत्वं change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वत् + छाया (VIII. 2 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII 4 55 S 121 by which इ required to be changed into a चर् letter, and (2) VIII 4 40 S 111 by which इ required to be changed to ज्. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वज् + छाया, and then ज् is changed to च — स्वच + छाया (VIII. 4 55 S. 121.)

Here appears the rule VIII 2 30 S 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII 4 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII 2 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया शिवच्छाया ॥

१४७ । आङ्माङोश्च । ६ । १ । ७४ ॥

एतयोच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । पदान्तादिति विकल्पापवादः ॥ आच्छादयति । माच्छिदत् ॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sūtra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI 1 76 S 149 it would have been optional Thus आच्छादयति, माच्छिदत् ॥

१४८ । दीर्घात् । ६ । १ । ७५ ॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात् । दीर्घस्याय तुक् न तु छस्य । सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात् । चेच्छिद्यते ॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pāṇini himself using it in the sūtra विभाषा सनासुराच्छाया &c II. 4 25 S 828 Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च् by VIII 4 55, there would have been two च्'s, and not the form च्छ् as used by Pāṇini himself in the above sūtra Or if by applying the maxim सनिपातलक्षणविधिः (See S 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छच and not च्छ ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिद्यते ॥

१४९ । पदान्ताद्वा । ६ । १ । ७६ ॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुक्वा स्यात् । लक्ष्मीच्छाया । लक्ष्मीछाया ॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया ॥

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४६ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sūtra has already been taught before It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi Thus विष्णुस् + वाता = विष्णुर् + वाता = विष्णु + वाता = विष्णुस् + वाता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स् of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to ह् by VIII. 2 66. S 162, and then this ह् is changed to Visarga by VIII. 3. 15 S 76 and then this Visarga is changed to स् by the present rule This स् is not again changed to ह् because with regard to ह् this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न त्वन्यत् । कः स्तहः । घनाघनः क्षोभणः । इह यथायथं सत्त्व जिह्वामूलीयश्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged Thus कः स्तहः, घनाघनः क्षोभणः ॥

Though the sūtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jīhyāmuliya and upadh-māniya changes also do not take place, in cases like अङ्गि प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हारः केते । हरिश्चेते । शर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्वे च वैकल्प्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरि शेते or हरिश्शेते,

Vart.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्याता or रामः स्याता हरिस्फुरति or हरि स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change. Thus we get three forms रामस्याता or रामः स्याता or रामस्स्याता

कुप्पोः × क × पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क × करोति । कः करोति । क × खनति । कः खनति । क × पचति । कः पचति । क × फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. × क and × प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sūtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus क + करोति or क × करोति ॥ The क and प in × क and × प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvāmūliya and the Upadhmanīya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sūtra is an apvāda to that. But VIII. 3. 35 S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षामश् भाङ्गिः प्लातश् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3. 35, and 37. In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the existence of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3. 37.

To get this, some divide this sūtra into two —(1) कुप्पोः “The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant” (2) × क × पौ च “The jhivāmūliya and upadhmanīya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case.”

१५२ । सोऽपदादौ । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विस्कर्जनीयस्य सः स्यात्पराद्यो कुप्पोः परयोः ॥ पाश्चकल्पककाम्येभ्यो वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्पाशम् यशस्कल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ अनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रोरेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपरादौ means “when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a word,” in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vart —This is possible only before the affixes पाद्य, कल्प, क, and काम्य
Thus पयस्पाशम् (V 3 47 S 1993), पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V 3 67 S 2022),
(V 3 70 S 2025), यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III 1. 9 S 2663).

Vart —Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an
Indeclinable, as, मातृ कल्पम्॥

Vart —The visarga which comes from इ is only changed to स before
काम्य, and not any other visarga As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here,
गी काम्यति ॥

१५३। इणः षः । ८ । ३ । ३९ ॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये । सर्पिष्पाशम् । सर्पिष्कल्पम् । सर्पिष्कम् ।
सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

153. ष is the substitute of that visarga, which is
preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with
a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mention-
ed in the preceding sūtra

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम् सर्पिष्काम्यति ॥

१५४। नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः । ८ । ३ । ४० ॥

गतिसज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुप्वा परयोः । नमस्करोति । साक्षात्प्रभृतित्वात् कुप्वा योगे
विभाषा गतिसज्ञा । तदभावे नम करोति । पुरोऽव्ययमिति नित्य गतिसज्ञा । पुरस्करोति । अगतित्वाद्नेह
पूः पुरौ पुरः प्रवेष्टव्याः ॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substi-
tuted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words
are Gati (I. 4 67 and 74 S 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति ॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with
the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c (see Ganapātha
under I 4 74) When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति ॥ पुरस्
is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I 467 S 768) Thus पुरस्करोति ॥ But
when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रवेष्टव्या where पुर is a noun and is declined
as पूः (N S), पुरौ (N D), पुरः (N Pl)

१५५। इदुदुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४१ ॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुप्वा । निष्प्रत्यहम् । आविष्कृतम् । दुष्कृतम् ।
अप्रत्ययस्य किम् । अग्निः करोति । वायुः करोति । एकादेशसाम्बन्धिमित्तकस्य न षत्वम् । कस्कादिषु
भ्रातृपुत्रशब्दस्य पाठात् । तेनेह न । मातुः कृपा ॥ शुद्धसः प्रतिषेधः ॥ मुहुः कामा ॥

155. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर, बहिर, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निष्प्रस्थहम् आवि ष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्नि-करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा? For here in मातुः &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII 2 24, S. 280 and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga, this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातृष्युन्नः in Kaskâdi-class (VIII. 3 48 S 144) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितु, मातुः &c the only exception being भ्रातु ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an êkâdeśa उ obtained by ङ + ञ = उ (VI 1. 111 S 279)

Vart. :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of शुहुस्, as शुहुस्कामा or शुहुः कामा ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । तिरस्कृता । तिर कर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कृता, or तिरः कर्ता ॥

१५७ । द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्थे वर्तमानानामेषां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुप्पोः । द्विष्करोति । द्विः करातीत्यादि । कृत्वोर्थे किम् । चतुष्कपाल ॥

157. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुच् (ष) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4 18 S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kṛtvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपाल where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3 41. S 155.

१५८ । इत्सुसोः समर्थे ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुप्पोः । सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति । धनुष्करोति । धनुः करोति । सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा । सामर्थ्ये किम् । तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वयुक्कम् ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनु करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब स्वदुदकम् where सर्पिः is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्य here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words ; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e. the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound' But it being a पदविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पदविधि II 1. 1 S. 647) The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sāmārthya from that of II 1 1 It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sāmārthya of compounds where two or more words denote one object. The sāmārthya here means vyapekshā which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो र्यौ शब्दौ वर्त्तेत, तयो र्यौ योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas"

१५९ । नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इसुसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्य षः स्यात् कुण्डो परयो । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाशब्दाऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपेक्षायां नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पिः कुण्डिका The option even of the last sūtra does not apply to these examples

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48. S 161 A) indicates that the ष change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the ष change is compulsory.

Q—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सर्प् by adding the Unādi affix इस् (Un II. 109), and धनुस् by the Unādi affix डस् (Un II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इत्थो would denote the mere forms सर्विस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्विस् &c then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sūtra ?

Ans —The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sūtra, is an indicator (jñāpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस् — प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् अ विहित स्तदो-स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् “an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself” This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्विष्करोति or परमसर्वि करोति by the previous sūtra VIII 3 44

Q—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sūtra ?

Ans —Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारानुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्य सकारादेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न तूत्तरपद-स्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयसहिता कुशा अयस्कृशा । अयस्कणी । अतः किम् । गी कार । अनव्ययस्य किम् । स्वःकामः । समासे किम् । यश्च करोति । अनुत्तर-पदस्थस्य किम् । परमयश्चःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III 2 1 S 2913) कम्—अयस्कामः, कस—अयस्कसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कृशा, कर्णी—अयस्कणी ॥

Why do we say अतः “a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अ” ? See गी कार ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of an Indeclinable” ? Observe स्वः कामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here, यश्च करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this Therefore not here, परमयश्चः कारः ॥

१६१ । अधः शिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्द परे । अधस्वपदम् । शिरस्वपदम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरः पदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अध पदम्, शिरः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिर पदम् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क् and the rest. This sūtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus भा + कर = भास्कर ॥

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससञ्जुषो रुः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सञ्जुषाब्दस्य च रुः स्यात् । अइत्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final **स्** and for the **ष्** of **सञ्जुष्** is substituted **रु**, at the end of a word. This debars **जश्**.

Thus, **शिवस् + अर्थ्य**, here **शिवस्** is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix **स्**. This **स्** will be changed by the above Sûtra into **रु** and not to a **जश्** letter. Thus, we get **शिवर् + अर्थ्य**. Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्प्लुतादप्प्लुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्प्लुतावतः परस्य रोर्ह स्यादप्प्लुतंति । भोभगोऽचो इति प्राप्तस्य यत्स्यादपवादः । उत्स्य प्रति ह्रस्वस्याऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । रुत्वमन्य उत्स्यविधे सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The **उ** is the substitute of **रु** (the **र्** substitute of a final **स्** VIII. 2. 66.) when an **अ**, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sūtra debars the **रु** of VIII. 3. 17 S. 167. The **रु** taught in the Tripādi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII. 2. 2 S. 12 for the purposes of **उ** substitution required by the present sūtra of the 6th Adhyāya. This is because this sūtra specifically mentions the word **रु** and then ordains **उ** in its stead. Had this sūtra not perceived the **रु** of VIII. 2. 66. it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all.

The phrase **उन्** is understood here, as well as the word **अति** of VI. 1. 109, Therefore **शिवर् + अर्थ्यः** = **शिव + उ + अर्थ्यः**. At this stage, the next sūtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should **अ** and **उ** of **शिव + उ** become a long **आ** as **शिवा**.

१६४ । प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः । ६ । १ । १०२ ॥

अक प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चि परे पूर्वसवर्णवर्धे एकादेशः स्यात् । इति प्राप्त ॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अक and दीर्घ are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i.e. the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sūtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वस्व or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिव उ + अर्च्य, because of the following *apavāda* rule.

१६५। नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वस्वर्णदीर्घः । आहुणः । एङः पशन्तादिति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपर किम । देवा अत्र । अतीति तपर किम । अभागन्ता । अप्लुतादिकम् । एहि सुस्रोत अत्र स्नाहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वात् परोऽयम् । अप्लुतादिति विशेषणे तु तत्सामर्थ्यात्त्रासिद्धत्वम् । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घानवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात् । अल्लुते इति किम् । तिष्ठतु पय अग्निदत्त । युरोरनृत इति प्लुत ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore शिव उ + अर्च्य = शिवोऽर्च्यः । The अ उ become guna by the आहुणः (VI. I 87. S. 69) and the subsequent अ of अर्च्य is elided by एङः पशन्तादिति (VI. I. 109 S. 86) Why do we say 'after a short अ' ? Or why have we added a ह्रस्व to अ ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवा + अत्र = देवा अत्र ॥ The word अतीति is understood here from VI. I 109 S. 86 र must be followed by a short अ, thus अर् + आगन्ता = अभागन्ता । Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ' ? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it As एहि सुस्रोत अत्र स्नाहि । Though the word is अत् in the sūtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अः, yet the word is repeated in the sūtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोत अत्र स्नाहि, the अ of सुस्रोतम् is prolated by VIII 2 84. This prolation being effected by a Tripāḍī rule, would not be perceived by VI. I. 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non-existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prolation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. I. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sūtra. The ह्रस्व of अत् would not have produced this result, because that ह्रस्व found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the long आ ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an *apluta* अ ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय अग्निदत्त । "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here अः of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII 2 86 and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । हशि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुतादत परस्य रोह स्याद्धशि । शिवो वन्धः । रोरित्युकारादुबन्धमहणाग्नेह । प्रातरन् ।
आतर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । रुत्वम् ॥

166. The ङ is the substitute of रु (the र substitute of स् VIII 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyāhāra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus शिवोवन्धः ।

The ङ substitution takes place in the case of that र only which is called रु in this Grammar ; i e र with the indicatory letter ङ, therefore not in प्रातर्+अञ् = प्रातरञ् or धातर्+गच्छ = धातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास्+इह । Here the स् is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule —

१६७ । भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्थादेशः स्यादशि प्रे । असन्धिः सौत्रः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । देवा इह । देवायिह ।
अशि क्रिप् । देवा सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्वस्यासिद्धत्वादिसर्गो लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन
रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमल्विधि । रोरिति सदुदायरूपाश्रयणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता
निपाताः । तेषां रोर्थत्वे कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the रु called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sūtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास्+इह=देवार्+इह=देवाय्+इह=देवा इह or देवा यिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII 3. 19 S 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyāhāra' ? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sūtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to ङ but to *visarga* ; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sihānvat* to रु, will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sihānvat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sūtra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स् The स् will be changed to रु and the रु to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sūtra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्त्यार्थकारयकारयर्लघुच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोत्रशि परे । यस्याच्चारणे जिह्वाघोषामध्यमूलानां
क्षैयित्व जायते स लघुच्चारण ॥

168 व् and य् (in भंगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śākaṭāyana

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter व् and य् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व and य् in भोय्, भंगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter व् will replace the heavy व्, and so the lighter य् the heavy य् ॥

Thus भोयन्, भंगोयन्, अघोयन्, कयोस्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावाहित्र्य or आसा आहित्र्यः, द्वावन् or द्वावानय, or द्वाभानय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-prayatna-tara In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य निलौ लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यमङ्गणं पूजार्थम् । ओ
अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । तोयम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gārgya.

There can be no य् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sūtra. Thus ओ अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sūtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (nitya) rule and not a vibhāsha rule. The name of Gārgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujārtha), The elision of laghu-prayatna य् which VIII. 3 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य् does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe तोयम्.

१७० । उञि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अपर्वपूर्वयोः पदान्त्योर्थवयोर्लोप उञि पदे । स उ एकाग्रिः । पदे किम् । तन्मच्युतम् । त्रैमः
संस्कारणे रूपम् । अदि तु प्रतिपक्षोक्तिं निषाद्य उञिति महीष्येते तदर्थं चतुर्थं पदमङ्गणम् ॥

170. व् and य् (preceded by अ, or आ at the end of a pada), and followed by इ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* इ is a full pada or word That Particle is meant here by the word इञ् and not the इञ् which is a root obtained by the samprasârana of वेञ् ॥ Thus स इ एकाग्रिः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे “इ when it is a pada”? So that the rule may not apply to इञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasârana, as तन्त्रे इत = तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ *Quere* — इञ्, could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasârana of वञ्, is इ, the ञ् is merely indicatory Moreover the maxim of lakshana- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this इञ् resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle इञ् ॥

The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsequent sūtras like VIII. 3 32. This is also a *niitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough

Note —The maxim above referred to “लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव महणम्” means :

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भोभगोभघोअपूर्वस्य लघ्वलघूच्चारणस्य वकारस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवाः । भो लहिम । भो विद्द्वुन्द । भगो नमस्ते । भघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The य whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by भो, भगो, भघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Âchâryas.

Thus भोदेव ; भोलहिम, भोविद्द्वुन्द, भगोनमस्ते, भघोयाहि, देवा नम्याः, देवायान्ति ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant ? Observe देवायिह or देवाइह ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अहो रेफदेशः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवादः । अहरह् । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्रा-हन्निति हत्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरं हत्व वाच्यम् ° ॥ अहोरूपम् । गतमहो रात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृत-
स्यानन्यत्वादहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम् ॥ अहरादानां पत्यादिषु वा रेफ * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहर्पतिः । गीर्पति ।
धूर्पति । पक्षे विसर्गोपध्मानीयौ ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars ह्. Thus अहरह् । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here ह्-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S 443. The difference between this ह्-called र् and the ordinary र् is illustrated in the above set of examples. The ह्-called र् is changed to उ by VI. 1 113, S. 163. the ordinary र् is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to ह्. As अहोरूपम्, गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहरात्र, though the word रात्रि is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् which means:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by ह् or र् before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहर्पति or अहःपतिः, गीर्पतिः, गाः पानि or गीर्पति, धूर्पतिः, धू पतिः or धूःपतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final ह् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this ह्

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note—The sūtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume र् is the Genitive of ह्, and रो would be the Genitive of ह् ॥ The sūtra is not confined to ह् only, but to every ह् in general including ह् ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, वृरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ह्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

हरैकौ लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्गेऽर्थाद् ढकाररेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घ स्यात् पुना । रमते । हरी रम्यः । शशुराजत । अणः किम् । तृढः । वृढः । तृहू हिंसायम् । वृहू उद्यमने । पूर्वमहणमनुत्तरपदेऽपि पूर्वमात्रस्य दीर्घार्थम् । लीढः । अजर्घाः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र ह्रस्वे कृते ह्रस्वि चेत्युत्वे ऐरिति लोपे च प्राप्ते ।

174. When **इ** or **उ** is elided, for the preceding **अ**, **इ** and **उ**, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर् + रमते = पुनारमते ; हरिर् + रम्यः = हरी रम्य ; शत्रुर् + राजते = शत्रुराजते । Why do we say अण Observe वृद्ध वृद्ध from the roots वृह् 'to injure' and 'वृह्' 'to exert.' Here the **क्** is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyāhāra.

The word वृद्धः is thus formed, वृह् + क्त (त) = वृढ + त (होढः VIII. 2 31. S. 324) = वृद्ध + ध् (क्षपस्तथोद्धोऽध VIII. 2 40 S. 2280) = वृद्ध + इ (हुनाहुः VIII. 4 41) = वृ + ० + ढ (ढो ढे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S. 2335). Here इ is elided, but as the preceding vowel **क्** is not included in अण् pratyāhāra, which includes only **अ**, **इ** and **उ** (the ण् being the first ण्), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it, in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्घाः, लीड् ॥

The word अजर्घा is thus formed. To the root गृध् "to covet" we add the intensive affix यङ्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्घरर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घा ॥

Note.—The word अजर्घाः is thus formed —

- गृध् + यङ् + सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
- गृध् + ० + सि (यङोऽसि च II 4. 74 S. 2650) =
- गृध् गृध् + सि (सन् यङो VI 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
- गर्ध् गृध् + सि = (गुणो यङ् लुको VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
- ग गृध् + सि (ह्लादि षेष् VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
- गरगृध् + सि (ह्गात्किञ्चिद्भाक् VII 4. 91. S. 2652) =
- जर्गृध् + सि (भ्रयासे चर् च VIII 4. 54. S. 2182) =
- जर्गर्ध् + सि (पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च VII. 3 86 S. 2189) =
- जर्गर्ध् + स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
- जर्गर्ध् + ० (हल्ङ्याप्भ्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
- जर्घर्ध् (एकाचोवशाभश्च VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
- जर्घर्ध् (झलां जघोऽन्ते VIII. 2 39 S. 84) =
- जर्घर्ध् (दश्च VIII. 2. 75 S. 2468) =
- जर्घ + ० + र् (रो रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जर्घा + र् (the present Sūtra) which with the augment अद् (लुङ् लङ् लृङ् लु VI. 4. 71 S. 2206). becomes अजर्घाः ॥

The word लीडः is formed from लिङ् + त. The इ is changed to इ by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to ढ by VIII. 4 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिङ्+ङ् The first ङ् being elided by VIII 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीङ् by the present sūtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+रथ = मनस्+रथ. Here two sūtras simultaneously apply viz. ह्रस्वि VI. 1. 14. S. 166 causing the substitution of ङ् for र् and the sūtra चारे VIII 3. 14 S. 173. causing the elision of र् What sūtra are we to apply ? Here comes the following Interpretation sūtra.

१७५ । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १ । ४ ॥ २ ॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्ते । पूर्ववासिद्धमिति चेरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्पन्नम् । मनोरथः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनस् before रथ But here we must remember the rule of पूर्ववासिद्धम् (VIII 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII, 3. 14. S. 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of ङ् required by VI. 1, 114 S. 166. Therefore we have ङ्. Thus we have मनङ्+रथ=मनोरथः ॥

१७६ । एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६ । १ । १३२ ॥

अककारयोरेतेतदोर्थं सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्वलि न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स वाञ्छुः । अको किम् ? एषको रुद्रः । अनञ्समासे किम् । असः शिवः । हलि किम् । एषोऽञ् ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix स् (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एष. + विष्णुः = एष विष्णुः ॥ स वाञ्छुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषको रुद्रः ॥

NOTE —The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle" ? Observe असःशिवः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant' ? Observe एषोऽञ् ॥

१७७ । सो ऽचि लां पे चेत्यादपूरणम् । ६ । १ । १३४ ॥

स इत्यस्य सोर्लोपः स्यादचि पादश्लोके सत्येव पूर्येत । सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे । इह ऋक्पाद एव गृह्यत इति वामन । भावशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैष साक्षरथी राम । लोपे चेदिति किम् । स इत् क्षेति । स एवमुक्त्वा । सत्येवेत्यवधारण तु स्यच्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वशब्दाद्बहुलमङ्गणादुक्त्या लभ्यत । तेनेह न । सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् ॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेनामविद्धि प्रभृति य ईशिषे (Rig II 24 1) = सः इनाम् अविद्धि (प्राप्नुहि, अवते प्राप्स्यथस्य लोटि रूप) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भृतां स्तुति) य (हे बृहस्पते यस्त्व) ईशिषे (सर्वेभ्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vāmana the author of Kāśikā, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sūtra we have used the word सत्येव "only then" in order to limit its scope, and this we get by the force of the word बहुल in the sūtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtādhyāyī. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरुच्यसे (Rig VIII. 43 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say 'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इत् क्षेति; स एवमुक्त्वा ॥ The word अचि in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened, and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kāśikā the Pāda must refer to a Pāda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only Thus we have .—सैष साक्षरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैषकर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातु प्रत्यय प्रत्ययान्त च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूप प्रातिपदिकसत्त्वं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*prataya*) or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The *prātipadika* is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated are called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वत् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called *prātipadika*.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासग्रहणे नियमार्थम् ।
यत्र संघाते पूर्वो भोगः पदं तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prātipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word *prātipadika*. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, Primary Suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. i. 93 S. 374) the latter *Taddhita* (IV. i 76 S 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janīna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन *īna*. The name *prātipadika* would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janīna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Muller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karma-dhāraya, Dvaṇḍva, Bahuvrīhi, Avyayibhāva and Dvigu.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Kṛit and *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called *prātipadika*. The word *Samāsa* is used in the sūtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prātipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else, therefore the term *Prātipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms, or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । ऊष्वाप्रातिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

ऊष्वाप्रातिपदिकात् ऊष्वापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमित्येव सिद्धे ऊष्वाग्रहणे ऊष्वावन्तात्तद्वितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् ऊष्वाभ्यां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङि or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with छु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कर् (V 4 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीत् । The term आप् is the common name

for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप् । These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i.e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix. The word ड्याप् प्रातिपदिकान् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhāṣa · Why have we employed 'the word 'ñy-āp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prātipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhāṣā :—"A prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender"?

Ans · The words डी and आप् are specifically used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note —The Kāśikā gives the following answer to the above question

Not so. The paribhāṣā you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sūtra itself. In other words, "this paribhāṣā is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prātipadikas generally (as the word 'prātipadika' does in this sūtra) or denotes a particular prātipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, बलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvā, also includes the feminine but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, डी, आप् have been employed in the Sūtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (आप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माला' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला' ॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्': as 'कालितरा,' 'हरणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा' ॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ñy-āp' in the Sūtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kālitarā,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा ॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ñy-āp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule or vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली, and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have कालतर, but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty, and according to the general maxim, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ny-āp, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says —The inclusion of डी and भाप् in this sūtra is useless, for the following reason —all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as Prātīpadikas, on the strength of the maxim Prātīpadika grahane linga-vishishtasya &c. For example, भ्रातृ “mother-in-law,” derived from the masculine ब्रह्मन् with the affix ऊङ् (see Vāitika under IV. 1. 68 S. 523 भ्रातृस्यकारा कारलोपश्च) Here the word भ्रातृ must be a prātīpadika, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a डी nor an भाप् ending word. But we see that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as डी, भाप्, ऊ etc) are Prātīpadikas; hence there is no necessity of using the words डी and भाप् in the sūtra

Ans So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of डी भाप् as superfluous. But this sūtra not only ordains case-affixes, but Taddhita affixes as well for the sūtra means “Let *all* the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or Taddhita &c come after bases ending in डी—भाप् and after Prātīpadikas” So that the Taddhita affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we infer because the words डी and भाप् are used in the sūtra Thus we get भार्यका or भार्यिका ॥ If the Taddhita affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form भार्यिका ॥ For the swārthika कन् added by V. 4 29. S 2097. to भार्य being most antarang would come first and then the feminine भाप्. Thus भार्य + क + भा = भार्यका ॥ Consequently the अ of र्भ could not be changed to इ by उदीचामात VII 3 46 S 465.

For the अ here is not that अ which has replaced a long आ ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus —

भार्या + क + भाप् = भार्यका, here the long आ of भार्या is shortened by कणः VII 4. 13 S 834.

And so we can apply the rule उदीचां and get भार्यिका

१८३ स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ ४ १ १ २ ॥

अयन्ताशब्दन्तात्प्रतिपदिकाश्च परे स्वाद्वयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः । छुङ्स्वोरुकारेकारौ जशटङ्पाश्चत ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions डे or आप्, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed):—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭā (a)	bhyām	bhis
4th	ṇe (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	ṇasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	ṇas (as)	os	ām
7th.	ṇi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ड in सु and डसि are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The letters ज, घ, ङ, ञ and प are इत् or servile letters.

१८४। विभक्तिश्च । १।४।१०४॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसङ्गौ स्तः । तत्र सु भौ जस् इत्यादिनां त्रिकाणां प्रथमादयः सप्तम्यन्ता प्राचां संज्ञास्ताभिर्हिापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i. e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५। सुपः । १।४।१०३॥

सुपस्त्रीणि त्रीणि वचनान्येकस्य एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

185. Of सुप् the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६। द्वौकयो द्विवचनैकवचने । १।४।२२॥

द्वित्वैकत्वयोरेते स्तः ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७। बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १।४।२१॥

बहुष्वे एतस्यात् । द्वविसर्गौ । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom Sing the affix झ is added.

Thus राम + झ = राम + झ = राम + २ = रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies

१८८ । सरूपाणामेकरोष एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नादिशि ॥ वृद्धिरेशि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśeṣha (or retention of one) When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम + राम = रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI. 1. 102 S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S. 72, we get the *vridhhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम + जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sūtra.

१८९ । चुट्ट । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रत्ययावौ चुट्टे इतौ स्तः । इति अस्यस्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the ज् of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really अस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sūtra हलन्त्यम् I. 3. 3. S. 1. ? No, because of the following exceptions.—

१९० । न विभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिस्त्यस्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न ह्युः । इति सकारस्य नेस्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम + अस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ + अ to be changed to अ by पररूपनेकादेशः :

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्युणे परतः पररूपमेकादेशः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परस्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवासा अनन्तरान्विधीन्वाधन्ते, नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाक सवर्ण इत्यस्यैवायमपवादो ननु प्रथमयोरित्यस्यापि । रामा ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekādeśa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel, while the present sūtra अतो गुणे debars the immediately succeeding sūtra अक्र-सवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101 S 85 by the maxim —

Paribhāṣā — *Apavādas* that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavāda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. I. 101 S 85 is superseded by the present sūtra and not the subsequent rule VI. I. 102 S 164. Thus राम+अस्=रामाः. The Vocative case is like the nominative, the only difference is in the singular. The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following —

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचन संबुद्धिसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

192 In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+सु ॥ Here the following sūtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्हस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङन्ताद्भस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गाद्भल्लुप्यते संबुद्धेश्च । संबुद्ध्याक्षिप्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्हस्वाभ्यां विशेषणान्नेह । हे कतरङ्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामो । हे रामा । एङ्ग्रहणे किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परस्वान्नित्यस्याच्च संबुद्धियुगे कृत इत्वात्परत्व नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरङ्कुल !

In हे कतरन् ' there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु, for the affix there is अद् (VII 1 25) This affix being ङित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4 143), and we have कत् + अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided See also VII 1 25. The word एङ् is used in the sūtra in order to indicate that the guṇa substitution required by इत्स्वस्य गुण VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे हरि + सु, the affix is not elided, first, and then guṇa substituted for इ, but first there is guṇa substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII 3 108, and because Guṇa is a nitya rule Therefore when हरि is gunated to हरे, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of सु would not have taken place had the word एङ् been not used in the sūtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus: राम + अम् Here applies the following Sūtra.

१६४ । अमि पूर्वः । इ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽय्यचि परत पूर्व रूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus राम + अम् = रामम् So also accusative dual राम + औ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus —राम + षस् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra.

१६५ । लशक्तद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशक्तवर्गा इतः स्युः । इति षसः शस्येत्सज्ञा ॥

195. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicative.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ण्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicative, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore ण् being इत्, the affix is अम् Thus राम + अम्. At this stage applies the following sūtra —

१६६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घात्परो य षसः सकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196 After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, ऋ is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus राम-+इत्=राम+अत्=रामात् ॥ Now, should not the final इ of रामात् be changed to ण् by the following sūtra ?

१९७ । अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्वयायेऽपि इति व्यस्तैर्यथासम्भवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि एषाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्था-
स्तमानपदे । परव्ययायेऽपीति निषेध बाधितुमाङ्महणम् । नुम्वयायेऽपि लक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् ।
अथोगवाहानामदसूपदेशस्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्ते ॥

197 The substitute ण् takes the place of इ, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, इ, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvāra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or व, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyāhāra. Its specification in the sūtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE —The pratyāhāra अट् stands for vowels and the letters ह्यवर and it includes the ayogavāha letters anusvāra and visarga. Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sūtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvāra. Thus करणम्, हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c

The कु means all the gutturals, e. g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e. g. हर्षेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चम्पणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आ e. g. पर्याणङ्गम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34)

निराणङ्गम् (of VIII 4 14)

So also when the anusvāra separates the letters e. g. वृहणम्, वृहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root वृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित् (VII 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvāra by VIII. 3 24 Q Well the intervention is here by Anusvāra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sūtra ?

The word नुम् in the sūtra refers to anusvāra, and must be taken co-extensive with it. Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like वृहण from वृह स्तृह हिसार्ये ॥ Here the anusvāra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvāra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvāra, the rule does not apply. As मेन्वनम्, मेन्वनीयम् from इविः प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel : e 2 letters come between र and न् ॥ See VIII 3 58 in the case of व् ॥

But the present sūtra is not applicable to रामात् because of the following sūtra.

१९८ । पदान्तस्य । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य णत्वं न स्यात् । रामान् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute.
Thus रामान् ॥

१९९ । यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १ । ४ । १३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूप तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञा स्यात् । भवानि भविष्यामीत्यादौ । विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् वज्रम् । प्रत्यय-विशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्याधिकस्य वा ना भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note —The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever, pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i.e. a rule enjoining an affix, tadādi, that which begins therewith, pratyaye = in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows, is called a base

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga ; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do, हर्ता he will lose. करिष्याति, हरिष्याति Here because* the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are guṇated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because उपयु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi'd in औपगवः &c

The word kṛi hri are anga with regard to the affix tā &c उपयु + कृ = औपगवः, कापटवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to aṅ. Similarly कृ + स्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्यावः. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short अ is lengthened by VII. 3 101, because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi i.e. karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaranas like sya &c., or इत् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + पुन + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI 4. 8) kunda + num + i = kunḍan + i = kundāni, bowls. Here the whole form kundan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word “vidhi” “enjoined” in the sūtra? Observe स्त्री इयती ॥

Here the word इयती “this much or as much” is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after strī by any rule, the word strī does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of strī is not elided by यस्येतिच् (VI. 4 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below.—

इदम् + वत् = इदम् + चत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो च VI. 2. 40 S. 1841,) the व is changed to च ॥ The affix चत् is added to idam with the force of “measure” by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (च changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयेनयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदम्किम् VI. 3 90 S. 1018)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4 148 यस्येतिच्) = इयत् + ङीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the base इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये “when the affix follows” in the sūtra? For would not the word सदाहि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No Because without the word प्रत्यये the sūtra would have run thus “after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga.” In this view, we could not get the form वज्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिट्) of the root ओज्रदच् ‘to cut.’

This is thus formed —

अदच् + णल् = अदच् + अदच् + अ (VI 1. 8, S 2177 लिट्धातोरेनभ्यासस्य)

= वृदच् + अदच् + अ (VI 1. 17 S. 2408 लिट्भ्यासस्योभयेषाम्)

= वरदच् + अदच् + अ (VII 4 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् रपरः)

= व + अदच् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिभ्योः) = वज्रदच् ॥

If the word “pratyaye” did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix ः (अदच् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + अदच् will assume the form of उज्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI 1. 17. For the ञ् in the place of ऋ will not be sthānivāt by अच्ः परिस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthānivāt there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of ऋ in वृ will not be sthānivāt, and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasāraṇa vowel. The अ of व not being a Samprasāraṇa, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to उ

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sūtra.

२०१ । टाडसिङ्सामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गादीनां क्रमादिनाद्य आदेशाः स्युः । जत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन् for the Instrumental ending आ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यञादौ सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घं स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the phrase अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170).

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भिस् ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाजिस् ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्पस्वरादेशः । रामेः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *Adesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्पित् सर्वस्व I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस् = रामेः "

२०४ । ऊर्ध्वः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अताऽङ्गात्परस्य ऊर्ध्वस्य यादेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन यादेशस्य सुप्त्वास्सुपि चेति दीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्येति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कष्टाय क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या भनित्यत्वज्ञानात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ण ॥

Thus राम+ए=राम+य=रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthānivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim सनिपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्त तद्विधातव्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pānini himself, by forming the dative of कट् as कटाय in Sūtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङे is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The ङे: should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम+भ्यस् Here applies the following Sūtra —

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने झुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । राम । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । झुपि किम् । पचध्वम् । जदत्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ण is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe राम ; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल् consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S. 300) Why a case-affix? Observe पचध्वम्, and not पचध्वम् ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular राम+ङ्सि=राम+आत् (by VII 1. 12. S. 201) Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां जशोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to त् by the following Sūtra.

२०६ । वावसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां चरो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य सस्य द्वित्वपक्षे खरि चेति चत्वेऽप्यान्तरतमयास्सस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नमेवात् । अत एव सः सीति तद्विश आरभ्यते ॥

206. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a ऋल that occurs in a Pause.

The words ऋलं चर् is understood in the sūtra A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause but not an aspirate consonant By VIII. 2 39, S 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus रामात् or रामाद्. The final त् and द् may be doubled by अनचि च (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as रामात् or रामाच् or रामाद् or रामाद्द् ॥ N. B.—This is not approved by Tatvabodhinī, as the meaning of the sūtra अनचि च is that after a vowel every consonant except ह may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows, for the word अनच् 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in अनचि in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudāsa pratishedha.

So also रामाभ्याम्, रामेभ्यः, रामस्य ॥ In रामस्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त्त by खरिचि VIII. 4 55 S 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त्त as regards effort, the स being अल्प प्राण Had त्त and स been the same, and had त्त been produced by 'खरिचि' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त्त in Sūtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७ । ओसि च । ७ । ३ । २०४ ॥

ओसि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + ओस् = रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural —राम + आम्. Here comes the next Sūtra.

२०८ । ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट् । ७ । १ । ५४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्ताग्रयन्ताशान्ताच्चाङ्गात्परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Plural ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadi (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As राम + न् + आम् ॥

At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य द्विर्धः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुपि चेति द्विर्धो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते ।
सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामि । रामयोः । सुपि एत्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment जुद्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sūtra सुपिच (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhāṣā* सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sūtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhāṣā*

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular,—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + स्त्र (VII. 3. 103. S. 205.) At this stage applies the following sūtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210, Upto the end of the third Pāda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of——, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sūtra, the following:—"when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a इ or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyāhāra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels इ is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation कु means the letters of the क class Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII 3 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

सहे साङः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्त पदमनुवर्तते । इणकवर्गाभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्र
वाच्यवच्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताघोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः । रामेषु । इण्कोः कि
रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपी । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तच्च । एव कृष्णस्य
न्दाद्यः ॥

212 ष् is substituted for that स् which is a subst
tute (of the ष् of a root in Dhātupāṭha by VI 1 64 S. 2264
or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above men
tioned conditions (VIII. 3. 57, 58 S 211, 424), of bein
preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII 3 55, as well as
from VIII. 3 56 Therefore, the स is replaced by ष both being *Vivṛita* a
Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण् vowel or वृ
Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix
Observe सुपीः, सुपिसौ, सुपिसः the स here is part of the Churādi root पिस "
go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we sa
'not final in a Pada'? Observe हरिस्तच्च ॥ Similarly should be declin
कृष्ण, सुकुन्ध and all other words ending in अ ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणाम्	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्थापीय संज्ञा । इन्द्रे चेति ज्ञापकान् । ते
परमसर्वज्ञेति बल । परमभवकानित्यत्राकञ् सिद्धिनि ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called
sarvanāma or pronouns.

The words ending in sarva &c. are also sarvanāma This we infe
from the Sūtra इन्द्र च I 1. 31 S 224 which prohibits the application of the
term Sarvanāma to Dvanda compounds (That is in all other compound
except Dvandva, the words ending in Sarva &c are sarvanāmas For
some other exceptions see I 1 29 and 30 S 222 and 223) Therefore, w

२१६ । ङसिङ्यो. स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङसिङ्योरेतौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्ताम्सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वपत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेष रामवत् एव विश्वाद्योऽप्यङ्गना ।

सर्वाद्यश्च पञ्चविंशत् । सर्व, विश्व, उभ, उभय, उत्तर, उत्तम, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, स्वतृ, त्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्यो-
गोपसव्यानयोः ।

त्यट्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अहम्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम्, इति ।

उभशब्दो द्वित्वविशिष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्य द्विवचनान्तः । तस्येह पाठस्तु उभकावि-
त्यकजर्थः । नच क्रमत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयत्रेत्याहाविबाधप्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥
उभयोऽन्यत्रेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचन नास्तीति कैयटः । अस्तीति हरदत्तः । तस्माज्जस्ययज्ञादेशस्य स्थानि-
वद्भावेन तयप्रत्ययान्ततया प्रथमचरमेति विकल्पे प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यैव सज्ञा
भवति । उभये ।

उत्तरउत्तमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि सज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहण नास्ति । सुप्तिङन्तमिति
ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह तदन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः सज्ञायाः प्रयोजनाभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावव्युत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विवचनविषये निर्धारणे वर्तते । तच्चान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे
पाठाभावात् सज्ञा ।

त्व त्व इति ह्यवप्यदन्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उवाचोऽपरोऽनुवाच इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्थः । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नेह गृह्यते । यथासख्यमनुवेश समानामिति
ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तर बहिर्योगेति गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217 After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning

The word आम् of the last sūtra is understood here Thus सर्वेषाम् (The अ is changed to ए by VII 3 103 S 205 and the स् is changed to ष्) सर्वस्मिन् The rest of the declension of सव is like राम

Note — But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sūtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII 3. 116 S. 270 ,

for that आम्, takes the augments याद्, आद् or स्याद् (VII 3 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुद् or नुद् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III 1 35 &c), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanāma; nor the आम् of V 4 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sūtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sūtra VII 1 53 For the purposes of the present sūtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनामः सुद्), because सर्वनाम being in the Ablative case, the augment सुद् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanāmas* ending in अ as विद्वा &c, are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanāmas* are thirty-five in number, namely—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विद्वा 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 उत्तम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 स्वत् 'other,' 11 स्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सन 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अवर 'west or posterior,' 18 क्षिणि 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior,' 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure, but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma 24 स्यद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 अदम् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number, as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3, 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal, as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क by sūtra V. 3 70. S. 2025 ?

Ans No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्व्यपहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) inserted in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being inserted in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अयच् by sūtra V. 2. 44. S. 1845 as it takes it before the affixes व्र and तस् in उभयतः, उभयव ॥ Therefore Katyāyana has said,

Vārtika —The word उभय is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, उभय has no dual number, but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix जस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयच् (V. 2 44 S 1845) being considered as स्थानिबत् to तयच् which it replaces, the word उभय is considered as ending in तयच् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanāma* by the sūtra I 1 3 3 S. 226. But the affix अयच् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes उभय always and not optionally a *sarvanāma*. Thus उभये but never उभया ॥

The words उत्तर and उत्तम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII 1 25 S 315 and V. 3 92 S. 2047 &c By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhāṣhā* —“An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself”

Q If so, then the words ending in सरच् and तमच् should also be called च (I. 1 22. S. 2003)

Ans This is not so, according to the *Paribhāṣhā* :—“An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix”

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्त ‘that which ends with ‘Sup or Tin’) in I 4. 14 S 29 indicates (the existence of) this *Paribhāṣhā*, for, if the *Paribhāṣhā* did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ alone would, in accordance with the preceding *Paribhāṣhā*, denote that which ends with ‘Sup’ or ‘Tin’”

Q But this is also a सज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans In spite of the above *Paribhāṣhā*, the affixes उत्तर, उत्तम denote here the words ending in those affixes. Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nāma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as *Sarva-nāma*

The words अन्यतर and अन्यतम are not derivative words formed by the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्यतर denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and अन्यतम denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sūtras V. 3 92 and 93 S 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force. The word अन्यतम, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanāmas* is not a *Sarvanāma*.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वन् and स्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udātta, and of the other anudātta. Some give स्वन् as a separate word ending in न् and say that both have anudātta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanāma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i.e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I 3 10 S 128 where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम् ॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तराया पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । १।१।३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात् । पूर्वे पूर्वाः ॥ स्वभिधयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था । व्यवस्थाया किम् । दक्षिणा गायकाः । कुशला इत्यर्थः । असंज्ञाया किम् । उत्तरा कुरवः ॥

218. The words pūrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanāmas, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanāmas. They are always sarvanāmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, i.e., when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthâ or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanāmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञां). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanāma, as, दक्षिणा गायका 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरव 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen)

When these seven words are sarvanāma, they are declined like sarva, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanāmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prāpta-vibhāshā

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । १।१।३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । स्वे । स्वाः । आत्मीया इत्यर्थः । आत्मान इति वा । ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः । ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा ।

219. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a *sarvanāma*, before the affix *जस्*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanāma*, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus *स्वे पुत्राः* or *स्वा पुत्रा* 'one's own sons,' *स्वे गावः* or *स्वा गावः* 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' *स्वाः* alone is the nom. pl. As, *स्वा ज्ञातव्यो* 'these kinsmen' *प्रभुताः स्वा* ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ ३६ ॥

बाह्ये 'परिधानीये चार्थेऽन्तरशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता सज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाटका । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word *antara* being always a *sarvanāma*, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix *जस्*.

The word *अन्तर* when it means *बहिर्योग*, *vis*, 'outer' is always *sarvanāma*, so also, when it means *उपसंव्यान* or 'a lower garment.' Thus *अन्तरे गृहाः* or *अन्तरा गृहा* 'outer houses, the residence of Chandala, and other low castes.' So *अन्तरे* or *अन्तराः* शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word *अन्तर* when used in the above sense is always *sarvanāma*, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a *sarvanāma*, e. g. *ग्रामयोर्न्तरे वसति* 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is *अन्तरे* ॥

२२१ । पूर्वदिभ्यो नचङ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ङसिङ्योः स्मास्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वान् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एव परादिनामपि ॥ शेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः सङ्ख्यायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. *स्मात्* and *स्मिन्* are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings. after *पूर्व* and the eight that follow it.

Thus *पूर्वस्मात्* or *पूर्वान्*, *पूर्वस्मिन्* or *पूर्वे*, *परस्मात्* or *परात्*, *परस्मिन्* or *परे*, *अवरस्मात्* or *अवरात्*, *अवरस्मिन्* or *अवरे*, *दक्षिणस्मात्* or *दक्षिणात्*, *दक्षिणस्मिन्* or *दक्षिणे*, *उत्तरस्मात्*, or *उत्तरात्*, *उत्तरस्मिन्*, or *उत्तरे*, *अपरस्मात्*, or *अपरात्*, *अपरस्मिन्*, or *अपरे*, *अधरस्मात्*, or *अधरात्*, *अधरस्मिन्*, or *अधरे*, *स्वस्मात्*, or *स्वात्*, *स्वस्मिन्* or *स्वे*, *अन्तरस्मात्* or *अन्तरात्*, *अन्तरस्मिन्* or *अन्तरे* ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular. But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एके, एकेषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २६ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिकीर्षिते सर्वनामसज्ञा न स्यात् । स्वक पिता यस्य स स्वकपितृक । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्कपितृक । इह समासात्प्रागेव प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा लोकोक्ति विग्रहवाक्य इव तत्राप्येकच् प्रवर्तते । स च समासेऽपि श्रूयते । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभवकानितिवत् । भाष्यकारस्तु स्वकपितृको मत्कपितृक इति रूपे इष्टापांति कृत्वैतत्सूत्रं प्रत्याचख्यौ । । यद्योत्तरं सुनीना प्रामाण्यम् । सज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वाद्यः । महासज्ञाकरणेन तदनुगुणानामेव गणे सनिवेशात् । अतः सज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्से सर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमति सर्वस्तस्यै अतिसर्वाय देहि । अतिकतर कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c, are not Sarvanāma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrīhi compound.

Thus स्वक पिता यस्य = स्वकपितृक . । Similarly, अहक पिता यस्य = मत्कपितृक । Here the affix अकच् is added by sūtra V. 3 71 S 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship. Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvanāma* is prohibited with regard to the words स्वकम् and अहक other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभवकान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word स्वन् and मन् not being treated as a *sarvanāma* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3 70 S 2025) and not the affix अक. Had they been treated as *sarvanāma* then अकच् would have been inserted before त् by V 3. 71 S 2026 giving the forms स्वकन् and महकन् and these forms would have been retained in the compound.

But Patanjali has given the forms स्वकतृपितृक - and मकतृपितृक: and has shown the futility of having made this Sūtra at all. According to his opinion, this Sūtra is unnecessary. Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vārtika. —The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanāma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanāma, instead of making a short technical name like दि &c. Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvanāmas when they have the meaning of "all &c" as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list.

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c" Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined. Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanāma* सज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्यं do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2 102. S. 265 and VII 2 106 S. 381 are rules of अन्तर गण कार्यं, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as सज्ञा and उपसर्जन. Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिक्रतर कुलम्. Here there is not the substitution of अद्ङ as required by sūtra VII 1. 25 S. 315 For क्रतर would have formed क्रतरन् but अतिक्रतर does not form अतिक्रतरन् but अतिक्रतरम् because here क्रतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर गण कार्यं rule VII 1 25 S. 315 does not apply. Similarly अतितत्. Here VII 2 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII 2 106 S. 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तत् is सः, the compound of तत् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितत्.

२२३ । तृतीयासमासे । १ । १ । ३० ॥

अत्र सर्वनामज्ञा न स्यात् । मासपूर्वाय । तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न । मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanāma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word māsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै, ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound, as मासेन पूर्वाय ॥

२२४ । द्वन्द्वे च । १ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता सज्ञा न । वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् । समुदायस्याय निषेधो न त्ववयवानाम् । नचैवं सवन्त-विभिनामुदप्रसङ्ग सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडिति व्याख्यातत्वात् ।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanāma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sūtra prohibits the designation Sarvanāma with regard to the *whole* compound, and not with regard to its *various members*. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanāma. Then there arises the following difficulty. Why should not सुद् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् ? We reply, that आम् gets सुद् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanāma. Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanāma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanāma.

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members. If so, why should not the augment सुद् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तस्त्विति? This is not so because in explaining that sūtra, we have used the word विहितस्य *i. e.* सुद् is added only to that अम् which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanāma and not to every आम् in general. Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have —वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापरणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

जसाधारं यत्कार्यं शीभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये इन्द्रे उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमे-
तराः । शीभाव प्रत्येव विभाषेत्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanāma, when the nominative plural termination *jas* follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by ज्ञा), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or ज्ञी ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V 3 71). There the sūtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः. Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयाल्पाख्यकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्ये प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमे । प्रथमा ॥ शेष रामवत् । तय प्रत्ययः ततस्तदन्ता
प्राज्ञाः । द्वितये । द्वितया । शेष रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेष सर्ववत् । विभाषाप्रकरणे तीयस्य द्विस्तु-
पसंख्यानम् ° ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयाथेत्यादि । एव तृतीयः । अर्थवद्महर्णाज्ज्ञह । पटुजातीयाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix taya (V. 2 42); alpa 'few', ardha 'half', katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanāma, before the nom. pl. termination.,

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरेमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्धे or अर्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितया ॥

The words 'optionally when the affix क्तु follows' are understood in this sūtra. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāṣā, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like राम, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of राम. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra, its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

Vart—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicative ड (ङिन्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

Paribhāṣā—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore पटुजातीयाय and not पटुजातीयस्मै. Here the affix is जातीय and not-तीय, and in the affix जातीय, the portion तीय has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of Sarvanamans.

सर्व

	Nom	Voc	Acc	Inst	Dati	Abla	Geni	Locative
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्व	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जर ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जर + सु = निजर ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जर + औ ॥ Here applies the following sūtra

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जरस् वा स्याज्जादौ विभक्तौ । पञ्चाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकास्त्वा-
स्सर्वादेशे प्राप्ते । निर्विद्वयमानस्यादेशाः भवन्ति । एकदेशाधिकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् जरशब्दस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ ।
निर्जरस । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परस्वाङ्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् ।
वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनादौ । कृतयोः सन्निपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसिन
निर्जरसादिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा भित्ति निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरशुक्तम् ॥
नद्विसुसारिभश्च षष्ठ्यकवचनं निर्जरस्येव रूपं स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhāṣā*,—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद् or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sūtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhāṣā,—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole But the rule is “जरा is replaced by जरस” There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhāṣā*.—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as निजरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ . The plural will be निर्जरस ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर Thus निर्जरसा ; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम् ॥

According to the *Vṛttikāra* the affixes इन and आत् will come by the rule of pūrva-vipratishedha, prob itution in anticipation, and as the सन्निपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरसिन and निर्जरसाद् and not निर्जरसा and निर्जरस The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरसैः। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरस्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhāṣyakāra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni	Locative.
Sing	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसां	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसोः	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरस	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरे	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing	निर्जर	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जराद्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निर्जरयो
Pl	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जराद्	निर्जरेः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जराणाम्	निर्जरेषु

२२८ । पद्मोमास्त्वृशसन्धुषन्दोषन्यकञ्चकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु । ६ ।

१ । ६३ ॥

पाद्, दन्त, नासिका, मांस, दूय, निशा, असृज्, यूप, दोष, यकृत्, शकृत्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदादय आदेशाः स्युः शसासौ वा । यत्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नादेश इति काशिकायादुक्तं तत्प्रमादिकम् । पादः । पादौ । पादाः । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादान् । पदाः । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228 In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted —पद् for पाद्, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मांस, हृद् for हृदयं, निश् for निशा, मसन् for असृज्, यूपन् for यूप, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत्, शकन् for शकृत्, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kāśikā gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः; पादम् पादौ, पदः or पादान्, पदाः or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुड प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसज्ञानि स्युरस्त्रीबन्ध ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra suṭ (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परत पूर्वे परसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with स (IV 1 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanâma-sthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada

२३१। यच्चि भम् । १। ४। १८ ॥

यकारादिष्वजादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परत पूर्व भसक्त स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२। आकडारादेका संज्ञा । १। ४। १९ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्व कडारा कर्मधारय इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन वासादावचि भसक्तैव न पदत्वम् । अतो जडत्व न । इत । इता । जडत्वम् । इद्भ्यामित्यादि । मासः । मासा । भ्यानि इत्वे यत्वे च यलोप । माभ्याम् । नाभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kadârâh Karmadhârāye (II.2. 38 S. 751) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I 4 2 S 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name As a short vowel is called 'light' by I 4 10, S 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I 4 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name i. e., 'heavy' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging

Thus in the root तक् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्तत् Similarly अररक्तत्. The rule VII. 4 98 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of pada. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of इन्त is इत The Instrumental singular is इता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जङ् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of Pada and we have the softening of the consonants, as दङ्भ्याम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. नासाँ. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of मास् will

be changed to ह which will be changed to ब which being elided, we have the forms माभ्याम्, माभिः ॥

२३३ । भस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyāya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अल्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजिदिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्थाभ्यां रेफकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । यूष्णः यूष्णा । पूर्वस्मादपि विधौ स्थानिवद्भाव इति पक्षे तु अङ्गवयव इत्येवात्र णत्वम् । * पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य शेषः संयोगादिलोपलक्षणत्वेऽपि निबध्नात् ॥

235. After र् and ष, the ण is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac Pl of यूषन् is formed by eliding the अ and changing the न् into ण, as यूष्णः, Ins Sg यूष्णा ॥

If we apply the rule of स्थानिवद्भाव by sūtra अत्र परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (I. 1. 57 S 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound pūrva-vidhau = purva-smād vidhau meaning "when a rule is to be applied on account of or after something which precedes the substitute" and consider the लोप to be स्थानिवद् to अ, in that case also the न् will be changed to ण by the rule VI. 4. 2 S 197 i e न् is changed to ण even when a vowel intervenes. But as a matter of fact, the लोपादेशः is not स्थानिवद् according to the following vārtika

Vārtika.—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, the rule of स्थानिवद् will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेन च लुप्तषष्ठीके पदे । प्रातिपदिकसप्तकं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दीर्घत्वमेवैवेत्येव च न । यूषभ्याम् । यूषभिः । यूषभ्य इत्यादि ॥

236. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230), is elided.

The words न and प्रातिपदिक in the text are to be taken in the genitive case, the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of न by this Sūtra being considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of the previous Sūtras, there is not the lengthening

of sūtra VII 3 102 S 202. or the ए substitution of VII. 3 103. S 205 or the ऐत substitution of VII. 1. 9. S 203 Therefore the forms are बृषभ्यास् and not बृषाभ्याम्; बृषभिः and not बृषैः, बृषभ्य and not बृषेभ्य ॥

२३७ । विभाषा डिङ्योः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यात् डिङ्योः । बृष्णि । बृषणि । पक्षे रामवन् । पक्षे नितिसूत्रे प्रभृतिग्रहण प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । औड त्वामपि दोषनादेशो भाष्ये ककुद्दोषणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पदङ्घ्रिश्चरणाऽस्त्रियाः स्वान्त हृन्मानस मन' इति च सगच्छते । आसन्त्यः । शेषशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन दक्षिण दीर्निशाचर इति सगच्छते । भुजबाहु प्रवेष्टो वारिति साहचर्यात्पुस्त्वमपि । दोष तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । इयोरहोर्भवो ब्रह्म ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the झ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending ङी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As बृष्णि or बृषणि In all other cases the word बृषण् is declined like राम The word डिङ्योः is a compound of न् and ङी and not ङी for the stem is not Bha there

The word प्रभृति in the sūtra VI. 1 63 S 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार ie the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only, the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanāmasthāna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by ङी, and it is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix there also that rule VI 1 63 applies, for we have in the Bhāṣya the example of ककुद्दोषणी Similarly also the following are valid "पदङ्घ्रिश्चरणाऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाङ् is changed before the Nom Sg सु, which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तहृन्मानसं मनः" here हृदय is changed to हृद् in the Nom Sg These are from Amara-Kośha. and आसन्त्य प्राणमूत्रे "They (the Devas) said to the Prāṇa in the mouth" (Bṛhadāraṇyaka I 3 7) Here आस्य is changed to आसन् before the affix य । आसन्त्य means that which is born in the mouth. The word दोष् (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhāṣya of Pātaṇjali Therefore the following usage is correct —समुपाङ्गनदुष्टम्य दक्षिण दीर्निशाचरम्", । दो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहु प्रवेष्टो ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word ब्रह्मः ।

२३८ । संख्याविंशत्यपूर्वस्याहस्याहनन्यतरस्यां डौ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

संख्यादिपूर्वस्याहस्याऽहनादेशो वा स्यात् डौ । ब्रह्मि । ब्रह्मनि । ब्रह्मे । विंशत्यमहर्ष्यहः । व्यह्नि । व्यह्नि । अह्म । साय । सायाह्म । सायाह्नि । सायाह्मे ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्म, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय- precedes it.

Thus द्वयोर्द्वौर्भवः = द्वह् , ॥ The Locative singular of this is द्वह्नि or द्वहनि, ॥ So also द्वह्ने, ॥ With वि—व्यह्नि व्यहनि, व्यह्ने with साय—सायाह्नि सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकदेशिसमास, and this very sūtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or वि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यमहनि, (II. 2. 1) But पूर्वाह्ने and अपराह्ने only

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51 S. 728, with the force of अन् IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samāsānta affix टच् by the rule V. 4. 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अह् by V. 4. 88 S. 790. While the लङित्वाय affix इम् which was ordained by IV. 3. 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV. 1. 88 S. 1080

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ

पाद

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन or पदा	पादाय or पदे ।	पादान् or पद	पादस्य or पद	पादे or पदे
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां or पङ्गुभ्याम्	पादाभ्यां or पङ्गुभ्याम् ।	पादाभ्याम् पङ्गुभ्याम्	पादयो or पदोः	पादयोः or पदोः
Plural	पादा	पादान् or पदः	पादैः पङ्क्तिः	पादिभ्यः or पङ्क्त्यः ।	पादिभ्य or पङ्क्त्यः	पादानां or पदाम्	पादिषु or पदसु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दन्ता	दन्ते	दन्त	दन्त	दन्ति
Dual	...	दन्तभ्याम्	दन्तभ्याम्	दन्तभ्याम्	दन्तो	दन्तोः
Plural	दन्त	दन्ति	दन्त	दन्त	दन्ताम्	दन्तसु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासाभ्याम्	मासौ	मासौ
Plural	मासः	मासिः	मास्यः	मास्य	मासाम्	मासु

यूष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

Singular	...	यूष्णा	यूष्णे	यूष्णः	यूष्णः	यूष्णि
Dual	...	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूष्णौ	यूष्णौ
Plural	यूष्णः	यूषानि	यूषभ्य	यूषभ्यः	यूष्णाम्	यूषसु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा

२३९ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इच्चि च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घे । विश्वपाः । अद्यपीह औङि नादिर्चात्येव सिद्धं जसि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौर्यौ गौर्ये इत्याद्यर्थं सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI 1 102, S. 164 does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels. Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः, Nom Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vrddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S. 164 is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI 1. 102 S. 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sūtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sūtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौर्ये, the Nom. Dual and Pl. of which will be गौर्यौ and गौर्ये respectively.

२४० । आतो धातोः । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एव षड्खन्धादयः । धातोः क्रिप् । हाहान् । दा सवर्णदीर्घे । हाहा । ङे वृद्धिः । हाहै । ङसिङ्सोर्दीर्घे । हाहा । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहौ । ङौ आहुणः । हाहे । षोष विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोर्प्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । तत्र भः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing विश्वपा, विश्वपाभ्यान् &c

Like विश्वपा should be declined, षड्खन्धा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहौ). Its Instr. Sing will be हाहा + दा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + ङे = हाहै by Vrddhi. Its Abl and Geni. Sing. will be हाहा + ङसि or ङस् = हाहा by lengthening. Its Gen and Loc: dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहौ:

by Vṛiddhi Its Loc Sing will be हाहा+ङि=हाहे by guṇa The rest are like विश्वपा

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगावभागादिष्ट सिद्धिः) i e "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sūtra may be divided into two Sūtras eg (1) आत, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided, (2) धातोः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed त्वा and इना the Genitive Singulars of Ktvā and śnā For Panini himself has declined त्वा and इना by the elision of आ, see VII 1 37. S 3332 (सनासेऽनञ्पूर्वोक्तौल्यम्) and III. 1. 83 S 2557. (हल इन आनञ्छौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपा	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वप	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	„ विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपे	विश्वपौ
Plural	विश्वपाः	„ विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपास्तु

हाहा

Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहे	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहे
Dual	हाहौ	„ हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहौ	हाहौ
Plural	हाहाः	„ हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहास्तु

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि The Nom sing will be हरि Nom Dual will be हरि+औ=हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102 S. 164 The Pl is हरि+अस् Here applies the following.

२४१। जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

इत्स्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परे । हरय ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem

Therefore the इ of हरि is *gunated* to ए. Thus हरि+अस्=हरे+अस्=हरयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हरि+सु Here the following rule applies.

२४२। ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्सबुद्धौ एद्दस्वाविति सबुद्धिलोप । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI.
1. 69 S. 193 Thus we get हे हरे

The Acc forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्

The Inst sing is हरी + दा. Here the following two rules apply

२४३। शेषो व्यसखि । १। ४। ७ ॥

अनङीसज्ञो ह्रस्वो याविदुनो तदन्त सखिवर्जं विसृज्य स्यात् । शेष किम् । मत्तै । एकसंज्ञाधिका
रास्तिद्धे शेषमहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । ह्रस्वो किम् । वातप्रत्यये । इदुनो किम् । मात्रे ॥

243 The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्तै, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadi*, for otherwise its declension will be मत्तै, formed by applying the rule VII 3 112 S 268 and VII 3 111 S 245 But मत्तै is of course a wrong form Though by the rule I 4 1 S 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called ghi, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sūtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a ghi word, still शेष is used in the sūtra for the sake of precision and clearness Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातप्रत्यये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ;? Observe मात्रे ॥

Note —This defines the word ghi The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on The word hrasva is understood in this sūtra. The word shesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory n, the ghi nouns gunāte their vowel VII. 3 111. As अग्नि + डे = अग्ने + ए = अग्नये "to the fire" So also वायु + डे = वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is —सख्या सख्ये सख्यु. and सख्यौ

२४४। आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७। ३। १२० ॥

घेः परस्याङो ना स्यादस्त्रियाम् । आङिति दासज्ञा प्राचाम् । हरिणा । अस्त्रियां किम् । मत्तया ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ् is the ancient name of the affix दा Thus हरि + दा = हरि + ना = हरिणा Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति + दा = मत्या.

Now we form the Dat. Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sûtra.

२४५ । घेङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

घिसङ्गकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात् । हरये । वेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । पङ्क्ति । घेङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the ह् and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये Why in the Singulars of the Dat Abl. Gen and Loc only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पङ्क्ति &c. ॥

The word पङ्क्ति is formed by adding ङीष् to पङ् (IV 1 44 S 502) ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङिन् and is added to पङ् which is घि ॥

Thus हरि+ङे=हरे+ए=हरये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि+ङसि=हरे+अस् (the ह् of हरि is *guṇated* by the present Sûtra). At this stage applies the following Sûtra.

२४६ । ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोरिति परे पूर्वकपनेकादेशा स्यात् । हरेः । हयोः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), +अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे+अस्=हरेः The genitive dual will be हयोः The pl हरीणाम् ॥

Now, we form the Loc Sing हरे+ङि=हरे+इ ॥ (The ह् is *guṇated* by the preceding sūtra). At this stage applies the following rule.

२४७ । अश्चघेः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य डेरौत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशाभाकारः । हरौ । हयोः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविकल्पा-
दयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि+इ=हर+औ=हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हयोः and हरिषु respectively

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रवि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl	Gan.	Loc.
Sing	हरि.	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरे	हरेः	हरौ
Dual	हरी	„ हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरीयोः	हरीयोः
Plural.	हरयः	„ हरव	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्यः	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

— ० —

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ६३ ॥

सख्युरङ्गस्याऽनङादेशः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सौ परे । ङित्यन्तादेशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a ङित् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. I. 53 S 43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्वं उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यात्पूर्वं पूर्वं वर्ण उपधासङ्गः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यात्संबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाल्प्रत्ययो यः सोऽपृक्तसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this स् being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule:

२५२ । हल्ङ्याब्ज्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्त हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

हलन्तात्पर दीर्घो यौ ङ्यापौ तदन्ताच्च पर सुतिसत्यितवृत्त हल् लुप्यते । हल्ङ्याब्ज्य किम् । घामणीः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्कोशाम्बि । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभिस्सीत् तिपा सहचरितस्व सिपो ग्रहणसिचो ग्रहण नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । विभर्ति । हल् किम् । विभेद । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नलोपो न स्यात् स्यागान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix स्, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix डी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sūtra translated literally means —After a word ending in a consonant, or डी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say “after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ”? Observe घामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say “after a long-vowelled feminine affix”? Observe निष्कोशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened. Why do we say “when followed by सु ति, and सि”? Observe अभिस्सीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only. Why do we say ‘when reduced to a single letter’? Observe विभर्ति. Why do we say ‘the consonant is elided’? Observe विभेदः ॥ Here the अपृक्ता affix अ of the Perfect is not elided though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sūtra.

Why do we say ‘first consonant’? Observe राजा

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII 2 23, being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, तक्षा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स् (VI 4 8 S. 250)=राजान्स and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2 23, the form would have become राजान् and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII 2. 7, for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned, therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since VIII 2. 23 (ordaining elision of स्,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom Sg सखा Voc Sg हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३। सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ। ७। १। ६२॥

सख्युरङ्गात्पर संबुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थान णित्कार्यकृत् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vridhhi according to the following rule —

२५४। अचो जिणति। ७। १। ११५॥

मिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धि स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायः। सखायम्। सखायो। विसंज्ञाऽभावान्न तत्कार्यम्। सख्या। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ण्, Vridhhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखै + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखाय, Acc Sing. सखायम् Acc. dual सखायौ ॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix हा; and as the word सखि is not a चि word (See I 4 7. S 243) it does not take न or गुण as required by VII. 3 120 S 244 or VII. 3. 1. S 245. Thus we have सखि + आ = सख्या

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies—

२५५। ख्यत्वात्परस्य। ६। १। ११२॥

खितिचङ्दाभ्यां खीतीचङ्दाभ्यां कृतयणदेशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङ्सोरित उत्स्यात्। सख्यु ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङ्सो and उत् are understood here also The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to ख, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि + अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्यु स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus सखेन वर्तते = सखः, सखामच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII 4. 3) Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अस् = सख्यु also. Of ती we have the following example लूनमिच्छति = लूतीय, add क्विप् = लुनी, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also कृत्यः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of न् of Nishthā is considered like न् (VIII 2 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and ख्य in the sūtra, instead of saying directly सखिपत्तिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c where we have अतिसख, सेनापते. ॥ The word अतिसखि is चि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim महत्त्वत्त प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika does (contrary to I 1 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखी. one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखाय + क्विप्) and सुती 'one who wishes a son' (सुसमिच्छति = सुवीय + क्विप्) Thus सुख्यः, सत्यु &c

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुभ्यां परस्य डेरौत्स्यात् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखाय । अनङ्गिण्ड्रावयोराङ्गात्वात्तन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । ससुखायस्य सखिरूपत्वाभावादसखीति निषेधाप्रवृत्तेर्धिसज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसख्ये । ङसिङ्सोर्युणे कृते कृत्यणदेशत्वाभावात् ख्यस्यादित्युत्वं न । सुसखे । सुसखौ इत्यादि । एवमतिशयितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यस्येति विभक्ते । परमसखा । परमसखायाविख्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्गित्वे प्रवर्तते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखि । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्न ढच् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्गित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वेन सखिचङ्गदस्य लक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखाय । Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93 S 248) and treating the case affixes as णिन् as required by VII 1. 92. S 253. are operations which relate to the अङ् or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I. 4 7 S 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि. Therefore the word सुसखि is चि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसख्ये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gunated* by VII 3 III S 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अस् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि । The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sūtras; in the case of चि words औ preceded by अ substitution of चि letters will be taught in the next sūtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sūtra applies to words other than nadī and ghi

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखे, सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrīhi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि. We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा. How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णिन् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal. That rule is thus enunciated प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥ ८. 'A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhāṣa to rule V. 4 91 S 788 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि. This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhāṣā is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि, and therefore अनङ् and णिन् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given. Therefore, the following Paribhāṣā applies to this word.—लक्षणप्रातिपदिकयोः &c ॥ ८ "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

पतिर्द्धिः समास एव चिह्नः स्यात् । पत्यां । पत्ये । पत्युः । पत्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । समासे तु भूपतिना । भूपतये । कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sūtra I. 4. 7. S. 243 ; the present sūtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये, पत्यु and भूपते, पत्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four ङिन् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called संख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते संख्यासङ्गाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyā).

The word कति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Sankhyā.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

उत्पन्ना संख्या षट्सङ्गा स्यात् ॥

259. And the sankhyās ending with the affix ḍati are called ṣaṭ.

Because the word कति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sūtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुपः । १ । १ । ६१ ॥

लुक्श्लुपशब्दैः कृत प्रत्ययादर्शनं क्रमात्प्रत्ययसङ्गः स्यात् ॥

260 The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *ślu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *ślu* or *lup*.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sūtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जदशसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S 369).

Therefore कति + जश् or कति + शश् = कति + O or कति + O Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sūtra

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रित कार्यं स्यात् । इति ऋसि चेति शुभे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जश् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guṇa* of the ई of कति, by VII 3 109 S. 241. Therefore the ई of कति requires to be *guṇa*ted; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sūtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् षलु लुप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमन्ता शब्देन लुप्ते सन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम् । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्पदसंज्ञकास्त्रिषु सरूपाः । विशब्देन नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । त्रयः । द्वौ । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (*anga*), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, षलु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुक् &c. , and by the word लोप ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base , such as *guna* &c

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc Pl), कतिभि (Instr, Pl), कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl), कतिभ्यः (Abl Pl), कतीनाम् (Gen Pl) कतिषु (Loc Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I), युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called षद् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word वि is always used in the Plural Thus वयः, (Nom Pl), वीन् (Acc. Pl), विभि (Instr Pl.) विभ्य (Dat. Pl) विभ्यः (Abl Pl) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sūtra.

२६४। त्रेह्ययः। ७। १। ५३ ॥

विशब्दस्य त्रयादेशः स्यादामि ॥ त्रयाणाम्। परमत्रयाणाम्। गौणत्वे तु नोत कोच्चेत्। प्रियत्रीणाम्। वस्तुतस्तु प्रियत्रयाणाम्। त्रिषु। द्विशब्दो नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264 त्रय is substituted for वि before the Genitive Plural affix आम् ॥

As त्रयाणाम् (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda , as त्रीणामपि सप्तद्वयाणाम् ॥) When the word वि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above , as परमत्रयाणाम्. But some say that in those compounds where वि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place According to them the form would be प्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is प्रियत्रयाणाम् here also

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५। त्यदादीनामः। ७। २। १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्विभक्तौ। द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टि। द्वौ २ द्वाभ्याम् ३। द्वयोः २। द्विपर्यन्तानां किम्। भवान्। भवन्तौ। भवन्त ॥ सज्ञायामुपसर्जनत्वे च नात्वम्। सर्वाद्यन्तर्गणकार्यत्वात्। द्विर्नाम कश्चित्। द्वि। द्वौ। द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः। हरिवत्। प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि। औदुलामि। औदुलोमी। बहुवचने द्व उदुलोमा। लोमोऽप्येषु बहुव्यकारो वक्तव्यः। बाह्वासीमोऽपवादः। औदुलामिम्। औदुलोमी उदुलोमान्।

265. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्यदादि words त्यदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz — तद्, तद्, यद् एतद्, इत्, अत्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् but the *ishiz* given below excludes the last four words from the list of स्वरादि

Ishiz —The स्वरादि sub-division begins with the word तद् and ends with the word द्वि (inclusive).

The word द्वि belongs to the class of स्वरादि and therefore its final इ is changed to अ before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of द्व।

Thus द्वौ (Nom Dual), द्वौ (Acc Dual); बाभ्याम् (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) द्वयो (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the स्वरादि words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of भवतु which is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः (Nom. Sing., Dual and Plural).

When स्वरादि words are used as सज्ञा (appellative), or, उपसर्जन (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by अ. Suppose the word द्वि is the name of a person, then it will be declined as द्विः (Nom, Sing.) द्वौ (Nom Dual), द्वयः (Nom Pl)

Similarly, when the word द्वि is an उपसर्जन as अतिद्वि (he who excels द्वि), it will be declined as अतिद्वि (Nom Sing), that is like हरि

But when द्वि is the principal member of a compound, the अ substitution will take place, thus परमद्वौ &c.

The word औडुलोमि is thus declined —औडुलोमि (Nom Sing) औडुलोमी (Nom. Dual), but the Nom Pl will be उडुलोमा by the following Vartika.

Vartika —After the word लोमन् the affix अ comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This Vartika debar the इत् affix of IV. 1. 96. S 1096.

The Accusatives will be औडुलोमिम् (Sing), औडुलोमी (Dual); उडुलोमा (Plural)

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short इ

— 0. —

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीरित्युणादिसूत्रेण माङ ईप्रत्ययः स च कित् । वात प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । शीर्षाज्जासि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ आम पूर्वः ॥ वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यौ । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्ये । वायप्रम्य २ । वातप्रम्यो २ । वातप्रम्यम् । शीर्षत्वात्तु नुद् । डौ तु सवर्णशीर्षः । वातप्रमी । वावप्रमीषु । एव यथीपप्याद्य । यान्यनेनेति यथीमार्गः । पाति लोकमिति पपी सूर्य । आपोः किद् चोति ईप्रत्ययः । क्तिवन्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि डौ च विदेशः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रम्यि । एरनेकाच इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रथिवित् । बह्व्य भ्रयस्योयस्य स बहुभ्रयसी । शीर्षज्यन्तत्वाज्जलज्यार्चित सुलाप ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word वातप्रमी. This word is

formed by the Unādi affix long ई (See Unādi Sūtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV 1.) added to the root मा to measure, The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope. The affix ई of वातप्रमी is कित् (Unādi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long आ being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S 2372

The Nom Sing. is वातप्रमी : ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI 1 102 S 164 required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ. But this is prevented by the rule VI 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ. Similarly Nom. Pl वातप्रम्यः. The Voc. Sing हे वातप्रमी. The Acc Sing is thus formed —वातप्रमी + अम्. The single substitution required by VI 1 102 S. 164 is set aside by VI 1 105 S 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavāda rule VI 1 107. (आदि पूर्व) S 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc Dual and Pl are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst : Sing is वातप्रम्या. The Ins' Dual and Pl are वातप्रमोभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभिः. The Dat forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः. The Abl Sing is वातप्रम्य. The Genitive Sing and Dual are वातप्रम्य and वातप्रम्यो. The Genitive Pl is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नुट is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl : is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words वधी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road,") and पपी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Unādi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्तिप् and not कित् ई then in the Acc. Sing and Pl, and Loc Sing the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्तिप् in this way. वातप्रमी मित्र आचरति इति वातप्रमी. Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of āchāra, formed by the affix क्तिप् (III. 1 10 and II S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्तिप् is added again in the sense of agent (III 2. 76 S 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + अम् = वातप्रम् + य + अम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S 272 and the word is declined like प्रधी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुश्रेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word श्रेयस् is formed by the affix ईयसुन् added to श्र the substitute of प्रशस्व (V. 3. 60 S 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1 6 S 455 to form the feminine श्रेयसी.

The Nom Sing of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are बहुश्रेयस्यौ, बहुश्रेयस्य' .

The formation of Voc Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

Note —The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahuvrīhi compound. There is पुवङ्गात् by the rule VI. 3. 34 S. 831 The Samāsanta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4. 156 S. 894 The long ई required to be shortened by I. 2. 48 S. 656 is prohibited by the Vārtika under V. 4. 156, S. 894.

२६६ । यू स्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदृशन्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च । पूर्वं स्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्ववक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū, being names of females which are always feminine are called Nadi.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ The word sryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇī has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī 'a virgin' यवगू yavagūh 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the Dative of इहिवृ will be इहिवे .

Why do we say 'which are feminine' ? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: 'leader of a village', सेनानी: 'leader of an army', खलू: 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खल्वे

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खल्वे स्त्रियै

Vartika —The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadi the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadi, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana)

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadi is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

२६७ । अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १६७ ॥

अम्बार्थानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् सवुद्धौ । हे बहुभ्येयसि । शसि बहुभ्येयसीन् ।

267 A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुभ्येयसि

The Acc. Sing. and Dual are बहुभ्येयसीन्, बहुभ्येयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl. is बहुभ्येयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण् नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां ङितानाङामन स्यात् ।

268. The augment आद् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आद् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vriddhi Vowel by the following rule

२६९ । आटश्च । ६ । १ । ६० ॥

आटोऽचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । बहुभ्येयस्यै । बहुभ्येयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परस्यानुद् । बहुभ्येयसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the augment आद् is followed by any vowel.

The आद् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadi*-words (VII. 3 112) बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + डे = बहुभ्येयस्यै (Dative Singular) (The आद् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट्), similarly, बहुभ्येयस्याः

The augment नुद् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुभ्येयसीनाम्

For the formation of the Loc. Sing. the following rule applies.

Note—The anuvritta of एचि ceases that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आद्, and the आद् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two is the आद् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vriddhi is the single substitute. The augment आद् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI 4 72 &c) Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् और्ध्वीत्, और्ज्जीत् from roots ईक्षर्षणे (Bhu 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud 32) and उ बज्ज आर्जवे (Tud 20)

Note—The च् 'and' in the sūtra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI 1 95, 96 when उस्, औ and आइ follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आद् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

२७० । डेराम् नद्यास्त्रीभ्य । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यन्तादाबन्तास्त्रीशब्दाश्च डेराम् स्यात् । इह परत्वादाटा नुद् बाध्यते । बहुभ्येयस्याम् । शेषनीप्रत्ययान्तवातप्रमीवत् । अङ्यन्तस्वान्न सुलोप । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेष बहुभ्येयसीवत् । कुमारीमिच्छत् कुमारीवाचरन्वा बाह्मणः कुमारी । क्यजन्तादाचार्यक्यबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । हल्ङ्याविति सुलोपः ।

270 For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadi, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुद् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural, because नुद् of the Sūtra VII 154, S 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आद् of the VII 3 112, S 268.

Thus बहुभ्येयसी + ङि = बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + ङि (VII, 3 112 S 268) = बहुभ्येयसी + आद् + आम् = बहुभ्येयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुभ्येयसी are like those of वातप्रमी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows —

Nom Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'हल्ङ्याप्' (VI. 1. 68. S 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुभ्येयसी ॥

Note —The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sūtras III. 160 लक्षेर्नुद्च, as लष् + सुद् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III 2. 76 S 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यप् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664) with the affix क्विप् of III 2 76

Note—As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्याम्, धीरबन्ध्याम्, खट्वाद्याम्, बहुराज्याम्, कारीषगन्ध्याद्याम्, नी-घामन्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word घामणी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2 61, the न् is changed to ण by अण घामाभ्याम्, and the यण substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१ । अचि श्रुधातुभ्रुवां खोरियङ्बडौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

इतुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधाताभ्रइत्यस्य चाङ्गस्येयङ्बडौ स्तोऽजासौ प्रत्यये परे । डिधेयन्ता-
देशः । भान्तगतम्याहारियङ् ओरुवङ् इत्यायङि प्राप्तः ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भ्रू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory ङ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारि + औ = कुमार + इय + औ . But this is prevented by the next Sûtra

Note—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राप्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतु लुलुवतुः, लुलुबुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुव and भुवौ and भुवः ॥

२७२ । एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण स्यादजासौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अमि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्ये । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्-
र्याः । २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमारीणम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्य । उन्नयतीत्युन्नीः । धातुना सयो-
गस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उन्नी । उन्न्यम् । उन्न्याम् । एव आमणोः ।
अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । नियौ । नियः । अमि शसि च परस्वादियङ् । नियम् । निय । उन्न्याम् । नियाम् ।
असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुश्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गतिकारकनरपूर्वपदस्य यण नश्यते । शुद्धयिष्यौ । परमयिष्यो
कथं तर्हि दुर्धिया वृश्चिकभियेत्यादि । उच्यते । दु स्थिता र्थायैषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीशब्द प्रति गतित्व-
मेव नास्ति । यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस्त प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसज्ञा । वृश्चिकशब्दस्य बुद्धिकृतमपादानत्वं नेह विव-
क्षितम् । वृश्चिकसंबन्धिनी श्रीवृश्चिकभीरिस्तुत्तरपदलोपो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण âdesa, therefore कुमारि + औ = कुमार्यौ, कुमारि + जस् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc Sing is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc Sing, Dual and Pl are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing is कुमार्यै The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc Sing. is कुमारीणम् ॥

The word-प्रधी is thus declined —प्रधीः, प्रध्यौ, प्रध्यः, प्रध्यम्, प्रध्य. &c This word is derived from the root घ्या with the prefix प्र The य is changed to इ by Unâdi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्तिप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthened by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधा.

The declension of the word उन्नी । It is formed by adding the prefix उन् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sûtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी. Therefore, the present Sûtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नी, उन्न्यौ; उन्न्य; हे उन्नीः, Acc Sing उन्न्यम्, Loc. Sing उन्न्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing of which is ग्रामणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms बुधियः where there is not यण् though दुर is a Gati, and the word बुधिक्रमिय, where the word बुधिक is a Kâraka ? We reply that the preposition दुर is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दु स्थिता धीर्येषां, a Bahuvrīhi compound, in which दुर is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vârtika प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य &c (II 2 24 S 830) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर. In fact, the word Gati is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly बुधिक्रमीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पञ्चमी सप्तस्य समासः) formed by I. 4 25 S 588, as बुधिका द्विभेति = बुधिक्रमी, but as बुधिक्र-सम्बन्धिनी भीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion', in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion. In the second case बुधिक is not a Kâraka with regard to भी. Therefore the vârtika applies to it

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । इ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्थेण स्यादचि सुपि । सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । ततः क्विप् । अल्लोपयलोपौ । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते । क्वौ लुप् न स्थानिवत् । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सर्खाः । अमि पूर्वरूपात्परत्वाद्याणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परत्वात्सख्युरस-बुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । शसि यण् । सख्यः । सह खेन वर्तत इति सख । तमिच्छतीति सखी । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुत्यौ । ख्यत्यादिति दीर्घस्थापि ग्रहणादुकारः । सख्यु । सुख्यु । सुस्यु । लूनमिच्छतीति लूनी । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्तिममिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमी । एषां ङसिङ्सोर्धण् । नत्वमत्वयोरसिद्धत्वात् ख्यत्यादिस्युत्वम् । लून्यु । क्षाम्यु प्रस्तीम्युः । शुष्की-यतेः क्विप् । शुष्की । इयङ् । शुष्क्यौ । शुष्क्यः । ङसिङ्सो शुष्क्य इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः, सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखाय इच्छाति = सखीयात् (i.e. he who desires a friend) Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्तिप् and the letters अ and य are both elided. Here the elision of य being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sūtra in declining the word सखी. This is prevented by the following

Vārtika —when there is elision before the affix क्तिप् the elision is not considered as स्थानिवत्

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the same which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII 3 116 S 270. In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI 1 68 and VII 2 115 S 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गत्वे ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा, सखायौ; सखाय, Voc हे सखी. The Acc Sing is सखायम्. It is thus formed सखा + अम्. Here VI 1 107 S 194 requires Pūrva-rūpa, that is सखाम्. But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI 4 82 S 272 requiring यण् which would have given the form सख्यम्. Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII 1 92 3 253. Hence the form सखै + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ. The Acc Pl is सख्य for the Acc Pl not being a Sarvanāmasthāna, there is regular Sandhi. There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'.

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bahu-vrīhi compound formed by II 2 28. S 848. The सह is changed to स by VI. 3 82 S 849. In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III 1 8 S 2657. Then, we add long ई by VII 4. 33 S. 2658 and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय. From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्तिप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness', and सुतृ meaning 'one who desires a son'. The declension of these words is as follows —Nom Sing सखीः, सुखीः, सुतृः. The dual is सख्यौ; सुख्यौ; सुतृयौ. The Abl. and Gen Singular forms are सख्यु, सुख्यु, सुतृयु, by applying the sūtra VI 1. 112 S 255.

Similarly the words छनीः; क्षामीः, प्रस्तीनी meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e.g. flowers &c, 'one who desires Vishnu', and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined.

Note —The word लून is the past participle of the root लू to cut, the *nishthā* त is changed to न by VIII 2 44 S 3018 क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षे to wane, the त is changed to न by VIII 2 53, S 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीम is the past participle of the root स्तृ to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र The *nishthā* त is changed to न by VIII 2 54 S 3034 The *Samprasāraṇa* takes place by VI 1 23

The Nom. Sing forms are लूनाः; क्षामीः; प्रस्तीमी In other cases their declension is like the word वृत्ती &c, except the Abl and Gen, Sing Here in these cases the words do not really end in ली and ती and therefore the rule VI 1 112 S 255 is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the न of क्षाम and प्रस्तीम are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Triṣṭhā*, namely the last three chapters of the *Ashtādhyāyī*, therefore the न and न substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyāyas In other words these words are considered as लूती, क्षाती, प्रस्तीनी; and the rule VI 1 112 S 255 applying to them, we have the Abl, and Genitive Sing forms as लून्यु, क्षाम्युः; प्रस्तीम्युः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्तिप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishthā* त is changed to क by VIII 2 51 S 3030 Thus the Nom Sing is शुष्कीः The Nom Dual and Pl are शुष्कियौ, and शुष्कित with the affix इयङ् by VI 4 77 S 271 and not with षप् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl and Gen, singular is शुष्कियः &c,

Similarly पक्की is formed from the past participle पक्क where the *Nishthā* त is changed to क by VIII 2 52 S 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

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शमुर्हरिवन् । एव विष्णु वायु भान्वादयः ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु, वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रोष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply

२७४ । तृज्यत्क्रोष्टुः । ७ । १ । ६५ ॥

क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तृज्यतेन तुल्य वर्तते असंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रोष्टुशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274 The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply —

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अङादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वत् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्टे ॥

278 क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshtṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्टौ or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टये, क्रोष्टु or क्रोष्टे, क्रोष्टि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टौ ॥ But क्रोष्टुन् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes

In forming the Abl and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋवन्ताङ्ङसिङ्सोरति परे उकार एकादेशः स्यात् । स्परस्वम् ॥

279. In the room 'of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Note —Thus होतृ+अस्=होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by १ 1 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ+अ conjointly on the maxim that a substitute which replaces two, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋत and अकारस्य in this sūtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII 2. 24 and we have होतुर्=होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतु स्वम् ॥

२८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफात्सयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । आमि परस्वात्तृज्वङ्गावे प्राप्ते ।

* नुमचिरतृज्वङ्गावेभ्यो नुद् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टुनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । क्रोष्ट्रेः । पक्षे हलादौ च शमुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्टृ+अस्=क्रोष्टुर्स् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टु Before the Gen. Pl. आम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्टृ by VII. 1. 97. S 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vārt* —नुम् and नुद् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhāva ordained by the preceding sūtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

प्रियक्रोष्टु will be प्रियक्रोष्टुने ऽरण्याय, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोष्टे ॥ Similarly with बुद्, as क्रोष्टुनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टा, क्रोष्टाः &c

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form

Note —The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root कुश् to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unādi I 69 Similarly the word क्रोष्टृ is formed from the same root with the affix तृच् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i.e. 'a jackal' But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्टृ supplies the want

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

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हूहू' हूहौ । हूह । हूहम् । हूहौ । हूहूनित्यादि । अतिचमूशब्दे तु नदीकार्य विशेषः । हे अतिचमु । अतिचम्वै । आतचम्व्वा २ । आतचमूनाम् । अतिचम्व्वा । खलपू ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster) The Nom and Acc forms are हूहू', हूहौ, हूह । हूहम्, हूहौ, हूहून् &c

In declining the word अतिचमू', the Nadi rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc Sing is therefore हे अतिचमु ॥ The Dat. Sing is अतिचम्वै, Abl and Gen singular अतिचम्व्वा, Gens, Pl अतिचमूनाम्, Loc Sing अतिचम्व्वा ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing. is खलपू ॥

In forming the Nom, Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुपि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यनेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । खलप्वौ । खलप्व इत्यादि । एव सुत्वाव्य । अनेकाचः किम् । हूः । लुवौ । लुवः ॥ धात्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लू । उल्लू । उल्लू । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कट्प्रुवौ । कट्प्रुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतुः । स्वभू । न भूसूधियाः ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्वभुव ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper' —d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः, so also शतस्वौ and शतस्व, and सकृल्लू dual सकृल्लवौ and सकृल्लवः ॥ But लुलुवतु and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्), लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लू ; उल्लवौ, उल्लवः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उत् + लृ = उल्लृ ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कडम्, कडमुवौ कडमुव । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Karaka? Observe परमल्लृ, परम लुवौ, परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a case-affix follows? Observe लुलुवतु ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI 4, 85 S 273 Thus Nom forms are स्वभू, स्वभुवौ, स्वभुव ॥ So also स्वयभू ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule

२८२ । वर्षाभिवश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण स्यादचि सुप्ति । वर्षाभ्वौ । वर्षाभ्वः । हम्भवतीति हम्भूः । अन्तुहम्भूजम्भूकफेलूक-
कन्धूविधिषूरिस्थुणाविसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । हम्भवौ । हम्भवः । हम्भूम् । हम्भवौ । हम्भून् । शेष हूवत् । हस्मिति
नान्ते हिसार्धेऽव्यये भुव क्तिप् । हम्भूः । हन्कारपुनःपूर्वस्य भुवो यण वक्तव्यः । हन्भवौ । हन्भव इत्यादि खल-
पवत् । करभ्वौ । करभ्वः । रीधपाठे तु कर एव कार । स्वार्थिक' प्रज्ञायण् । कारभ्वौ । कारभ्वः । पुनर्भूवौ
गिक पुसि । पुनर्भावित्यादि । हम्भूकाराभूशब्दौ स्वयभूवत् ॥

282 वृ is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्व ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273

The words अन्तु, हम्भू, जम्भू, कफेलू, कर्कन्धू, विधिषू are Unādi formed words under Unādi sūtras I 96 Thus हम्भू "an author" or "a reciter", हम्भौ, हम्भवः, हम्भूम्, हम्भवौ, हम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of हू ॥ The word हम्भू is formed from the root हम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically कु) ॥ But there is another word हम्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word हन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vārt.—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when हन्, कार and पुनर् precede भू, as हन्भवौ, हन्भवः, पुनर्भवौ, पुनर्भवः काराभवौ (कराभवौ) काराभवः (कराभवः) ॥

In this vārtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sūtra V 4 38, S 2106)

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns हम्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note —According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in क्.

धाता । हे धात । धातारौ । धातारः ॥ ऋवर्णान्नस्य णत्वं धाक्यम् * ॥ धातृणामित्यादि ।
एव नञ्चादयः । उदातारौ । पिता । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नञ्चादिप्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वात् दीर्घः । पितरौ । पितरः
पितरम् । पितरौ । शेष धातृवत् : एवं जानातृञ्चादयः । ना । नरौ । नरः । हे न ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातृ It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3 110. S. 275, VII 1 94 S 276, VI. 1 111 S. 279 and VIII. 2 24 S. 280 Thus धाता धातारौ, धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vartika.—After words ending in क्, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl. is धातृणां ॥

The declension of नष्ट् &c mentioned in VI. 4 11. S. 277. is like धातृ ॥
So also that of उदातृ ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Unādi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Unādi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Unādi words, as कृद्धि words Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110 S 275. and the क् of पितृ is guṇated Thus Nom Dual and Pl. are पितरौ; पितरः.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix तृण् and तृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Unādi sūtra II 94. Then the sūtra VI 4. 11 S 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नष्ट् as restricting the rule only to नष्ट् &c and not to पितृ Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ Thus पित्ता, पितरौ, पितरः, पितरम्, पितरो. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातृ. The words जानातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातुः	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रो
Plural	धातारः	धातृन्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्यः	धातृभ्यः	धातृणाम्	धातृषु
— 0 —							
Sing	पित्ता	पितरं	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितृन्	पितृभिः	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्यः	पितृणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नरः The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घं स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally

As स्व नृणां नृपते, and स्व नृणां नृपते ॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

— ० —

Declension of masculines ending in long ऋ ॥

कृ त् अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादित्वे रपरस्वम् । की । किरौ किर । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः इत्यादि गीवेत् । इत्वाभावपक्षे तु ऋदुश्चन इति ऋतो ङीति च तपरकरणा दनङ्युणौ न । कृ । क्रौ । क्र । कृम् । क्रौ । कृन् । क्रा । क्रे इत्यादि ॥

कृ and तृ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कृ and तृ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कृ and तृ on the following maxim *Paribhāṣā* —“An imitative name is like original” Therefore the rule VII 1 100 S. 2390 read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words Thus we have किर् and निर् as bases. Therefore the Nom. forms are कीः, किरौ, किरः; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः, These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhāṣā* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place In that case, the rules VII 3 110 S 275 and VII 1. 95. S 276 requiring the gunation and अनङ् substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word ऋत् in those sūtras shows, for the indicatory तृ shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I 1 70 S 15) Therefore, the declension of these words is कृ, क्रौ, क्र, कृम्, क्रौ; कृन्, क्रा, क्रे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long ऋ

— ० —

Declension of Nouns ending in लृ ॥

गम्ह शक्त् अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शक्ता गुणविषये तु लपरस्वम् । गमलौ । गमल । गमलम् । गमलौ । गमलून् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङसिङ्लोऽङ् ऋत् उदित्युत्वे लपरत्वे सयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गङ्गुल् । शङ्गुल् । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्ह and शक्त् the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्ह 'to go' and शक्त् 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ् by VII. I. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शक्ता ॥ In the other strong cases, we have गुण by VII 3. 110 S 275, as गमलौ, गमल ; गमलम्, गमलौ, गमलून्, गम्ला, गम्ले ॥

In Abl and Gen singular, the sūtra VI 1 111 S 279 and I 1 51 S 70 will apply. Therefore, the ल्+अ् of the affix will be changed to उ followed by ल्. Thus we have गन्त्+अस्=गमुल्+स्. The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant. Thus, we have गमुल्. So also शकुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ल् ॥

————— ० —————

से । सयौ । सय । स्मृते । स्मृत्यौ । स्मृतय ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से ॥ This word is thus formed, स+इ=से: or स+ई=से ॥ The short इ is the name of Kāma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of अ ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu. से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kāma' or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi.' Therefore, the word से is declined as से, सयौ सयः ॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kāma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nisṭhā* is placed first in this Bahu-vrīhi compound by II 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृते, स्मृत्यौ, स्मृतय ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

————— ० —————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो णित् । ७ । १ । ६० ॥

गोशब्दात्पर सर्वनामस्थान णित् स्यात् । गौः । गावौ । गाव ॥

284. 'The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations such as Vṛddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गाव ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगु, शबलगु ॥

Note —How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगवः? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्तावविधि निहितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angādhikāra VI, 4—VII 4 has taken place, and another operation of the Angādhikāra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place) For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII 3 108-109, the णित् operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोत्: in the sūtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakshanā Sasthi (a Genitive denoting a general relation) and the meaning will be "that saivanāmasthāna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow'" While in चित्रयु, the saivanāmasthāna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another object, namely to a 'person' who possesses bundled cows त् in गात् in this view is for specification only

२८५ । औतोऽमृशसोः । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

आ ओत इति छेद् । ओकारादमृशसोरपि परे आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । शसा साहचर्यास्तुदेव अम् गृह्यते । नेह । अचिनवम् । असुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गा । गवा । गवे । गो । इत्यादि । औतो णित्ति वाच्यम् । विहितविशेषण च । तेन । सुद्यौ । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानान्नेह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । उ शशु स्तुतो येन सः, स्तुतौ । स्तुतावौ । स्तुताव । स्तुताम् । स्तुतावौ । स्तुता । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word औतः is a compound of आ+ओत ॥ Thus गो+अम्, =गाम्, गो+अस्=गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्य ॥ This debars the Vriddhi of VII 1 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्य, as the word द्यौ is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sārvanāmsthāna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1 90) which would have caused Vriddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vriddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sūtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ, गा ; गवा ; गवे ; गो etc.

Vārtika —The sūtra VII, 1. 90 S 284 should be read as औतोणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in ओ ॥

Vārtika —And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have ओ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यौ is declined as सुद्यौ, सुद्यावौ, सुद्याव ॥

Some read the sūtra as औत णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यौ also as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्याव ॥ If the reading be taken गौतः, then we extend this rule to द्यौ also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ, and this is done by the letter त् in गौत, for the तपर rule applies to letters, and not to words, so that गौत means and includes words ending in ओ ॥

The *Sarva-nāma sthāna* affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in ओ and not after a derivative base ending in ओ ॥ Therefore the Saivanama sthāna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the ओ here is derivative Therefore हे भानो हे भानव ॥

Similarly, the word स्तुतो formed from स्तुत+उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or शुभु', is declined as स्मृतौ, स्मृताद्यो, स्मृतावः, स्मृताम्, स्मृतावौ ; स्मृताः etc

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

— ० —

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ

We take the word रै (wealth)

२८६ । रायौ हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

रैशब्दस्याकारान्तादेशः स्थाजलि विभक्तौ । अचि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । राव । रायम् । रावौ । रावः । राया । राभ्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of रै is changed to आय by the ordinary rules of Sandhi. Thus राः रायौ, रावः, रायम्, रावौ, रावः, राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

— ० —

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौ । ग्लवौ ग्लव । ग्लवम् । ग्लवौ । ग्लवः । इत्यादि । औसौऽव्यसोरितीह न प्रवर्तते । ऐऔजिति सूत्रेण ओदैतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लवौ, ग्लव, ग्लवम्, ग्लवौ, ग्लवः etc.

The sutra VI. 1 93 S 285 applied only to bases ending in औ and not to those which end in औ Because औ and औ are not savarna letters, a fact which we learn from Pāṇini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sūtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

— ० —

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखाय्	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यो	हे सखे
Dual	सखावौ	सखावौ	सखिभ्यां	सखिभ्या	सखिभ्या	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखावौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्य	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुख्वा

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	सुख्वा	सुख्वाय	सुखिना	सुखये	सुखः	सुखे	सुखौ	सुखे
Dual	सुखायौ	सुखायौ	सुखिभ्या	सुखिभ्या	सुखिभ्यां	सुखयो	सुख्यो.	सुखायौ
Plural	सुखायः	सुखीन्	सुखिभिः	सुखिभ्यः	सुखिभ्य	सुखानाम्	सुखिषु	सुखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्यु	पत्यु	पत्या	हे पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	तिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्यो.	पता
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभिः	तिभ्य	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Ab	Gen	Loc	Voc.
Singular	भूपतिः	भूपतिम्	भूपतिना	भूपतये	भूपतेः	भूपनेः	भूपतौ	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपतिभ्याम्	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपत्यो	भूपत्योः	भूपती
Plural	भूपतयः	भूपतीन्	भूपतिभिः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपतिषु	भूपतयः

कति

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभिः	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्य	कतीनाम्	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभिः	त्रिभ्य	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वभ्याम्	द्वो	द्वो	द्वयो	द्वयो

अतिद्वि

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.
Singular	अतिद्वि	अतिद्विम्	अतिद्विना	अतिद्वये	अतिद्वे	अतिद्वे	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्यां	अतिद्विभ्यां	अतिद्वयो	अतिद्वयो
Plural	अतिद्वयः	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभिः	अतिद्विभ्यः	अतिद्विभ्य	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

औडुलोमिः

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen.	Loc	Voc.
S.	औडुलोमि	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमये	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमौ	औडुलोमे
D	औडुलोमौ	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्या	औडुलोमिभ्या	औडुलोमिभ्या	औडुलोम्या	औडुलोम्योः, औडुलोमी	
P	औडुलोमा	औडुलोमान्	औडुलोमै	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमेभ्यः	औडुलोमानाम्	औडुलोमेषु	औडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.	Voc
Singular	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमीम्	वातप्रम्या	वातप्रम्यै	वातप्रम्यै	वातप्रम्यै	वातप्रमी	हे वातप्रमी!
		10 वातप्रम्यम्,					or वातप्रम्यि,	
Dual	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्या	वातप्रमीभ्या	वातप्रमीभ्या	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्यो	"
Plural	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रमीन्	वातप्रमीभिः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रमीभ्यः	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रमीषु	"
		OR वातप्रम्यः,						

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom	Voc	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S.	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसि	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्याम्
D	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्या	"	"	बहुश्रेयस्योः	"
P	बहुश्रेयस्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभिः	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	"	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom	Voc	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S	अतिलक्ष्मी	हे अतिलक्ष्मि	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्याः	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्याम्
D	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्या	"	"	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्म्यः	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अतिलक्ष्मीभिः	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यः	"	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.	Voc
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	"	कुमारीभ्या	कुमारीभ्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्यौ	"	"
Plural	कुमार्यः	"	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणाम्	कुमारीषु	"	"

प्रधी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	प्रधी	प्रध्यम्	प्रध्या	प्रध्ये	प्रध्यै	प्रध्यै	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रध्यौ	प्रध्यौ	प्रधीभ्या	प्रधीभ्या	प्रध्याम्	प्रध्यौ	प्रध्याम्	प्रध्यौ
Plural	प्रध्यः	प्रध्यः	प्रधीभिः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रधीभ्यः	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीषु	प्रध्यः

उत्तरी

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	उत्तरी	उत्तरीम्	उत्तरीया	उत्तरीये	उत्तरीय	उत्तरीयः	उत्तरीयात्	उत्तरी
Dual	उत्तरीयौ	उत्तरीयौ	उत्तरीभ्या	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीभ्यां	उत्तरीयो	उत्तरीयो	उत्तरीयौ
Plural	उत्तरीयः	उत्तरीयः	उत्तरीभिः	उत्तरीभ्यः	उत्तरीभ्यः	उत्तरीयाम्	उत्तरीषु	उत्तरीय

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	ग्रामणीः	ग्रामण्यम्	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामण्ये	ग्रामण्य	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्या	ग्रामणी
Dual	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामण्यौ	ग्रामणीभ्या	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामणीभ्यां	ग्रामण्यो	ग्रामण्यो	ग्रामण्यौ
Plural	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामणीभिः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामणीभ्यः	ग्रामण्याम्	ग्रामणीषु	ग्रामण्य

नी

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	निय	नियः	नियाम्	नी
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्या	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियो	नियो	नियौ
Plural	नियः	नियः	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	निय
Sing	सुतीः	सुत्यम्	सुत्या					
Dual	सुत्यौ	सुत्यौ						
Plural	सुत्यः	सुत्यः	like	प्रधीः				

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	शंभु	शंभुम्	शंभुना	शंभवे	शंभो	शंभा	शंभा	शंभा
Dual	शंभू	शंभू	शंभुभ्याम्	शंभुभ्यां	शंभुभ्यां	शंभो	शंभो	शंभू
Plural	शंभवः	शंभून्	शंभुभिः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुभ्यः	शंभुनाम्	शंभुषु	शंभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टारम्	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्टे	क्रोष्टो	क्रोष्टो
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टो	क्रोष्टो
Plural	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टारः	क्रोष्टुभिः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुनाम्	क्रोष्टुषु

हृहृ

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हृहृ	हृहृम्	हृहृ	हृहृ	हृहृ	हृहृ	हृहृ
Dual	हृहृ	हृहृ	हृहृ-याम्	हृहृभ्यां	हृहृभ्यां	हृहृ	हृहृ
Plural	हृहृ	हृहृ	हृहृभिः	हृहृभ्यः	हृहृभ्यः	हृहृनाम्	हृहृषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gan	Loc.
Singular	खलपू	खलप्वम्	खलप्व	खलप्वे	खलप्वः	खलप्व	खलप्वि
Dual	खलप्वौ	खलप्वौ	खलप्वभ्यां	खलप्वभ्यां	खलप्वभ्याम्	खलप्वौ	खलप्वौः
Plural	खलप्वः	खलप्व	खलप्वभिः	खलप्वभ्यः	खलप्वभ्य	खलप्वानां	खलप्वभ्यु

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Singular	स्वभू	स्वभुवम्	स्वभुवा	स्वभुवे	स्वभुव	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवि
Dual	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुभ्यां	स्वभुभ्यां	स्वभुभ्यां	स्वभुवौः	स्वभुवौ
Plural	स्वभुवः	स्वभुव	स्वभूभिः	स्वभूभ्यः	स्वभूभ्य	स्वभुवानां	स्वभूभ्यु
Singular	वर्षाभू	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्वा	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्वि
Dual	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वभ्याम्	वर्षाभ्वौः	वर्षाभ्वौ
Plural	वर्षाभ्वः	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्वभिः	वर्षाभ्वभ्यः	वर्षाभ्वभ्य	वर्षाभ्वानां	वर्षाभ्वभ्यु

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Sing	नृ	नरम्	नृ	न्रे	नृ	नृ	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्योः	नरौः
Plural	नरः	नृन्	नृभिः	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	"	नृभ्यु

कृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	क्रीः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किर	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	किरौः	किरौः
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्भिः	कीर्भ्यः	कीर्भ्यः	किराम्	कीर्भ्यु

OR

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Sing	कृः	कृम्	क्रा	क्रे	क्र	क्र	क्रि
Dual	क्रौ	क्रौ	कृभ्यां	कृभ्यां	कृभ्यां	क्रौः	क्रौः
Plural	क्रः	कृन्	कृभिः	कृभ्यः	कृभ्यः	क्राम्	कृभ्यु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गम्लृ	गम्लृ	गमलि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लभ्याम्	"	गम्लोः	गम्लोः	गम्लोः
Plural	गमलः	गम्लम्	गम्लभिः	गम्लभ्यः	"	गम्लानां or गम्लक्षणां	गम्लभ्यु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सयम्	सया	सये	सयः	सयः	सयि
Dual	सयौ	सयौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सयो	सयो
Plural	सयः	सयम्	सेभिः	सेभ्यः	सेभ्यः	सयाम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen	Loc.
Sing	गौ	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गो	गो	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाम्	गोभिः	गोभ्यः	गोभ्यः	ग	गावु व ग

स्मृतौ

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat.	Abl.	Gen	Loc
Sing	स्मृतौः	स्मृतम्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतवो	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृताव	स्मृता	स्मृतोभिः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतवाम्	स्मृतोषु

रे

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	रा	रायम्	राया	राये	राय	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्याम्	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायो
Plural	रायः	राय	राभिः	राभ्यः	राभ्यः	रायाम्	रायु

ग्लौ

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Sing	ग्लौ	ग्लाव	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावोः	ग्लावोः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभिः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix राप्) The Nom Sing is रमा The affix सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252 In forming the Nom and Acc Dual the following rule applies —

२८७ । औङ् आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

भावन्तादङ्गात्परस्योङ् शी स्यात् । औङित्यौकारविभक्तेः सज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative

The इ in औङ् is for the purpose of including औद् also There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pāṇini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + शी = रमे ॥

The Pl will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sūtra—

२८८ । संवुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

भाप एकारः स्यात्संवुद्धौ । एङ्स्त्वाविति संवुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमाम् । रमे । रमा । स्त्रीस्वान्नस्वाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI 1 69 S 193. Thus Voc Sing Dual and Pl are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively

The Acc forms are रमाम्, रमे, रमा ॥ The न् is not added in the Acc Pl because it is feminine The rule VI 1 193 S 196 applies only to the Masculine nouns

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि ओति च परे भावन्तस्याङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix ङ, the Ins Sing by the ancient grammarians

Thus रमा + ङ = रमे + आ = रमया ॥ The Instr dual and Pl forms are रमाभ्याम् रमाभिः ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sūtra applies —

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आप परस्य डिङ्चनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । वृद्धिरेचि । रमायै । सर्वर्णदीर्घः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमासु । एव दुर्गादयः ॥

290 The augment याद् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

Thus रमा + डे = रमायाद् + डे = रमाया + ए = रमायै according to VI 1 88 S 72

The Abl and Gen Singulars are thus formed — रमा + डसि = रमा + याद् + डसि = रमाया + भस् = रमाया ॥

The Gen and Loc dual रमयोः is formed as follows रमा + भोस् = रमे + भोस् (VII 3 105 S 289) = रमयो ॥

The Gen Pl is रमाणाम् (न् being added by VII 1. 54 S 208)

The Loc Sing रमायाम् is formed according to VII 3 116 S 270. Thus रमा + याद् + डि = रमा + याद् + आम् = रमायाम् ॥

The Loc dual and Pl are रमयो and रमासु ॥ The Feminine Nouns ईना &c are to be similarly declined

— o —

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वा ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like रमा ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply —

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याङ्दूस्वञ्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य डित् । स्याद् स्यादापञ्च ह्रस्वः । यादोऽपवाङ् । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन ग्रन्थाशामि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वासाम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वासु । एव विश्वाद्य आबन्ता ॥

291 After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat Abl. Gen and Loc Sg receive the augment स्याद् and the आ of the stem is shortened

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै यस्यै तस्यै कस्यै भवस्यै भवन्या । सर्वस्या विश्वस्या , यस्या तस्या , कस्या, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्या ॥

But अमुष्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debar the augment याद् Thus Dat Sing is formed as follows.
सर्वा + स्याद् + डे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl and Gen Singular सर्वस्या is formed.

In Gen Pl सुद् is added by VII. 8 52 S 217 Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वनाम, for the ekâdes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen Pl. सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc Sing is thus formed सर्वा + डि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc Dual and Pl forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बह्व्रीहो । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वायै । दिङ्मान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपक्षेक्तस्य दिक्समासस्य ग्रहणात्नेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुग्धायास्तस्य उत्तरपूर्वायै । बह्व्रीहिग्रहण स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालायै । बाह्यायै इत्यर्थः । अपुरस्त्युक्तेर्नेह । अन्तरायै नगरे ॥

292. The Sarvanâma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै ॥ The Bahuvrîhi compound specifically taught in II 2 26 S 845 and not every other bahuvrîhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrîhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanâma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वायै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बह्व्रीहि is used in the sūtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sūtra would have referred to Bahuvrîhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrîhi in it.

The word अङ्गरा is a Sarvanâma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालायै meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes 'a city' it is not a sarvanâma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरायै नगरे (See Vārtika under sūtra VII 1. 52 S 217)

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the डित् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीया तृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्या डित् स्याद् स्यादापञ्च ह्रस्व । इह सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । तीयस्य डित्सूत्रसंख्यानात् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयाय । द्वितीयस्या । द्वितीयाया । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् शेष रमात्रत् । एव तृतीया ॥ अम्भार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्व ॥ हे अम्भ । हे अक्क । हे अक्क ॥ अस्युक्ता ये डलकास्तद्वता ह्रस्वो न ॥ हे अम्भाडे । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । शीभावात्परत्वाज्जरस् । आनि तुट् परत्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलाशौ च रमावत् । इह पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन शीभाव कृत्वा सनिपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यता चाश्रय जरसी इति केचिदाहुस्तन्निर्मूलम् । यद्यपि जरसादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भाविनादन्ततामाश्रित्य । औङ् आप् । आङि चाप । आडाप । ह्रस्वनद्याप । डेराम् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एव नसुनिष्ठापृष्ठु । तथाप्यनस्त्रधावि युक्तेर्न भवन्ति । आ आबिति प्रभिलब्ध आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽप सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एव हल्ङादिभ्योऽपि आ आप् डी इ इति प्रश्लेषादितिह द्वि निष्क्रौशाभिरित्याविसिद्धिर्धर्मग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नचैवमप्यतिसद्विधेयत्वं स्वाश्रयमाकारस्य स्थानिवद्भाविनाप्य चाश्रित्य याद् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आवन्त यदङ्गततः परस्य याङ्गविधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तदादिनियमात् । पदत्र इति नासिकाया नस् । त्रसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे झुदि च रमावत् । निशाया निष् । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat Abl Gen. and Loc Sg may optionally get the augment स्याद् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयाया द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्भा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103, S. 267. the Voc. Sing is हे अम्भ ॥ So also हे अक्क ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ङ, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्भाडे, हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar. Thus Nom Sg जरा + सु = जरा, Nom Dual जरा + औ = जरसौ, जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII 2 101 S 227) before the sūtra शी (VII 1. 18 S 287) could be applied. In Gen Pl जरस् substitution takes place before the augment तुट् could be added, hence जरसाम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसी; their reason is that शी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and सनिपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhāṣhā is as follows —

सनिपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्त तद्विधायस्य । e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found. Ques जरस् replacing जरा may be considered as like जरा by the rule of स्थानिवद्देश (I. 1. 56 S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18 S. 287. VII. 3. 105. S. 289 VII. 3. 113 S. 290, VII S. 208, VII. 3. 116 S. 270 apply to जरा ॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका, निष् the substitute of निशा, पून् the substitute of पूतना 'an army' (See VI. 1. 64 S. 2264)

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of भालिधि ॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, डी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and डी + ई = डी, that is those Feminine words in आप् and डी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई ॥ For the same reason, the forms भलिङ्गः and निष्कौशान्ति are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ ॥ Similarly the Dative of भलिङ्गः will be भलिङ्गाय ॥ Here also the augment आद् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr Sg. नसा &c when this substitution does not take place नासका is declined like रसा ॥ Similarly निष् is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the स् is changed to ङ by the following rule

२९४ । ब्रध्नभ्रस्जस्जमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशा षः । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

अभादीनां सप्तानां छान्तयोश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याज्झाले पदान्ते च । यस्य जडत्वेन उकार । निङ्भ्याम् । निङ्भिः । सुपि उ सीति पक्षे धुद् । अर्थम् । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चया द्वितीया इति दत्तयाद्यथो न । न पदान्ताद्वारिति दुष्य न । निङ्क्षु । निङ्क्षु ॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij, mrij, yaj, rāj, and bhrāj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष before jhal letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus ब्रधच्—ब्रधा, ब्रधुम्, ब्रध्वम् मूलवृद् ॥ भ्रधा । भ्रधुम् । भ्रध्वम् । धानाभृद् । सृञ् । स्रधा । स्रधुम् । रज्जुसृद् । रज्ज । मार्षा । मार्षुम् । मार्ष्वम् । कसवरिभृद् । यज । यधा । यधुम् । यध्वम् । उपयद् । राञ् । स्रमाद् । स्वराद्, विराद्, विभ्राद् ॥

Thus निङ् + भ्याम् = निङ् + भ्याम् = निङ्भ्याम्, निङ्भिः ॥ By VIII. 3. 29 S. 131, there is an optional augment इ before the Loc. Pl. सुप्; then this इ is changed to ह and ध्र to त् ॥ This last substitution being considered as asiddha because it is a विपारि rule, the ह and त् are not changed to इ and थ as will be required by Vārtika under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4. 42 S. 114 apply. Thus we get निङ्क्षु or निङ्क्षु ॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१ ॥

यस्य ढस्य च क स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति। जडत्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु प्रथा-
विस्तृते शब्दार्थातिगति सूत्राद्धातोरेत्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जडत्वेन अकारे। निङ्भ्याम्। निङिम्। जडत्व-
म्। ह्युत्त्वम्। चत्त्वम्। निङ्गु। चो कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जडत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ मांसपृतनासादूनां
मसृत्स्त्रयो वाक्याः शसांश्च वा * ॥ पृतः। पृता। पृङ्भ्याम्। पक्षे सुदि च समावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्।
मतिः प्रायण हरिवत्। स्त्रीत्वान्नस्वाभावः। मती ॥ नास्व न मदा ॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स् ॥

Therefore निष्+स् (Loc. Pl.)=निष्+स्=निङ्+स्=निङ्गु+स्=But the
application of this rule would be wrong, for the जङ्ग rule is considered as *asiddha*
for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sûtra by confining it to roots only, they read
the anuvritti of धातो in that Sûtra from the previous Sûtra, VIII. 2 32
S 325 According to them, there will be ज when जङ्ग rule is applied Thus
निङ्गभ्याम्, निङिम्। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of
ष and so निङ्गु+भ्याम् is changed to निङ्गु+भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the
Loc Pl will be निङ्गु+स्=निङ्गु+स्=निङ्गु+स्=निङ्गु+स्, The च् is not changed to
ङ् by VIII 2 30 S 378, because the जङ्ग substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vārtika Before the affixes of the Acc Pl. and the rest the words
मांस, पृतना and सादू are optionally replaced by मांस, पृत and ह्यु

Therefore Acc Pl. of पृत will be पृत, Instr Sg पृता, Instr - Dual पृङ्भ्याम्
In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflec-
tional cases पृतना is declined like रसा The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा ॥

The Feminine मति is declined like हरि except in the following cases —
The Acc. Pl is मती, there is no न because it is Feminine Similarly the
Instr Sg is मत्या and not मतिसा because VII 3 120 S 244 does not apply to
Feminine nouns

Before the ङिङ् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule

२९६। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दभिनौ निव्यस्त्रीलिङ्गादीवृत्तौ ह्रस्वौ च इउवर्णौ स्त्रियौ च नवी सज्ञौ स्तौ
ङिति परे ॥ आण् नद्या ॥ मत्त्वं मतये। मत्याः। मतः। नदीत्यपक्षे भौङिति डेरौ च्चे प्राप्ते ॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ñ (ñit)
follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are
optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long ङ
and णि which admit of iyañ and uvañ: but not so the word
stri, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long ङ and णि have been defined as nadî, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take iyan and uvaḥ. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory n are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have —

Dative मत्स्ये or मत्स्यै, धनवे or धेन्वै, श्रिये or श्रियै ; Ablative and Genitive मत्से or मत्स्या, धेनो, or धेन्वा, श्रिये or श्रिया ; Locative मत्सौ or मत्स्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, श्रिया or श्रियां ॥ So also भुवे or भुवै &c. But stri is always स्त्रियै &c

When the word मत्सि is treated as a Nadi word, then the Loc Sg requires औ by VII 3 118, S 256. But this is prevented by the following rule,

२६७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नदीसज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां परस्य डेराम् स्यात् । पक्षे अद्य धेः । मत्स्याम् । मत्सौ । एव श्रुतिस्मृत्या-
वय ॥

297. After the Feminine nadi words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the इ of the Loc Sg

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a चि word and rule VII 3 19 S 247 applies. Thus Loc Sg is मत्स्याम् or मत्सौ

The words श्रुति, स्मृति &c are declined like मत्सि ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in क् like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sūtra.

२६८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२६९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ऋकारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घौत्थानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । आदि
भुगचिरोति नुद् ॥

299 र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel

In the Genitive there is the augment नुद् under Vārtika VIII 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + नुद् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम्. Here the Sūtra VI 4 3. S. 209 requires the lengthening of the क् but it is prevented by the following Sūtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयानामि द्वीर्धो न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति चिचतुरोर्विशेषणान्नह । प्रियास्त्र-
यस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियञ्चि मतिवत् । आभि तु प्रियञ्चयाणामिति विशेष । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य स इति
विग्रहे तु प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिसो । प्रियतिस । प्रियतिसमित्यादि । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुल प्रियञ्चि । स्वमा-
लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावात् तिसादेशः । न लुप्तमिति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेशात्
पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुम्भावो ।
प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । द्वेस्त्वे सत्याप । द्वे २ । द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयो २ । गौरी । गौरी । गौर्यः ।
नसीकार्यम् । हे गौरि । गौर्ये इत्यादि । एव वाणीनद्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनङ्गि
णिङ्गज्ञावे च प्राप्तम् ॥ विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यं इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अङ्गन्तत्वात्
सुलोपः । लक्ष्मी । शेषं गौरीवत् । एव तरीतन्त्यादयः ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्री ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc Pl is तिसृषु

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies चि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here. Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if चि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place as प्रियास्त्रयाः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा यस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियञ्चि: 'a Brāhmaṇi to whom three are beloved' dual प्रियञ्चि:, Pl. प्रियञ्चयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वारो, प्रियचत्वार ॥ The word प्रियाञ्चि will be declined like मति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियञ्चियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter, when चि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine, as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मण. (VII 1 94) प्रियतिसौ. प्रियतिस ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुल, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियाञ्चि. Here the Nom. and Acc. case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII 1 23 S 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षण (See I. 1. 63 S 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sūtra I. 1. 63 S 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom. and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ. The Nom. and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following Vārtika.—

Vārtika —The guna of VII. 3 110 S 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment नुम् by VII 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally नुम् or the इ substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिसा or प्रियातिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि The इ of द्वि is replaced by अ according to Sūtra VII 2. 102 S 265 and it assumes the form द्व. To this is added the Feminine affix जाप् and thus we get the form द्वा. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वे, द्वे, द्वाभ्याम्, द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयो, द्वयो ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun गौरी Its Nominative forms are गौरी; गौरी, गौर्यः । Its Voc is हे गौरि according to VII 3 107 S. 267 Its Dat. will be गौर्यै by VII 3. 112 S. 268 and VI 1 90 S. 269.

-The Feminine Nouns वाणी and नदी &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declension of the Fem Noun सखी There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix अनङ् under Sūtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as णिच् by VII. 1 92 S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prātipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prātipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a Vibhakti is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following

Paribhāṣā —"A Prātipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prātipadika before a case-termination after the Prātipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prātipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यौ; सख्यः The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of लक्ष्मी As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI 1 68 S 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word लक्ष्मी is an Unādi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix Thus Nom Sing. is लक्ष्मी. ॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

So are the words तरी, तन्त्री &c. declined.

Note —Some consider the लक्ष्मी to be formed by the *Vartika* कृदन्तस्यङिन् under IV. I 45 S. 503 the affix डीप् is added to every कृदन्त word, ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix क्ति. According to this view, लक्ष्मी, तरी &c. are डीप् formed, and so the Nom : Sing affix will be elided after them.

—o—

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun स्त्री. Its Nom : Sg. is स्त्री. Its Vocative Sg is हे स्त्री.

In forming the Nom Dual and Pl. the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्याद्भादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियो । स्त्रिय ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रिय ॥

In the Acc Dual and Pl. the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *adesa*

३०२ । वाम्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अनि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्री । स्त्रिया । यि स्त्रा । स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियो । परत्वात्तुङ् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमतिक्रान्त अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

शुणनाभावौत्वनुङ्भिः परत्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । स्त्रीवे तुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङित्यवधारयताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । इ अतिस्त्रिः । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रियः ॥ वाम्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीम् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ वेङिति ॥ अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अद्य येः ॥ अतिस्त्री अतिस्त्रियोः, ॥

भोस्यौकारे च नित्य स्याद्वाम्शसोस्तु विभाषया । इयादेशोऽपि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुस्त्युपसर्जने ॥

स्त्रीवे तु नुम् । अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । ङेप्रभृतावजादौ वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावात्पक्षे प्राग्वद्भूपम् । अतिस्त्रिय or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिण २ । अतिस्त्रि २ । अतिस्त्रिणा २ । अतिस्त्रियोरित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्री । अतिस्त्रिया । ङिति ह्रस्वभेति ह्रस्वान्तत्वप्रयुक्ता विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङ् वङ्स्थानानित्यस्यैव पशुशस । तत्सबद्धस्यैवानुवृत्तेर्दीर्घस्थाय निषेधो नतु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रिये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रिः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्रौ । स्त्री । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of स्त्री is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शम् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम्, स्त्रियः or स्त्री

The Instr Sing is स्त्रिया, Dat Sing स्त्रियै Abl and Gen Sing स्त्रियाः ; Gen Dual स्त्रियो Gen Pl is formed by the addition of नुद् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नुद् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम् The Loc forms are स्त्रियाम्, स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom Sing is अतिस्त्रिः, Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse —The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII 3 109, S 241, VII 3. 111 S 245), the ना substitution in the Instr (VII 3 120 S. 244), the औ substitution (VII 3 119 S 247)

and the *नुङ्* augment (VII 1 54 S 208) In the Neuter the *नुङ्* being subsequent replaces the *इयङ्*

Thus the rule 'असिच' gives us the form *अतिस्त्रिय* The Voc forms are *हे अतिस्त्रिये*; *हे अतिस्त्रियो*, *हे अतिस्त्रियः*. The Acc forms are *अतिस्त्रियम्* or *अतिस्त्रियं*, *अतिस्त्रियो*, *अतिस्त्रिय* or *अतिस्त्रीन्* The Instr. Sing is *अतिस्त्रिणा* The Dat Sing is *अतिस्त्रिये* (with the *guna*, according to VII 3 111 S 245) The Abl Sing is *अतिस्त्रे*; The genitive forms are *अतिस्त्रे*, *अतिस्त्रियो*; *अतिस्त्रिणाम्* The Loc Sing. is *अतिस्त्रौ* formed by *अच् च* (VII 3 119 S 247) The Loc Dual is *अतिस्त्रियो*.

Verse — The *इयङ्* substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen and Loc Duals (Viz *ओस्*) also the Nom and Acc. Duals (*वौ*) and optionally before the Acc Sing and Pl *अम्* and *भ्यम्* and nowhere else when the *स्त्री* becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound *अतिस्त्रि* denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows.—Nom and Acc forms are *अतिस्त्रि*, *अतिस्त्रिणी*, *अतिस्त्रीणि*. The augment *नुङ्* is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S 314 and 320 The Instr Sing is *अतिस्त्रिणा*; VII 1. 73 In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1 74 S 321 Thus the Dat Sing is *अतिस्त्रिये* or *अतिस्त्रिणे*. The Abl Sing is *अतिस्त्रे*; or *अतिस्त्रिण* and so also is Gen Sing. The Gen. and Loc Dual *अतिस्त्रियो*; or *अतिस्त्रिणो* &c.

When the word *अतिस्त्रि* is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine *अतिस्त्रि* with the following exceptions —The Acc. Pl. is *अतिस्त्रीः*; Instr Sing. *अतिस्त्रिया*. Before the *ङिन्* case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option The word *अस्त्री* of the Sûtra I 4 4 S. 303 which is read by *anuvritti* in the Sûtra I. 4. 6 S 296 is confined to that form of *स्त्री* which takes the substitution *इयङ्* Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word *स्त्री* in the Sûtra I 4 6 S 296 refers to that form of *स्त्री* which ends in long *ई* and not to short *ई* as in *अतिस्त्रि* The result is that the rule I 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word *अतिस्त्रि* and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat Sing. is either *अतिस्त्रियै* (as a *Nadi*) or *अतिस्त्रिये* (as a *gh*). The Abl. and Genitive Sing forms are either *अतिस्त्रियाः* (as a *Nadi*) or *अतिस्त्रे*: (as a *gh*) The Genitive Pl. is *अतिस्त्रिणाम्*. The Loc Sing forms are either *अतिस्त्रियाम्* or *अतिस्त्रौ* ॥

— 0 —

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun *स्त्री* Its Nom; forms are *स्त्री*; *स्त्रियौ*, *स्त्रियः*

The Vocative is governed by the following rule —

३०३ । नेयडुवड्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयडुवडां स्थितिर्योस्तावीदुतौ नशीसज्ञौ न स्तो नतु स्त्री । हे श्री । श्रिये । श्रिये । श्रियाः ।
श्रिय ॥

303. Feminine words ending in *ī* and *ū* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyañ* and (उवङ्) *uvañ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called *Nadī* ; except the word *strī*, (which is called *nadī* notwithstanding its substituting *iyañ*).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्री . ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रिय or श्रिये ; Abl Sing is श्रिया. or श्रिय by I 4 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen , Pl . the following Sūtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयडुवड्स्थानौ स्थाख्यौ श्र आनि वा नशीसज्ञौ स्तो नतु स्त्री । श्रस्थाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रथीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्भूपम् । पदान्तर विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वं नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्वीकारान् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयटमते तु पुंवद्भूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अमि शसि च प्रथ्य प्रथ्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्या सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधी. श्रीवत् । मतान्तरे पुवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । ग्रामणीः पुवत् । ग्रामनयनस्योत्सर्गत पुधर्मतया पदान्तर विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एव खलपवनादेरपि पुधर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिक बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in *ī* and *ū*, though admitting *iyañ* and *uvañ* substitutes, are optionally termed *Nadī*, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strī*, which is always *Nadī*.

श्री + आम् = श्र इयङ् + आम् = श्रियाम् ; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुद् + अम् (VII 1 54) = श्रीणाम् ;

The Loc Sing is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word *प्रथी* is declined like *लक्ष्मी* according to the author of *वृत्तिकार* and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine , and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word But according to *Katyata* it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as *प्रकृष्टा धीः* then it is to be declined like *लक्ष्मी* The only peculiarities being in the Acc . Sing and Plural, where the forms are *प्रथ्यम्* and *प्रथ्यः* ।

The word *सुधी* when analysed as, *सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः* “ that woman whose understanding ‘is good’ ” or when analysed as *सुष्ठुध्यायति या* ‘She who meditates well’, then it is declined as श्री according to *वृत्ति* author According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुष्ठु धी: 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामिणी 'a female head of a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी, because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामिणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman. Similarly, the word स्वामिन् 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

Declension of Feminines ending in इ,

The Feminine Noun **ધેતુ** is declined like **ગતિ**. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun **ક્રોધ** ' In its declension, the following rule applies '—

३०५ । स्त्रियां च । ७ । १ । ६६ ॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुशब्दमृजन्तवर्ध्वा लभते ॥

305. The word क्रावु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्लृप् is treated as if it was क्लृ, the feminine will be formed by the affix डीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below —

३०६ । ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥

अरन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ठी । क्रोष्ठी । क्रोष्ठी । वधूगौरिवत् । भूः श्रिवत् ।
हे सुभ्रु । कथं तर्हि हापितः कासि हे सुभ्रु इति भट्टिः । प्रसार एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुवत् । पुनर्भू ।
इत्थं करोति यथा उवडो बाधनान्नेयदुवडिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भु । पुनर्भवम् । पुनर्भौ । पुनर्भ्यः ॥

306. The affix **ङीप्** is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in **ऋ** or in **ॠ** ।

Thus क्रोड् becomes क्रोद् and is declined as Nom : क्रोद् ; क्रोद्भ्यौ ; क्रोद्भ्याः ।

Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी; धू is declined like श्री. Its Voc. Sing is हे सुधूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुधू in the following passage ह्यपितः क्वासि हे सुधू ? The Bhatti has misapplied Sūtra I 2. 48 S 656 which is not applicable because धू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix डू added to the root ध्र (See Unādi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sutra VII 3. 107. S 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But वृषू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4. 4 S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kālidāsa of the form वृषु in the sentence विमाने वृषु स्निग्धं कुतः is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vārtika*, under VI 4. 84 S. 282, the ऊ is replaced by इ and thus the उवङ्, substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sūtra* I 4. 4 S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे पुनर्भू. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भव, पुनर्भौ, पुनर्भे.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाजुत्तरपद यस्य तस्मिन् समासि पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तबुद्धिभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य नित्य णत्व स्यात् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णग्रहण स्वार्थम् । यण बाधित्वा परस्यानुद् । पुनर्भूणाम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजातौ नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः कैयदमते । मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभु । पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वषाभूर्वदुरे पुमानिति यावत् । वर्षाभौ । वर्षाभिः । स्वयम् पुवत् ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prātipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text—The ण is repeated in this sūtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sūtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the *Kāśikā*). Because the sūtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sūtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sūtras VIII. 4. 10 and 11. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुद् is added, because it is subsequently taught and supersedes the यण of the *Vārtika* under VI 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू ॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभू. ॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing. is हे वर्षाभु ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yādava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavā; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom · Dual and Pl · are वर्षाभौ , वर्षाभ्य ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयम् is like that of the Masc : Noun.

————— ० —————

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः । १ । १ । १० ॥

षट्सङ्गकेभ्य स्वस्त्रादिभ्यश्च ङीप्दापौ न स्त ।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्ता दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सौते स्वस्त्रादय उदाहृता ॥

अप्तृन्निति शीर्षः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसार । माता पितृवत् । अस्ति मातुः । व्यागावत् । रा पुंवत् ॥ नौग्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and दाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrādi class—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter', ननान्ता 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्र 'three', चतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the penultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom. forms are स्वसा, स्वसारौ, स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc. Pl: the form is मातुः ॥

————— ० —————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun रै is declined like the Masc · Noun रै ॥

————— ० —————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun यो is declined like the Masculine Noun गो ॥

————— ० —————

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun नौ is declined like the Masculine Noun ग्लौ ॥

————— ० —————

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम् ०	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	"	"	रमयोः	"	हे रमे
Plural	रमा	रमां	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः	"	रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमा .

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्याः	"	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	सर्वयोः	"
Plural	सर्वाः	"	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	"	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा 'N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै	उत्तरपूर्वस्याः	"	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम्
				or	or		or
			उत्तरपूर्वायै	उत्तरपूर्वायः			उत्तरपूर्वायाम्
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वे	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	"	"	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	"
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वाः	"	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्यः	"	उत्तरपूर्वासाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु
						or	उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरस्यै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरसौ	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जरासाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जराया	जरायै	जरायाः	"	जरायाम्
Dual	जरे	"	जराभ्याम्	"	"	जरयोः	"
Plural	जराः	"	जराभिः	जराभ्यः	"	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिका	नासिकाम्	नसा	नस्यै	नस्यः	नस्यः	नस्यम्
Dual	नासिके	"	नाभ्याम्	"	"	नसोः	"
Plural	नासिकाः	नसः	नाभिः	नाभ्यः	"	नसाम्	नसु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निशाः	निशाः	निशि
Dual	निशे	"	निश्याम्	"	निशोः	"	"
			or				
			निश्याम्				
Plural	निशाः	निशः	निशभिः	निशभ्यः	"	निशाम्	निशसु
			or	or			or
			निशभिः	निशभ्यः			निशसु
							or
							निशसु

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०६ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽज्ञान् क्लीबास्त्वमोरम् स्यात् ॥ अणि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्हस्वाक्षिति हल्मात्रलोपः ।
हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom. Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान, i. e. the अ of अम् is elided and not the अ

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

क्लीबास्त्वस्यौङ् शी स्यात् । असंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha*.

Note.—By Sûtra I. 1 43 S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18 S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel शी is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

अस्येवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङ्ः इयां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a *bha* stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + शी = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika*.—

Vart —Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of ओ (VII. I. 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided. The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns. Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vāitika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sūtra.

In forming the Nom. and Acc. Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जइशसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्लीबानयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस् or शस् = ज्ञान + शि. Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanāma Sthāna* as taught in the next Sūtra and being so called, the Sūtra after that applies to it, by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसङ्गं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called *sarvanāma-sthāna*.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य नुमागम न्यास्तसर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधाशीर्ष । ज्ञानानि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेष रामवत् । एव धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + नुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर In its declension, the following rule applies

३१५ । अद्ङ् इतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७ । १ । २५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोरद्ङादेशः स्यात् ॥

315. अद्ङ् is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम् after the five Pronouns इतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. इतर, and 2. इतम्, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note.—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Saivanāmans are read together (See I 1 27 S 213)—इतर, इतम्, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरन् (the अ of katarā elided by ङ्) as कतरन् तिष्ठन्ति कतरन् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ङ in the affix अद्ङ् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sūtra

३१६ । टेः । इ । ४ । १४३ ॥

इति परे भस्य देर्लोपः स्यात् ॥ दावसाने ॥ कतरन् । कतरद् । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम् । पञ्चम । देर्लोपस्त्वात्प्रथमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णार्थं एङ्ङ्स्वादिति सबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरन् । पुनस्तद्ङ् । रोपः पुषत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमश्चदस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोरमादेशे कृते सनिपातपरिभाषया न जरस् । अजरम् । अजरसी अजरे । परस्वाज् जरसि कृते झलन्तत्वान्नुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ङ्, the last vowel, with the consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर + सु ० । अम् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतर + अद्ङ् = कतरद् or कतरन् (ङ् is optionally changed to न् by VIII 4 56. S 206.)

The Nom and Acc Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे, कतराणि

Why have we read the anuvṛtti of *bha* in this Sūtra? Observe पञ्चमः

Note:—The anuvṛtti of *bha* is read into this Sūtra from VI 4 129 S 233 the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix इद् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment मद् (V. 2 48 & 49 S 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + इद् The affix इद् does not cause the elision of the अन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII 2 7 S 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ङ्? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular as कतर + अत् = कतरात् by VI 1 102 In the case of the accusative, अत् being the substitute of अम् will be sthānivāt, and give us कतरन् by VI 1 107 even without

इ ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अत्, it would give कतरत् &c without the application of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत्. The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an aprkta. See however VI. I. I. 69. S. 193.

If in the sūtra VI. I. 69, there is the anuvritti of the word 'aprkta' then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e. the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvritti of aprkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory इ i. e. reading it as अद्, we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no इ)

Thus the Voc. Sing. is हे कतरत्

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम्, इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् is like that of कतरम्. Thus कतम्, इतरम्, अन्यम् and अन्यतरम् ॥ The word अन्यतम् forms its Nom. and Acc. Sing. अन्यतम् and not अन्यतम् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यादि-अन्यतमत्तम् ॥

Vārtika —Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतरम् although it is formed with the affix इतर. Thus its Nom. Sing. is एकतरम् and not एकतरत्.

—'0'—

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजरम् meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य). The अ of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656. Thus we get the form अजर. Thus अजर + लु = अजर + अम् (VII. I. 24 S. 309). At this stage Sūtra VII. 2. 101 S. 227 requires the substitution of जरम् in the place of जरा, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विधातव्यं that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरम् to be substituted for जरा ॥

Thus Nom. Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरासी ० अजरे,

In the case of Nom. Plural there is affix शि and when जरम् is substituted, then we have the augment लुम् (VII. I. 72 S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamasthāna. This लुम् must be added after the जरम् substitution has taken

place, because *जरस्* substitution is taught by VII. 2. 101 S. 227 which is latter in order of the *Ashtādhyāyī* than *नुम्* augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + सि = अजरस + नुम् + इ = अजरन् सु + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sūtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहत्तः संयोगस्य । इ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महत्तश्च यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादस्युद्धौ संश्रानामस्थान परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अणि लुकोपवादमभाव बाधित्वा परत्वाऽजरस् । तत् सन्निपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरसम् । अजरम् । अजरासी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेष पुवत् । पङ्क्त इति ह्रस्वोदकात्यानां ह्रस्व उदन् भासन् । ह्रस्वि । ह्रस्वा । ह्रस्वामित्यादि । उदानि । उदा । उदामित्यादि । भासानि । भासा । भासामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्शामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रथतिग्रहण प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मास्वचन्या उखाया इत्युदाहृतम् । अयस्मयादित्वेन भस्वात्सयोगान्तलोपो न । पङ्क्त इत्यत्र हि लृन्दसीत्यनुवर्तित वृत्तौ तथाप्यपोभीत्यत्र मासश्छन्दसीति वार्तिके 'छन्दोमहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकऽपि क्वचिरिति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदादयः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत्त् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When *जरस्* substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing; we have अजर + अम्

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously, first *luk*-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1. 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1. 24, (3) and thirdly, *जरस्* for *जर* by VII. 2. 101 Of these *लुक्* elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23, and in its turn अम् is replaced by the *जरस्* of VII. 2. 101 *जरस्* being substituted for *जर*, we have अजरस्, now *luk* cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरसं ॥

When there is no *जरस्* substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम् ॥

The Acc: Dual will be अजरासी or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note.—The form अजरांसि is thus evolved अजर + इ ॥ Here if the *नुम्* augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga. But this augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because

of this नुम् intervention And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (ननुप्रतिपादकस्य तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जर which forms only a portion of a full word अजरः. Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the स् of जरस्. Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule, and having done so, the नुम् should be added after-wards under VII 1 72.

The form अजरस् is thus evolved. We have अजर + अम्. Here on the maxim एकदेशाविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस् for जर also, (for जर and जरस् are considered as one). Then appears VII 1 23 ordaining the लुक् of अम् and VII. 1. 24 teaching अम्. The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्, उदक by उदम् and आस्य by आसन् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्दि हृदा, हृदभ्याम् &c, उदानि, उदना, उदभ्याम् &c; आसानि, आसा, आसभ्याम् &c; मांसि, मांसा, मांसभ्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रभृति is used in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63 S. 228 in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sûtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahābhāṣya* gives the example of 'मांसपचन्या उखाया' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant

Note:—मांसपचन्याः is thus formed. From the root पच we form पचन with the affix ल्युट् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sûtra, III. 3 93 S. 3271 meaning the vessel for cooking. To पचन is added the feminine affix डीप् मांसस्य पचनी = मांसपचनी. Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sûtra I 1 63 S. 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांस, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रभृति in the sense प्रकार.

By taking this compound under I. 4 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not सयोगान्त लोप. Moreover, if in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sûtra VI. 1. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also. Because, in Sûtra VII. 4 48 S. 442, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* has read the following Vaitika. मांसश्छन्दसि meaning न् is substituted for the final of मांस before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now भवोभि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्दस् in the *Vārtika* indicates by implication that छन्दस् rules are not confined to the Vedās only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaṣyap* who says that the inclusion of नास् in VI 1 63 S 263 is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only. The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in नास्छन्दसि *Vārtika* under Sūtra VII 4 48 S 442 indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

क्रीवे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽजन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीप । ज्ञानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र सनिपातपरिभाषया अतो धातोरित्याकारलोपो न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here पा is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S 240 before the affix डे on the maxim 'सनिपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

————— ० —————

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom. Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

क्रीबादङ्गास्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + ० = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + औ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

३२० । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य क्रीबस्य नुमागमः स्यादचि विभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारीणि । ननुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वा-
त्पक्षे सवृद्धिनिमित्तो गुणः । हे वारि । हे वारि । आङो न । वारिणा । चेङितीतिगुणे प्राप्तिः ॥ वृद्धयौस्वतुङ्ग-
क्तावगुणेभ्यो नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ वारिणि । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमच्चिरेति जुद् । नामीति दीर्घः ।
वारीणाम् । वारिणि । वारिणो । हलादौ हरिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + औ = वारि + नुम् = वी (VII. 1. 19. S 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom Pl. is वारिणी ॥

The Voc. Sing. has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guna of इ under rule VII. 3. 108 S 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by लु it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1 63 S 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst. Sing. is वारिण ॥

The Dat. Sing. is वारि + हे ॥ Here the rule घेङिति VII 3. 111 S. 245 requires guna. But the guna is set aside by the following *Vārtika*

Vārtik The augment नुम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, औ substitution, वृष्वङ्गाव and *guna*. Thus वारिणे ॥

The Abl. and Gen. sing. is वारिण. ॥

The Gen. dual is वारिणो. ॥

The augment नुद् is added by the *Vārtika* नुमच्चिर &c under sūtra VIII 3 24. S 123 in forming the Genitive Plural, and the short इ is lengthened by VI 4 3 S 209 Thus we get the Gen. Plural, वारीणाम् ॥

The Loc. Sing. and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणो. respectively Before the consonant beginning affix सु of the Loc. Pl. it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119 S. 247.) i. e. वारिषु ॥

—————o—————

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies —

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्भालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्त क्लीब पुंवद्वा स्वाद्यावाचि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि ।
शेष वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फल पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अत्र न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gālava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender, its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

The word मधु is thus declined : as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधुनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु ; D S मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सानु optionally assumes the form स्नु by the Vārtika under VIII. 2. 41 S 295. Thus स्नुनि or सानूनि ॥

So also मियक्राण्ड, मियक्रोष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have नुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the नृञ्वाव (VII 1 95 S 274), as मियक्रोष्टूनि । In Ins S and other cases, when the rule VII 1 74 applies, we have two forms as मियक्रोष्ट्र or मियक्राण्डुना, मियक्रोष्ट्रे or मियक्रोष्टवे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with नुम् alone, as मियक्रोष्टुना मियक्रोष्टुने ॥ There will be नुद् by नुमचिर as मियक्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows. Nom : and Acc : forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलुनि ॥ Instr singular is सुलुवा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातु is declined as follows :—Nom and Acc : forms are धातु, धातुणी, धातुणि ॥ The Voc. Sing. is हे धात or हेधातु ॥

The Instr : Singular is धातुवा or धातुना ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञात, कर्तु &c.

————— ० —————

Now we take up the declension of प्रथो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to इ in accordance with the following Sūtra —

३२३ । एच् इञ्स्वादेशे । १ । १ ४८ ॥

आदिभ्यनानेषु द्वस्वेषु मध्ये एच् इमेव स्यात् ॥ प्रथु । प्रथुनी । प्रथुनि । प्रथुनेत्यादि । इह न पुक्त् । अदिगन्तं प्रथु इति तस्य भषितपुंस्त्वभावात् । एवमयेऽपि । परि । परिणी । प्रीणि । परिणा । एकदेशादि-कृतस्यानन्यत्वाद्वायो हलीत्यात्वम् । प्रराभ्याम् । प्रराभिः । नुमचिरेति नुम्यात्वे प्रराणामिति नाधवः । वस्तुतस्तु सनिपातपरिभाषया नुम्यात्व न । नामीति दीर्घस्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम् । प्ररीणाम् । सुतु । सुतुनी । सुतुनि । सुतुना । सुतुने । इत्यादि ॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note.—This sūtra points out the इक् substitutes of एच् । We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I 2 47 declares —“the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel” Therefore in compounding अति + ऐ, the ऐ must be shortened Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि ‘extravagant’ so नौ अतिरि ‘disembarked or landed,’ गो, उपरि ‘near a cow.’ All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II, 4 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ अति + खद्वा = अति खद्वा । अति + माला = अतिमाल ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta 'द्वेदश्च' !

Thus Nom and Acc. forms are प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी, प्रद्युनि. The Instr. Sing. is प्रद्युना etc This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form 'प्रदि' which is derived from the root दै to give with the prefix प्र The दै being changed to दि by the present Sūtra we get the form प्रदि It is declined as follows.—Nom. and Acc. forms are प्रदि प्रदिर्षी, प्रदीर्षि. Instr. Sing. प्रदिणा By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change something else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to दै will apply to दि also. Hence the rule राद्यो हलि VII.2. 85 S. 286 will apply to प्रदि also Thus forms before भ्याम् and भि will be प्रदिभ्याम् and प्रदिभि । According to Mādhava, the Genitive Pl. will be प्रदिणाम्, the augment नुद् being added by the Vārtika नुमाचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before नुद् in accordance with the Maxim सानिपात लक्षणे विधिरनिमित्त, i. e. That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sūtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्रदीणाम् ॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुनौ meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom. and Acc. forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनुनि ॥ The Instr. and Dat. Singular forms are सुनुन, सुनुने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

DECLENSION OF MASCULINE NOUNS ENDING IN CONSONANTS.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिङ् derived from the root लिङ् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्तिप् ॥ The Nom. Sing. is लिङ् + क्तु ॥ The ङ् is changed to ङ by the following rule.

३२४ । होढः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

इस्य ष्ठ स्याज्जालि पदान्ते च । हलङ्भाविनि मुलौपः । पदान्तत्वात्स्थ षः । जइस्वचत्वे । लिङ् ।
लिङ् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहम् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहा । लिङ्भ्याम् । लिङ्सु ॥

324 ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिह्+सु=लिह्+ O (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्याप् VI 1. 68 S 252)
=लिढ (The ह् is changed to ढ because it is final in a pada)=लिङ् (VIII 2 39
S. 84) or लिङ् (VIII. 4 56 S 206)

The Nom : Dual and Pl are लिहौ , लिहः ॥

The Acc forms are लिङ्म, लिङ्गौ ; लिङ्गः ॥

The Instr : forms are लिहा, लिङ्भ्याम् लिङ्भि ॥

The Loc Pl. is लिङ्स्त् (The त् being optionally added by VIII, 3. 29 S. 131) or लिङ्स्त् ॥

-----0:-----

Now we take up the declension of शान्तिह् ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb शान्तिह्यति (शान्तिह्यमानान्तिह्यति one who desires a शान्तिह्) Here the following sūtra is inapplicable, though the root शान्तिह्य begins with ह् ॥

३२५ । दादेर्धातोर्घः । ढ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशो दादेशातोर्हस्य घः स्याज्जलि पदान्तं च । उपदेशो क्रिप् । अधोगित्यत्र यथा स्यात् । शम-
लिहयात्मानं इच्छति शमलिह्यति । ततः क्विपि शमलिद् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325 Of a root beginning with ऋ, in original enunciation, the ऋ is substituted for ह्र, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But दामलिह् does not become दामलिक् because the anuvitti of the word उपदेश is understood in the above Sûtra and as in the Dhātupāṭha there is no root like दामलिह्, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Note given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sūtra ? So that there may be च substitution in अधोक् which does not begin with ह in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with ह ॥

Note —For the final ह् of a ह्-beginning root, च is substituted under similar circumstances As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधुक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, गोधुक्, from दह् and दुह् ॥ For the ह् of the affixes ह् &c च is substituted by VIII 2. 40, before which, the च becomes ञ by VIII 4 53 For the च in काष्ठह् is substituted ञ by VIII 2 39, or क् by VIII 4 56, and ह् becomes च by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say “of a root beginning with ह्” ? Observe लेढा, लढुम्, लेढव्यम्, युङलिद् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातौः is not to make it in apposition with the word दौह् but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole so that it means “the word which begins with ह् and forms part of a root, for the ह् of such a part is substituted च.” What does follow from it ? The letter च is substituted in अधोक् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरवयवो वा वादिसाब्दस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c), the च would have come in examples like मास्म धाक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sūtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the force of denoting a ‘portion or member’, how do you explain the forms दोग्धा दोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word ? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भाव “An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach” (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sūtra, by saying ‘that root which begins with ह् in its original enunciation in Dhātupāṭha’ ? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with ह् ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like दामलिह् (दामलिहमिच्छति = दामलिहति), it is a root which begins with ह्; the ह् of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to च, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add क्तिप् to this root, we get दामलिह् by VIII. 2. 31, and not दामलिक् ॥

Now we take up the declension of ‘दुह्’ ॥ Here the following sūtra applies .—

३२६ । एकाचो वशो भष् भषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोरेवयवो य एकाच् क्षपन्तस्तदवयवस्य वशः स्थाने भष् स्यात्सकारि ध्वशब्दे पदान्ते च । एकाचो धातोरिति सामानाधिकरण्यानन्वये तु इह न स्यात् । गर्हभमाचष्टे गर्हभयति । तत किवप् । णिलोपः । गर्धप् । झलीति निवृत्तम् । स्ध्वोर्ध्वेणसामर्थ्यात् । तेनेह न । दुग्धम् । दोग्धा । व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्ववयवत्वाद्भष्-भाव । जस्त्वचत्वे । धुक् धुग् । दुहौ । दुहः । घत्त्वचत्वे । धुक्षु ॥

326. For the letters ब, ग, ङ or ढ in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in भ, म, य, ढ or घ, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively in that portion of it which begins with वश् and ends with जष् before स or च्च, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sūtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sūtra, that is to say, which begins with ब, ग, ङ or ढ and ends with झ, भ, य, ढ, घ, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ज and ends with the fourth letter of the *Varga*, then for ब is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ङ, ढ, and for ढ, ध ॥ But had we explained the sūtra by saying एकाचोधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्धप् from the denominative root गर्हभयति. The word गर्धप् is derived from the root गर्हभ by the affix किप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The ढ is changed to ध ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sūtra. This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the *Aṣṭā dhyāyī*.

By taking the letters स and च्च in the sūtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, दोग्धा ॥ Here ढ is not changed to ध ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकास्मिन्, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach," the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह्+झ=दुह्+O=दुघ्+O=धुघ्=धुग् or धुक् ॥ The Nom : Dual and Pl : are दुहौ ; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc · Pl · the present sūtra will apply and we get the form धुक्षु ॥ (स being changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. S 212)

In declining 'दुह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहणुहणिहाम् । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषा हस्य वा घ स्याज्जालि पदान्ते च । पक्षे ङः । ध्रक् । ध्रग् । ध्रुद् । ध्रुङ् । हुहो । हुहः । ध्रुग्भ्याम् । ध्रुङ्भ्याम् । ध्रुङ् । ध्रुङ्भ्यः । ध्रुङ्भ्यः । एव द्रुहणुहणिहाम् ॥ विश्ववाद् । विश्ववाङ् । विश्ववाहो । विश्ववाहम् । विश्ववाहं । विश्ववाहौ ॥

327. The ह् of druh, muh, snub, and snih is optionally changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word

The ह् of these words is changed to घ optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to ढ् ॥ Thus Nom Sing is ध्रक् or ध्रग् or ध्रुद् or ध्रुङ् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is ध्रुग्भ्याम् or ध्रुङ्भ्याम्. Locative Pl is ध्रुङ्भ्यः or ध्रुङ्भ्यः (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or ध्रुङ्भ्यः ॥

Similar is the declension of द्रुह्, स्नुह् and लिह् ॥

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Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह् ॥ The Nom. forms are विश्ववाद् or विश्ववाङ्, विश्ववाहो, विश्ववाहः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहौ ॥

In forming the Acc. Pl. the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of ' bha ' before this affix, that is the semi-vowel व् is changed to ङ् ॥ This change is called सप्रसारण (Samprasāraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sūtra.

३२८ । इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ८ ॥

शेषः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक् स सप्रसारणसज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels yan are called samprasāraṇa.

Note —This defines the word samprasāraṇa or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi vowels into vowels. The pratyāhāra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ, and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels ए, ओ, ई, and औ included in the pratyāhāra yan. The word samprasāraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् ' to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishtā affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + क्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasāraṇa of the व् of स्वप् before the क्त affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः ' slept ' Similarly from वद्-उवित्, यञ्-इदम्, व्यध्-विज्, मह-गृहीतम्-पठ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasāraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13 ; VI. 4. 131.

३२६ । बाह ऊट् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

भस्व बाह- सम्सारणदृष्ट्या ॥

329. The व् in बाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊट), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादपि परे पूर्वरूपमकोट्या स्यात् ॥ एत्येधत्तुसु ॥ विद्वाह । विद्वाहेत्यादि ।
ऊन्त्येव पिवारिति पक्षे पिञ्जन्तादिभ्यः ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्वबाह् + बास् = विश्व + ऊ + आह् + बास् = विश्व + ऊह् + बास् = विश्वाहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वाहा and so on.

If बाह् in विश्वबाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix पिव under sūtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix विच् after it by sūtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word बाह् is a पिव formed stem by III 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वाहः ॥ By VI 1 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वाह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI 1 89 This form could have been evolved by simple samprasāraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + बास् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + बास् (VI 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + आह् + बास् (the affix पिव III 2 64, will produce guṇa) = प्रष्ठाहः (VI 1. 88) In fact पिव is never added to वह् (III 2 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasāraṇa in ऊह्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: आसिद्ध बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे; and the samprasāraṇa being a bahuranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaraṅga operation therefore, we can never get the form ओह् ॥

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Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्. In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरासुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ६८ ॥

अनयोरास स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह् get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनडुहाह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । सावनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य जुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदिस्थधिकाणवर्णत्वरोऽयं जुम् । अतो विशेषविहितेनापि जुमा आम् न बाध्यते । अमा च जुम् न बाध्यते । सीर्लोपः । जुम् विधिसामर्थ्याद्गुप्तत्वमिति वक्ष्ये न । सयागान्तलोप-
स्यासिद्धत्वाज्ज्ञेयो न । अनडुहान् ॥

332. अनडुह gets the augment जुम् before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनडुह gets the augment आ after ह in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1 99). It thus becomes अनडुवाह् and अनडुह् ॥ By the present sūtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII 2. 23 Thus we have अनडुवान् Nominative Singular, and अनडुवन् in the Vocative Singular The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede जुम्, nor are they superseded by जुम् ॥

The जुम् is specifically taught by this Sūtra, the ह् is not changed to व् by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23 S 54 is not perceived by VIII 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2 1. S 12 So the न् is not elided Thus the Nom Sing is अनडुवान् In forming the Voc the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संवुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ६९ ॥

चतुरनडुहोरम् स्यात्संवुद्धौ । आमोपवादः । हे अनडुन् । अनडुवाहौ । अनडुवाहः । अनडुहा ॥

333. चतुर and अनडुह get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनडुन्, हे अनडुवाहौ, अनडुवाह ॥

The Instr Sing. is अनडुहा.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, भि &c, the ह् is changed to व् by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुसंस्वध्वंस्वनडुहां दः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य ससादेश्च दः स्यात्परान्ते । अनडुङ्गणमित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विद्वान् । परान्ते इति किम् । सस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. द is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in स and for the final of संस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनडुद्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वसु must end in व ? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe सस्तम्, ध्वस्तम्.

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Now, we take up the declension of तुरासाह. In its declension, the following rule applies —

३३५। सहेः साडः सः। ८। ३। ५६॥

साङ् रूपस्य सहे सस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । तुराषाद् । तुराषाङ् । तुरासाहौ । तुरासाहः । तुराषाङ्-भ्यामित्यादि । तुर सहत इत्यर्थे छन्दसि सह इति ण्विः । लोके तु साहयतः क्विप् । अन्वेषामपाति पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः ॥

335. व is substituted for the स in साह, when this occurs in the form of साङ् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाट्, साङ् is derived from सह by the affix ण्वि (III 2 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ङ (VIII. 2. 31). and the upapada is lengthened (VI 3 137 S. 3539).

Note :—साङः स would have been enough, for there is no other form साङ् except this derived from सह why then the word is used in the sūtra ? There is another form साङ not derived from सह ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सङ्, सङस्य अपत्य = साङि ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ङ is called सङ्, as मृङ् ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साङ्' ? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say स "for the स" ? So that the आ of साङ् may not be changed to cerebral the ङ is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह् ॥

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There is no masculine noun ending in व् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोव् meaning तोयमाचक्षणः and decline as तोव्, तोयौ, तोव yet this व् will allways be elided by the rule VI 1 66 S. 873 We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in व् ६४ सुदिव् In its declension, the following rule applies —

३३६। दिव औत् । ७। १। ८४॥

दिविति प्रातिपदिकस्य औत्स्यात्सौ परे । अन्विधिवेन स्थानिवस्वामावाङ्ङ्प्रादिति सुलोपो न ॥ सुयोः । सुदिवौ । सुदिवः । सुदिवम् । सुदिवौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prātipadika दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note :—There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter इ and is exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as दिव् ॥ The nominal-stem derived from दिव् does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom Sg of which is द्युः as अक्षद्युः (See VI, 4 19, and VI 1, 131)

The rule VI 1 68 S 252, required the elision of सु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्थानिवत् to इ for the purposes of अलिविधि rule VI 1. 68 S 252 Thus the Nom forms are सुद्यौ, सुदिवौ, सुदिवः. The Acc. forms are सुदिवम्, सुदिवौ &c.

Before भ्याम् and मि the following rule applies —

३३७ । दिव उक् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तदिश उकार स्यात्पदान्ते । सुद्युभ्याम् । सुद्युमिः । चत्वारः । चतुरः । चतुर्भिः । चतुर्भ्यः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note —The portion पद् of the word पदान्त must be read into this sūtra from VI 1 109 The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = युक्ताम्, युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, युभ्याम्, युमिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prātipadika and not a dhātu, for as a dhātu it ought to have its servile letter (annbandha) and should have been read as दिव् ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for इ by VI 4 19 In that case we shall have अक्षद्युभ्याम्, अक्षद्युमिः ॥ The उक् with a कृ shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊठ (VI. 4 19). In the case of ऊठ substitution the forms will be द्युभ्याम्, द्युमिः ॥ The ऊठ also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sūtra Why do we say 'when it is a Pada' ? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr. Dual and Pl. are सुद्युभ्याम्, सुद्युमिः

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in इ ॥

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in इ

We take up the declension of चतुर which is always Plural. Its Nom. Pl. is चतुर + अस् = चतुर + आम् + अस् (S. 331) = चत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr.; Dat and Abl. Pl. are चतुरः, चतुर्भिः, चतुर्भ्यः, चतुर्भ्यः respectively.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule applies:—

३३८ । चतुर्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

चतुर्चतुर्भ्यश्च परस्यामो नुडागम स्यात् । णत्वं । द्वित्व । चतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर ॥

Text.—The न् is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this ण is optionally doubled by VIII. 4 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमवर्णानाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियवचाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुर्णाम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl., the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जणीय taught there applies to that र् which is derived from ह् and not to every र्.

३३६ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे रोरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेकस्य । वत्स्य । वत्स्य द्वित्वे प्राप्त ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the ह् called र् (and not any other र्), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर् + सु = चतुर् + सु by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । प्रियवत्साः । हे प्रियवत्स्यः । प्रियवत्स्यारो । प्रियवत्स्यार । गौणत्वे तु जुद् न्यस्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमल कमलां वा भावभाजः कमल् । कमलो । कमल । वत्स्य । कमलषु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows,

Note :—The word न् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars the application of rule VIII 4 46, S, 59. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्ष, अक्षर्षः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe इदर्थे ॥

Text.—Thus चतुर्षु

Now, we take up the declension of प्रियचतुर् which may be declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). प्रियचतुर् + सु = प्रियचतु + अ + र् + स् (VII. 1. 98 S 331) = प्रियचत्साः In the Voc. Sing, instead of आत् there will be अत् by VII 1 99 S. 333. Thus हे प्रियवत्स्य । The Nom. Dual and Pl. are प्रियवत्स्यारो; प्रियवत्स्यार, As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment जुद् required by VII. 1. 55 S 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen. Pl. Thus we have प्रियचतुराम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrihi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be प्रियचतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र् ॥

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कमल. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule लृक्करोति सदाच्चे, that is, when the sense is कमल कमलां वा वक्ष्यामः that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalā. Thus कमल + णिच् (of चुरादिगण) To this we add the affix क्विप्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313 Thus we get कमल् Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमलौ, कमलः. Its Loc. Pl. is कमलसु (The स् being changed to ष्).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

There is no noun ending in ञ् Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ञ्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मोनो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मस्य नः स्यात्परान्ते । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्प्रलोपो न । प्रशान्यतीति प्रशान् । प्रशानौ । प्रशानः । प्रशान्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada. for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, this is formed by adding क्विप् to the root शम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as असिद्धा is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशानौ, प्रशानः where न् is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रशान्, प्रशानौ प्रशानः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रशान्भ्याम् &c.

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकञ्सहितस्याप्ययमादेशः । क । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्ववत् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकञ् is added Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For ञ् of किम being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by अ, had the sūtra been किमोऽन् and the forms would have been the same (क् + अ + अ = क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । स्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sūtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम् इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सौलोपः । अयम् । स्यदाद्यत्वं परकृपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sūtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265 would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद् ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । दश्च । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो दश्च न स्याद्विभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । स्यदादिः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम् + अम् = इदअ + अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.) = इमअ + अम् (VII 2 109 S. 345.) = इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of स्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies:—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येदम् एदोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आकिति वा इत्यारभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, provided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say " not when क is added by V. 3. 71 " ? Observe इनकन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sūtra is a pratyāhāra, formed with the आ of दा (Ins. Sg), and ए of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्येवम इति लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थकेऽन्यविधिरनभ्यासीवकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम् is elided before an āp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable. "

Having elided इद् of इदम्, the only portion that remains now is इ which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S 265 Thus we have only अ left Thus अ + भ्याम् ॥ Now VII 3 102 S 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with बम् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sūtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमाशुविवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोस्विमदसोर्भित ऐस् न स्यात् । एस्वम् । एभिः । अस्वम् । नित्यस्वात् डेः स्मौ ; पभाज्जालि-
लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्व । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् ।
अनयोः । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमका
भ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम् and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ + भिः = एभिः (VII 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + हे = अस्मै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215) ; अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्य = एभ्यः ॥
The Abl., Gen. and Loc. forms are as follow—अस्मात्, (VII. 1. 15 S. 216) ;
आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्व (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII. 3. 104. S. 207 and
VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1. 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII. 1. 15. S. 216) ;
एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S. 212).

When अकच् is added the forms are as follows—Nom : अकचम्, इमकौ, इमके, Acc : इमकम्, इमकौ, इमकाच् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याच्, इमकै ॥

By the following rule, when **इदम्** is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशोऽयनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुवात्तोश्च आदेशः स्यात्सीयादौ । अश्वत्थनं साक्यकार्थम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdesa) there is the substitution of अयम् which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note —The word **अन्वादेश** means literally saying (ādeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इश् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvādeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इश् by I. 1 55 S. 45. and not only the final श्.

Text.—The substitute अश् will replace इश्, even when the latter takes the affix अकश् (V. 3. 71.)

३५९ । द्वितीयाटौस्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ।

द्वितीयायां दैतोष्ये परत इमेतशेरेनादेशः स्वाध्यादेशो । किञ्चित्कार्यं विधातुमुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तरं विधातुं पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेन छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्र कुलमेतयोः प्रभूतं स्वामिति । एनस् । एनौ । एनात् । एनेन । एनयोः । गजयर्थेति च । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगण । सुगण्डइत् । सुगण्डइत् । सुगण्डु । क्विप् । अनुनासिकस्य क्विप्प्रलोरिति दीर्घः । सुगाण् । सुगाणौ । सुगाणः । सुगाण्डइत् । सुगाण्डइत् सुगाण्डु । परस्वातुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्यादिलोपः । ततो मत्तपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or दा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudatta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvādeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, "The grammar has been studied by him (*anena*), now set him (*enam*)

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two (*anayoh*) the family is illustrious and their (*enayoh*) wealth is great." The cases in this form are—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr. Sing. एनेन; Gen. & Loc. Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc Nouns ending in न्

————— ० —————

There is no Masculine noun ending in इ. Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण *e g* सुगण् which is formed by the affix विच् added to गण् (III 2 75 S. 2980) Its Nom forms are सुगण्, सुगणौ, सुगणः, Loc. Pl. is सुगण्डसु, सुगण्डसु or सुगणसु

If it be formed with the affix विच् (III 2 76 S. 2983), then by VI 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुगाण्, सुगाणौ, सुगाणः; the Loc. Pl. is सुगाण्डसु, सुगाण्डसु, or सुगाणसु

Here ends the declension of Mas Nouns ending in ण्.

————— ० —————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom. Sg. is राजन् + सु = राजान् + सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S. 250) = राजान् + ० (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc. the following rule applies :—

३५२ । न ङिसंबुद्धयोः । ८ । २ । ८ ॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु छन्दस्युदाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुगिति डेलुक् । निषेधसामर्थ्यात्प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । परमे व्योमन् ॥ ङावुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चर्माणि तिला अस्य चर्म-तिलः । ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः । राजानौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ अल्लोपोनः । इक्षुत्वम् । न आल्लोपः स्थानिवत् । पूर्वआसिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गत्वयाऽसिद्धः । यथादेशपक्षे षाड्ठी परिभाषां प्रति इक्षुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्ते । जम्बोदः । राज्ञः । राज्ञा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debarb the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sūtra VIII. 2. 7. S. 236 The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided ; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Var —Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिल, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाअस्य = ब्रह्म निष्ठा ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ, राजान ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम्, राजानौ ।

The Acc · Pl is thus formed '—राजन् + शस् Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4 18. S. 231. and therefore the अ of राजन् is elided by VI. 4 134 S. 234 and the न् is changed to झ by VIII. 4 40 S 111. The elision of अ is not *Sthānivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sūtra VII. 2. 1. S 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being *bahiranga*. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Prabhāshās* may be viewed in Pāṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former i. e. यथोद्देश संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjnās and Paribhāshās remain where they are taught," and the latter, i. e. कार्यकाल संज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjnās and Paribhāshās are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjnās occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhāshās concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of ज into झ being *asiddha* in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S 38, there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhāsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than *bahiranga*" finds no scope for application. Therefore ज and झ combining form झ. Thus we get the Acc Pl राज्ञ Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + डि = व्योमिन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no *pratyaya-lakshana* (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the designation of पद (सुप्तिङन्तपदं) because it has no सुप् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2 7 S 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sūtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sūtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुक्ताङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be *pratyalakshana*. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पद, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sūtra.

Although न संज्ञा excludes and debars पदसंज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राज्ञ् + O + न् + शस् (अहोपोऽन) Here the zero will be *sthānivat* (by अच् परस्मिन् I 1 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to झ and so we could not get

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopapadesa is not sthānivat, because of the vārtika पूर्वभासिजे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahābhāṣya I. 1 58 and Siddhānta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix बाह् which is out side; and the change of न् into झ् is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to ह्युत्त्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhāṣā भासिजे बाहिरङ्ग &c. is derived from the Jñāpaka of बाह ऊह् (VI 4. 132 S. 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyāya and consequently does not see the ह्युत्त्व vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyāya (VIII 4 41 S. 111.) by the sūtra पूर्वभासिजे, and so there will be no antaranga Bhāva. This proceeds on the view of न्यायेक Paksha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुविधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुप्तिथौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृतिषु विधा च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नाप्यत्र । राजाह इत्याद्यो । इत्य-
सिद्धत्वादात्मनेस्त्वैस्त्वं च न । राज्ञाह् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञो । राज्ञात् । राज्ञि ।
राजानि । प्रतिशिव्वतीति प्रतिदिवा । प्रतिदिवानौ । प्रतिदिवानः । अस्य भविष्येऽज्ञापेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules ; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment न् before a Kṛit-affix.

The word विधि in the sūtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुप्तिथिः, स्वरविधिः &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञा-विधि, कृतिविधि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is to be given to it or when न् is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुप्तिथि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुप्तिथि — As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिच् is not changed to ऐच् by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राज्ञाह्, तक्षन्, राज्ञु, तक्षन् ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before आ by सुप्तिच (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before ह्यु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205) : as in नराह् and नरेषु of the stem ending in न् ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीवते (राजन् + क्वत् + ते = राज + व + ते = राजविते III. 1. 8. S. 2657 VII.

4 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजाद्ये there is lengthening (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राज्ञां there is ekādeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect, there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205). nor the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S. 203).

Thus Instr. dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राज्ञे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः, Abl. and Gen Sing. राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राजनि ॥

— .o: —

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Uṇādi affix कनिन् (Uṇādi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिच् ' to shine.' It is declined as follows .—Nom. forms are प्रतिदिवा, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc : Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134. S. 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । < । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घः स्याद्वलि । न चाल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् । बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा नूक्तन्यायेन न प्रवर्तते । प्रतिदीप् । प्रतिदीप्तेत्यादि । यज्वा । यज्वानौ । यज्वान ॥

354. Of a root ending in द् or च्, the penultimate द् or च् is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthānivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so द् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234 a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S. 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिदीप्ताः ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिदीप्ता &c.

— .o: —

Now we take up the declension of यज्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यज्वा, यज्वानौ, यज्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अच् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्यमन्तात् । < । ४ । १३७ ॥

यकारयकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यज्वन् । यज्वानौ । यज्वानामित्यादि । ब्रह्मण । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व् or म् ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: यज्वन् ॥ Instr Sing and dual यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्मण, Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्माभि ॥

Now, we take up the declension of वृत्रहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies —

३५६ । इन् हन् पूषार्य न्यां शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शाववोपधाया शीर्षो नाग्धञ् । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sūtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इन्द्रादीनामुपधाया शीर्षे स्यादसङुञ्चौ सौ परे । वृषश्च । हे वृत्रहन् । एकाञ्चुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृत्रहणौ । वृत्रहणः । वृत्रहणम् । वृत्रहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृषश्च, ॥ The च् is elided by VIII. 2 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृत्रहन् ॥

The च् is changed to ण् by VIII. 4 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D वृत्रहणौ, N. Pl: वृत्रहणः, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृत्रहणम् and वृत्रहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the अ of हन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the ह् is changed to guttural by the following Sūtra.

३५८ । होहन्तेर्णिञ्चेषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

अिति णिति च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्, or ण् and before न् ॥

The next Sūtra हन्तेरस्युर्ध्वस्व is divided by the author into two parts. V12, first, हन्ते and then अर्धपूर्वस्व ॥

३५६ । हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्व स्यात् । ग्रहण्यात् ॥

• 359. The न्, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As ग्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृचहन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sûtra, makes an exception.

३५९ क । अत्पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्व नान्यस्य । प्रग्नन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो चेति न्याय बाधित्वा एकास्तुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्यते । नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादलोपो न स्थानिवत् । वृचग्नः । वृचग्न इत्यादि । यत्तु वृचग्न इत्यादौ वैकल्पिक णत्व माधवेनोक्तं तज्ज्ञाप्यवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्थमनूप्यन् । यशस्विन्निति विन्प्रत्यये इनोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इन्हन्तित्यत्र ग्रहणं भवत्येव । अनिनस्-न्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधि प्रयोजयन्तीति वञ्चनान् । अर्थमणि । अर्थमणि । पूष्णि पूषणि ॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण् when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रग्नन्ति ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sûtra into two by the maxim योगविभागादिति सिद्धिः i. e. "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhāṣā — "A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sûtra VIII. 4. 12. S. 307 ordaining णत्व also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthānivat because otherwise the ह् will never be followed by न् and so there will be no scope for Sûtra VII. 3. 54 S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृचग्नः. Instr. Sing : वृचग्ना &c.

But the optional form वृचघ्ण with a cerebral ण् instead of dental न्, according to the opinion of Mādhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kātyāyana and Patanjali. The न् is never changed to ण्.

The nouns शार्ङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अर्थमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not हन्. The हन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning, and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357 should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhāṣā*,

Paribhāṣā.—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Gramhar denote by I. 1 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc. Sing of अर्थमन् is अर्थमिन् or अर्थमाणि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूषिन् or पूषणि ॥

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of मघवन्. In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तु is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

ऋ of तु is इत्. And thus we get मघवत्.

Here applies the next Sûtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ,

३६१ । उगिदृच्चां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

अधातोः उगितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेऽत्र जुमांगमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघवान् । इह ईष कर्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वं न भवति बहुलग्रहणात् । तथा च श्वन्तुषत्रिति निपातनान्मघशब्दश्च न तुपा च भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्यैतत् सूत्रं प्रत्यख्यातमाकरे । इविर्जक्षिति निःशङ्को मखंपु मघवानसा-
दिति भट्टिः । मघवन्तो । मघवन्तः । हे मघवन् । मघवन्तम् । मघवन्तो । मघवतः । मघवता । मघवद्भ्यानि-
स्यादि । कृत्वाभावं मघवा । छन्दसीवनिपौ चाति वानिवन्त मध्योऽक्ष छन्दस्येव, अन्तोऽक्षस्तु लोकेऽपी-
ति विशेषः । मघवानौ । मघवान् । छुदि राजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and लृ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem मच्, (मञ्जति) get the augment जुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom : Sing. is मघवान्. The penultimate अ is lengthened by VI. 4. 14 S. 425. The affix तु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the ऋ is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54

The form being मघवन्, the elision of तु takes place by the Tripādi rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pāṇini (i. e. VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of तु is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन्? Because of the word बहुल in the last Sûtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360,

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahābhāṣya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unāda I 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मनुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sūtra मघवा बहुल is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kāvya also uses the form in secular literature as—इविर्जीक्षति नि.शङ्को मघेषु मघवानसौ॥ “That Maghavān eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices.”

The Nom. Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

The Voc. Sing will be हे मघवन् ॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः ॥

Instr. forms are मघवन्ता, मघवन्तभ्याम् &c.

When नृ is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom. Sing is मघवा ॥

Vārtika.—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिप् are added to nouns in the sense of मनुप् (See Sūtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिप् added to मघ then the word मघवन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवेन्.

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवानः ॥

In the Sarvanāmasthāna affixes, मघवन्, without नृ is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवानः; Acc. S. D are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc Pl the following rule applies:—

३६२ । इवयुवमघोनामतद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १३३ ॥

अत्रन्तानां भसज्जकानामेषामतद्धिते परे सप्रसारणे स्यात् । सप्रसारणाच्च । आहुणः । मघोन-
अत्रन्तानां किम् । मघवतः । मघवता । स्त्रियां मघवती । अतद्धिते किम् । माघवनम् । मघोना । मघवन्-
मिन्यादि । ज्ञनः । शुना । श्वभ्यामित्यादि । युवन्शब्दे वस्योत्वे कृते ॥

362. The व. of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन् + शस् = मघवअन् + शस् = मघवन् + शस् (उ and अ become उ by VI 1. 108 S 330) = मघोन् + शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. 1. 87. S. 69) = मघोनः ॥

Why do we say ‘when ending in अन्’? Observe Acc. Pl. मघवतः when the noun is मघवन् and not मघवन् ॥ In this case the Instr. Sg. is मघवन्ता ॥

The feminine form of मघवन् is मघवती ॥ Why do we say ‘not before a Taddhita affix’? Observe माघवनम् ॥

The Inst Sg and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्या &c Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus श्वनः (Acc Pl), श्वना (Insti . S.), श्वभ्याम् (Insti Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declension of युवन् ॥

युवन् + शस् = यु + उ + न् + शस् ॥ Here the य of यु would also require to be vocalised But this is prevented by the following Sûtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

संप्रसारणे परत पूर्वस्य यणः संप्रसारणं न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादस्तस्य यणः पूर्वं संप्रसारणम् । शूनः । शूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is शून , Instr . Sg, and Dual are शूना, युवभ्य and so on.

Note —Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule. Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sūtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter. This sūtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of संप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as शूना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasârna of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânavat to the original, the य and उ of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthânavat (See I. 1 58 S.51). Even though it be considered as sthânavat, it is still a separating letter.

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा; Its Voc : S. is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D. and other cases the following rule applies

३६४। अर्वणं स्त्रसावनञः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

नञ्मा रहितस्यार्धन्तस्याङ्गस्य तु इत्यन्तादेशः स्यान्न तु सौ । उगित्त्वान्तुम् । अवन्तो । अर्वन्तः । अर्वन्तम् । अर्वन्तौ । अर्वत । अर्वता । अर्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञ् । किम् । अनर्वा , यज्ज्वन् ॥

364. न् (which is changed to न्त् in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is न्, the ङ् is for the sake of making this amx an ङगित्, so that in sarvanāmasthāna cases we have नुम् augment VII 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वत, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S.). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्ज्वन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply —

३६५। पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे । आ आदिति प्रक्षेपेण ह्युदाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानान्नानुनासक ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'rbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthānin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I 1 50 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sūtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal औ ॥

३६६। इतोऽस्सर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यादिरेकारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. ञ् is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and rbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note — Though the anuvṛtti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI 4 9 S. 3541 by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षानम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

३६७। थोन्थः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमथोस्थस्य न्यादेशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थान । पन्थानम् । पन्थानौ ॥

367. ण्य् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्या, पन्यानौ, पन्यान्, मन्याः, मन्यानौ मन्यान् ॥

३६८ । अस्य ढेलोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसंज्ञकस्य पथ्यादेष्टेलोपः स्यात् । पय । पया । पयिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्या । ऋमुक्षाः । स्त्रियां नान्तनक्षणे ङोपि भत्याङ्लोपः । सुपथी । सुमथी नगरी । अनृमुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुसके न भवति । न लुभति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिर्बंधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ सङ्गुद्धौ नपुसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुप्स्वरिति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भवस्य गुणो न । द्विवचने भत्याङ्लोपः । सुपथी । शौ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्यानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्यानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and ṛbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or थ् (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋमुक्षः, ऋमुक्षा, ऋमुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन् + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sūtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृमुक्षी सेना

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85 S 365 because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1 43 S 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263 Thus सुपथि वनम् Thus सुपथिन् + ह = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII 2 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following *Vārtika* :—

Vārtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not gunated (as it is gunated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the दि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix शी. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (क्षि) which is a Sarvanāmasthāna affix (I 1. 42. S 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1 86 and 87 S, 367 and 368. apply and so we get the form सुपन्यानि ॥

The Acc forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्यानि ॥

The Instr. Sing. and Dual are सुपया, सुपयिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing. is सुपये &c.

—o—

Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चम्. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । णान्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षट्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रुषः । पामान । शतानि सहस्राणीत्यत्र सन्निपातपरिभाषया न लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसन्निपातेन कृतस्य तुमस्तद्विधातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्येति नुद् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shaṭ.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus पञ्च पञ्च ॥

Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रुषः and पामानः ॥

Note :—This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group sankhyâ. Those Sankhyâs which end in ष or न् are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyâ is understood in this sūtra, because the word णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न् are six, namely पञ्चम् 'five,' षट् 'six,' सप्तम्, 'seven,' अष्टम् 'eight,' नवम् 'nine,' दशम् 'ten.'

The word णान्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न् must be aupadeśika i. e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्रानि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न् is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom. Pl. : of शत we have शत + शि Then we add लुक् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन् + शि । Here the word is a sankhyâ and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this शि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim सन्निपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204. Because it was the presence of शि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्रानि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc. plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्य, पञ्चभ्य respectively.

The augment नुद् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl. Then the following sūtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया र्दीर्घः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुगुर्दीर्घः । प्रियपञ्चा । प्रियपञ्चानौ । प्रियपञ्चान । प्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एव सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1 55 S 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII 2 7 S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लुक् of Sūtra VII. 1. 22. S 261 nor the लुट् augment of VII. 1. 55. S 338. Thus प्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom प्रियपञ्चा, प्रियपञ्चानौ, प्रियपञ्चान, Acc. प्रियपञ्चाम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन् In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्वलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः पर्योजस्ससोरौश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्देशो जस्ससोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिक चेदमष्टन आत्वम् । अष्टनो र्दीर्घादिति सूत्रं र्दीर्घमहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभि । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे स्वात्वाभावेराजवत् । शसि प्रियाद्वा । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवज्ञावात्र दुस्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे बहिरङ्गस्याल्लोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । प्रियाद्वा इत्यादि । जदशसोरनुमीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन प्रियाद्वा हलादेव वैकल्पिकमात्वम् । प्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । प्रियाष्टाभि । प्रियाष्टाभ्य २ । प्रियाष्टासु ।

प्रियाद्वा राजवत्सर्वं हाहावच्चापर हलि ॥

भषभावः । जदस्वचत्वे । भुन् । भुद् । बुधौ । बुध । बुधा । भुद्गाम् । भुस्तु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् V11. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sūtra (अष्टाभ्यः instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural, and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jñâpaka of VI. 1 172, S. 3718 where the word दीर्घ indicates that there are two forms of अष्टन् ॥ This sūtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sūtra VII. I. 22 S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc endings are elided after the numerals called षट् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not Thus अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

Note —The use of दीर्घात् in sūtra VI 1 172 S 3718 indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII 2 84 S 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII 2.84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII 2 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sūtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI 1 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows —

अष्टौ, अष्टौ, परमाष्टौ, अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अष्टन्, that is when the base is not अष्टान् then we have अष्ट, अष्ट, i. e. अष्टन् is then declined like पञ्चन् ॥

When अष्टन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc Pl is प्रियाष्टनः ॥ The न् is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthânavat, because of I. 1. 57. S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्विधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ट, the subsequent letter न् requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthânavat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अष्टन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of षट्स्य (VII. 4. 41. S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134 applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like ह्यस् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. प्रियाष्टना &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अष्टन् before जस् and ह्यस् (see above) is to take place then only when अष्टन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrīhi compound. As in the compound प्रियाष्टन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अष्टन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of अ in प्रियाहन् before जस् and ञस् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As प्रियाहन्-यान् or प्रियाहन्-यां ॥

Verse :—This word प्रियाहन् resembles राजन् in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles हाहा. Before consonantal cases, the base is प्रियाहा ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्

—————'O'—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in घ्.

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix विवृष् to the root बुध्. The व is changed to भ by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then घ is changed to द्, optionally to त्, by भलाञ्जशोऽन्ते (VIII. 2. 39 S. 84). Thus N. S. is भुत् or भुद् Nom. D. बुधौ. N. P. बुध. Ins. S. बुधा. Ins. D. भुद्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. भुत्सु.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in घ्.

—————'O'—————

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ज् ॥

Now we take up the declension of युज्. It is formed irregularly by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root युज् by the following Sūtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्धृक्स्त्रिदिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिकुञ्चां च । ३ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यः क्तिन् स्यात् । अलाक्षणिकमपि किञ्चित्कार्यं निपातनाहभ्यते । निरूपपराद्युजैः क्तिन् । क्तनावितौ ॥

373. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', धृक् 'impudent', स्त्रिक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् ; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुञ्च 'to approach', the affix क्तिन् is employed.

The affix क्तिन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and कुञ्च ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्तिन् to these verbs.

The affix क्तिन् comes after युजिर् and कुञ्च when these are uncombined.

Note.—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्तिप् (III. 2. 61 S. 2975). The difference between क्तिप् and क्तिन् is that the latter gives us the Nom : S युज्, while the former will give us the N S युक् as in अभ्ययुक् ॥

Of the affix क्तिन् the क् and न् are indicatory (इत्), the affix is really त् ॥ This is a क्त affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. क्त is defined in the following sūtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ६३ ॥

सनिहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्सङ्गः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Kṛit affix वि is elided by the following sūtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वादय ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note—The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, विव् &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I 2 41 S 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भूणहा (III 2 87 S 2998) Here the affix क्विप् is elided. So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III 2. 58 S 432). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पादभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix विव् is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an amx consisting of a single letter"? Observe हवि formed by the affix क्विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृवि. formed by क्विन्, see Unādi Sūtras IV. 53 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see I. 2. 45 and 46), hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhātu to a Prātipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characteristic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्चि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prātipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज्+सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sūtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने युज् स्यादसमासे । पुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु+न्+ङ्+स्=यु+न्+ङ्+O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.)=यु+न्+O (the ङ् being elided by VIII. 2 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra.

by Pāṇini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क् class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्तिन् under Sūtra VIII 2. 62 S 377. The reason for this we shall explain under Sūtra अहन् VIII 2. 68 S 443 in declining the Neuter noun.

Thus Nom. forms are सृयुक् or सृयुग्, सृयुजौ, सृयुज ॥ In the Sūtra VII. 1 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजे. showing that that root of the Dhātupāṭha should be taken which ends in इ, viz the root युजि-योगे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class. Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the इवादि class and is Ātmanepada. In the latter case, the form will be युक्.

Now we take up the declension of खज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्तिप् ॥

The इ of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज to which the augment लुक् is added by VII. 1 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+लु+ज्. Then ज् is elided by VIII 2. 23 S 54. Thus we get खल्. In the N. S the affix लु is elided by VI 1. 68. S 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खल्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खजौ and खजः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII 2. 36. S. 294. the ज् of राज् is changed to ष्. Then the ष् is changed to इ by VIII. 2 39. S 84 and VIII. 4 56. S. 206. Then इ is changed to इ. Thus we get N. S. राइ or राइ. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राज ॥ Loc. Pl. is राइस्तु or राइस्तु. Similarly is declined विभ्राज्. So also देवेज्. Its Nom. forms are देवेइ, देवेजा, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृइ or विश्वसृइ, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sūtra VIII. 2. 68 S 443. The N. S. of परिसृज् is परिसृइ ॥

The word विभ्राज् given above is formed from that root भ्राज् which belongs to कणादि subdivision of भ्रादि gana, १८. the root डुभ्राज् 'to shine' भ्रादि 875. and not the root भ्राज् number 20 of the भ्रादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि-दीप्तौ. This we do, because the root भ्राज् is read along with root राज् in the कणादि sub-division, and as the VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 mentions राज् and भ्राज् together, the भ्राज् here should be taken as the भ्राज् of the कणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भ्राज् which is shown along with एज्, अज् and भ्राज्, (Dhātupāṭha भ्रादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भ्राज् there will be कुत्स्व and not षत्स्व. Thus N. S. is विभ्राक् or विभ्राण्. Instr. D. विभ्राभ्यां &c.

Vārtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्तिप् and the व is lengthened and ज् is changed to ष् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्रज् is परिव्राइ which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl. are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः, respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७६ । विश्वस्य वसुराजोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वशब्दस्य दीर्घं स्यात्सौ राट्शब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति पदान्तोप-
लक्षणार्थम् । चत्वंमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराज । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राट् is taken in the Sûtra only as an illustration of its Padânta form.- It does not mean that the form विश्वाराड् is not valid Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e.*, विश्वाराट् and विश्वाराड्.

—————'0:—————

Now, we take up the declension of भ्रज्. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २६ ॥

पदान्ते भ्रालि च परे यः संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोरलोपः स्यात् । भृद् । भृज् । सस्य इत्युत्वेन
शः । तस्य जइत्वेन ज । भृज्जौ । भृज्ज । कृत्विगित्यादिना कृताडुपपदे यजेः क्तिन् । क्तिन्नन्त्वात्कुत्सम् ।
कृत्विक् । कृत्विग् । कृत्विजौ । कृत्विज । रास्सस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जौ ।
ऊर्जः । लघाद्यन्त पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भ्रज् we add the affix क्तिप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sûtra, ऋ is changed into ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into इ or उ as in the case of राट् already shown above under VIII 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृद् or भृज्.

In forming N. Dual, the स् is changed to ष् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This ष् is again changed to ष् by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृज्जौ. N. Pl. is भृज्जः.

Now we take up the declension of कृत्विज्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्तिन् to the root यज् with the upapada (subsidiary term) कृत्तु in combination (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The क्तिन् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S. is कृत्विक् or कृत्विग्. N D and Plural कृत्विजौ and कृत्विजः ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज् By Sûtra VIII 2. 24. S. 280 no consonant after ॠ is elided except स्. Therefore ॠ is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant

Though the final स् would have been elided even after ॠ by VIII 2. 23, the special mention of स् after ॠ shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after ॠ will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्ज् from ऊर्ज् + क्तिप् (III 2 177S 3157), here ॠ is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII 2 30 S 378 and to क् by VIII. 4 56. S. 206 Thus N. S is ऊर्ज् or ऊर्ज् N D and Pl are ऊर्जौ and ऊर्ज ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ॠ.

—————'o—————

There are no Masculine nouns ending in ॡ, ॢ or ॣ.

We take up now the declension of ल्यद् The ॡ of ल्यद् is replaced by ॢ by VII 2 102 S 265 and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1 97 S 191 Thus we get the base ल्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom Sing the following rule applies —

३८१। तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः। ७। २। १०६ ॥

ल्यद्दीनां तकारश्चकारयोरनन्त्ययोः स स्यात्सौ परे। ल्यः। ल्यौ। ल्ये। ल्यम्। ल्यौ। ल्याम्। सः। सौ। ने। परमसः। परमतौ। परमते। द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव। नेह। ल्यम्। नञ् तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्याज्ज्ञेति वाच्यम्, अतिस्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात् ॥ सज्ञायां गौणत्वे चात्वसम्बन्धेन। ल्यद्। ल्यदौ। ल्यदः। अतिल्यद्। अतिल्यदौ। अतिल्यद्। य। यो। ये। एषः। एतौ। एते। अन्वादेशे तु, एनम्। एनौ। एनाम्। एनेन। एनयो २ ॥

381. For the non-final ल् and द् of ल्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular

As ल्यद् + सु = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2 102) = ल्य + अ + सु (VII. 2. 106) = ल्यः (VI. 1 97) Similarly स from लद्, एष from एतद् as एतद् + सु = एत + अ + सु (VII. 2 102) = एत + अ + सु (VII 2 106) = एषः (VI. 1 97) So असौ from अस् by the sūtra, VII. 2. 107 Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69 S 193.

This rule only applies to ल्यद्दि words, which as we have already shown, begin with ल्यद् and end with दि in the list of sarvanāmas. Therefore this will not apply to ल्यम् which is not included in the ल्यद्दि class

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the ल् of ल्य, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching ल्य substitution in the place of ल् by VII. 2 94 S 384 That sūtra could have been made as स्वाहौ सौ instead of स्वाहौसौ for it would have been better to say at once let ल्यम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it स्वस् and then changing the form into स्व" ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of स्व substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अतिस्वस्, where स्वस् is a secondary member only. In the case of स्वस् the present rule would have applied. When these words १. ८ स्वद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjñās (सज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अस्व VII 2 102 S. 265 and सस्व VII 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanāmas, for see explanation under sūtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus स्वद्, स्वसौ, स्वदः ; अतिस्वद्, अतिस्वसौ अतिस्वदः &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as य, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एष, एतो, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वविद्य for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351 we have Acc. forms एनम्, एनौ, एनाम्, Instr Sg एनेन; Genitive and Loc Dual एनयोः ॥

—————'o—————

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद्. In its declension, the following rules apply —

३८२ । ऊं प्रथमयोरेम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्व्यां परस्य ऊं इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चाभादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note —The ऊं the ending of the Dative is exhibited anomalously in the sūtra without any case ending (compare VII 1 13, ऊं) प्रथमयो means 'of the first and second cases'. Thus युष्मद् + ऊं = तुभ्यद् + ऊं (VII 2 95) = तुभ्य + ऊं (VII 2 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मङ्गम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ६१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म्, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sūtras in the order of Aṣṭādhyāyī.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ६४ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य स्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ स्त सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular स्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म ॥

३८५ । शेषं लोपः । ७ । २ । ६० ॥

आत्वयस्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो गुणे ॥ अमि पूर्व ॥ स्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्व स्त्री अह स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूप परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरङ्गत्वाद्वाप् प्रामोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गं युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावान्न दाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानिनोऽधिकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो गुणे कृते प्रवर्तते । अदन्तत्वाभावान्न दाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = स्वद् (VII. 2. 94 S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (इ is elided by the present sūtra) = त्वम् (by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not दाप् added in the feminine in ' त्वम् स्त्री ' ' अहम् स्त्री ' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pūrvarūpa rule ordained by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194 though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining दाप् to be added to त्व and अह ?

True But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix दाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about दाप् some would elide the अद् (or दि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sūtra. They argue that by the previous sūtra VII. 2. 91. S. 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म् of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that remains (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthāni* which is to be replaced. Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म् and अस्म् portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sūtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (i. e. where आ is not substituted as by VII. 2. 88. S. 387, nor इ as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. 1. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = त्व + अम् = अहम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अहम् should be elided first by शेषे लोप then should apply the rule of अतो गुणे if at all. Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with व, and so would require दाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

388. In the Nom. Pl. युय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

Thus हूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतिहूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into क्षी (VII. 1. 17. S. 214), after त् in युष्मत् has been elided by द्वेषे लोपः in the first sense, for then the base is युष्म which ends in म् which is the efficient cause for the application of जस्: क्षी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity.—

Maxim.—If one sūtra of the Angādihikāra (VI. 4. 1. to VII. 4 end) has once been applied, another sūtra of the same Adhikāra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by क्षी Or we may say that in the sūtra के प्रथमयोरम् (VII. 1. 28 S. 382) one more म् is understood, i. e. the sūtra is के प्रथमयोरम्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८६ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्थोक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्नपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३८७ । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २६ ॥

नेत्याविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अमोऽपवादः । आदि परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the अ of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मत् + अस् = युष्म + न्स् = युष्मा + न् (theस् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial अ of अस् on the maxim आदि परस्य I. 1. 54 S. 44. because the operation is ordained after युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३६२ । योऽच्चि । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोर्थकारादेशः स्यादनादेशोऽजादौ परतः । स्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus स्वया, मया, स्वयि, मयि युवयो, आवयो ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशो । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोराकार स्यादनादेशो हलादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभि । अस्माभि ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33 S 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभि, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमहौ डयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमहौ स्तो डयि । अमादेशः । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परममह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for डे by VII. 1. 28 S. 382 the त् is elided by VII 2. 90 S, 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्यः शेषे लोपस्यान्त्यलोपस्य एव । तत्राङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया इत्वं न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधु । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sūtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases.

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII 3 103 S 205 This इ substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + भ = अभ by VI 1 97 S 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udâtta अ of yushma being elided by the anrdâtta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudâtta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI 1 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1 159 S 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final We shall show in that sūtra, that the udâtta will fall on the आदि (beginning) of the anudâtta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य अस्म्यात् । स्वत् । मत् । ङसेवेति सुवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad

As स्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of स्व and म see VII. 2 97 ; S. 389. and स्व and म + अत् = स्वत् and मत् by VI 1. 97 S 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेश्च'

Abl Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽस्त्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The इ is elided by VII 2. 90 S 385 before the case ending भ्यस and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97 S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

३६६ । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश् । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्पष्टम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । आवयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम, युवयोः, आवयोः ॥

The indicatory श् of अश् shows that by I 1 55, S 45 the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix, and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII 2 89 S 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII 2 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI 1. 97 S 191

४०० । साम आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम आक स्यात् । आविनः सुदो निवृत्त्यर्थं सप्तद्वनिर्देश । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । त्वयि । मयि । युवयोः । आवयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्यमाने द्व्येकत्ववाचिनी युष्मदस्मदी । समासार्थोऽन्यसख्यश्चेत्तो युवावौ स्वमावपि ॥ १ ॥
सुजसङ्केडस्सु परत आदेशः । स्युः सदैव ते । स्वाहोऽयवयो तुभ्यमहौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥
एते परस्वाह्वाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । स्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पुर्वविप्रतिषेधतः ॥ ३ ॥
द्व्येकसख्यः समासार्थो बह्वर्थे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तयोरद्व्येकतार्थत्वात् युवावौ त्वनौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विभहे । अतिस्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतिस्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतिद्वयम् । अतिद्वयम् । अतिस्वाम् २ । अतिमाम् २ । अतिस्वान् । अतिमान् । अतिस्वया । अतिमया । अतिस्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतिस्वाभिः । अतिमाभिः । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतिस्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतिस्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतिस्वत् २ । अतिमत् २ । भ्यानि प्राग्वत् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतिस्वयो । अतिमयो । अतिस्वाकम् । अतिमाकम् । अतिस्वयि । अतिमयि । अतिस्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतिस्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाम्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विभहे सुजसङ्केडस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औद्सु । अतियुवाम् । ३ । अत्यावाम् । ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतियुवत् २ । अत्यावत् २ । औसि । अतियुवयो २ । अत्यावयो २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अतियुवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्वेति विभहे सुजसङ्केडस्सु प्राग्वत् । औभम् औद्सु । अतियुष्माम् । ३ । अत्यस्माम् । ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् । ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् । ३ । अतियुष्माभिः । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतियुष्मत् । अत्यस्मत् । औसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयोः २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियुष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400 आकम् is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम् (VII 1. 52 S. 217), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus यष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम् and not आम्, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained ? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकस् will not get the augment स, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment स; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकस्, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191. If you say 'the very fact that अकस् was taught and not कस्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening', we reply, that the अ of अकस् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कस् = युष्मकस् (VII. 3 103S 205).

Why has Pânini used the form साम् and not आम, ? The objector may say there was no necessity of using साम् for the following reason.—युष्मत् + आम as the base युष्मत् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आगि सर्वनाम् सुद् (VII. 1 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e. an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of त् by दोषे लोप, (VII. 2 90. S. 385) the सुद् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated साम् आकस् ॥

But when the sûtra दोषे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनाम् सुद् is prevented.

— ० —

Verses :—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also एव and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and अव for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom. Pl), डे (Dat. S), डस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by एव, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मय्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and अव by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and अव substitutions. While एव and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, अव, एव and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here (4)

— ० —

I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR. ^

Now we take अतिस्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus स्वा अर्वा क्रान्त = अतिस्वम्, नां अतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person. The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitīyā Tatpuruṣa compounds and consequently they get Piātīpadika samjñā and सु in the Nom S. Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies and we have अतिव्यम् and अत्यहम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom Dual) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (इ प्रथमयो र्म् VII 1 28 S 382) Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतिव्य + अम् = अतिव्याम्. So also अतिमाम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जस ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतियुय + अम् = अतियूयम् ॥ So also अतिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc Sing and Dual we have अतिव्याम् and अतिमाम् by the first verse. In Acc Pl we have अतिव्यान् and अतिमान् by the same.

The Ins forms are derived by applying the first verse as अतिव्यया, अतिव्याभ्याम्, अतिव्याभि &c. In the Dative Sing the second verse will apply, and thus we get अतिव्युभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply.

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply as अतिव्यत् (S), अतिव्यत् (D) अतिव्याभ्याम् (Pl).

In the Gen S the second verse will apply, and so we get अतिव्य and अतिमम् ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply.

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply.

II युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्त युवा and अतिक्रान्त आवाम्, then —

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतिव्य + अम् = अतिव्यम् and so also अत्यहम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply. In the Nom Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतिव्युवा and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the Nom Pl the second verse will apply, and we have अतिव्युय and अतिवयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc the first verse will apply as अतिव्युवा, and अतिव्युवा, and अत्यावा and अत्यावा ॥ In the plural we have अतिव्युवान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins numbers the first verse will apply and we have अतिव्युवया अतिव्युवाभ्याम् and अतिव्युवाभि, and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभि ॥

In the Dative Sing the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम्. The dual and plural are formed by the first verse as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत्, अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen S the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first and we have, अतितव, अतियुवयो अतियुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयो and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc Sing Dual and Pl the first verse will apply and so we get —अतियुवयि, अतियुवयो, अतियुवास्तु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयो and अत्यावास्तु ॥

III युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural as अतिक्रान्त युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति अस्मद् will be declined as follow —

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Singular	अतिवम् अत्यहम्	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	अतियुष्मया अत्यस्मया	अतितुभ्यम् आतमह्यम्	अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतितव अतिमम	अतियुष्मयि अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्माम् अत्यस्माम्	” ”	अतियुष्माभ्याम् अत्यस्माभ्याम्	” ”	” ”	अतियुष्मयो अत्यस्मयो	” ”
Plural	अतियुयम् अतिवयम्	अतियुष्मान् अत्यस्मान्	अतियुष्माभि अत्यस्माभि	अतियुष्मभ्यम् अत्यस्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत् अत्यस्मत्	अतियुष्माकम् अत्यस्माकम्	अतियुष्मास्तु अत्यस्मास्तु

४०१ । पदस्य । ८ । १ । १६ ॥

401 Upto VIII 3 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sūtra, the phrase “of a word,” or “to the whole of a word”

Note —This is an adbhāra sūtra, and extends up to VIII 2 55, in order of enunciation of Panini's Ashtadhy 131

४०२ । पदात् । ८ । १ । १७ ॥

402 Upto VIII. 1 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase ‘after a pada’

४०३ । अनुदात्त सर्वमपादादौ । ८ । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403 Upto VIII 1 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase “The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse”

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदो षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्धानावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्परयोरपादादौ स्थितयोरनयो षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्धानावित्यादेशौ स्त । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404 For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudatta

All the three sūtras पदस्व, पदान् and अनुदात्त सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here

Note —These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sūtras

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वसन्सौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयो षष्ठ्यादिवहुवचनान्तयोर्वसन्सौ स्त । वान्नाबोरपवादः ॥

405 For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudatta)

This Sūtra debar the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sūtra

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयो षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्त ॥

406 For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudatta)

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयाया । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एता स्त ।

श्रीशस्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म स । स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरि पातु वामपि नौ विभु ॥१॥
सुख वा नौ ददात्वीश पतिर्वामपि नौ हरि । सोऽव्यादो न शिव यो नो दद्यात्सेव्योऽव व स न ॥ २ ॥

पदात्परयो किम् । वाक्यादौ मा भूत् । स्वा पातु । मा पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदेरशेषे सर्वयोऽस्मान्कृष्ण सर्वदावतु ।

स्थग्रहणाच्छ्रय्याविभक्तिकयोरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्य निघातयुष्मदस्मादाद्या वक्तव्या * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओदन पच तव भविष्यति । इह तु स्यादव । शालीना ते ओदन दास्यामीति ॥

एव वानावाद्य अविद्या अनन्वादेशो वा वक्तव्या * ॥ अनन्वादेशो तु नित्य स्यु । धाता ते भक्तो ऽस्ति । धाता तव भक्ताऽस्तीति वा । तस्म ते नम इत्ये । ॥

407 For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances

Verses —“May the Lord of *Śrī* preserve thee (twā) and me (mā) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity !

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vām) and also us two (nau)

May God give felicity to you two (vām) and to us two (nau)

Hari is the Lord of you two (vām) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vah) and us (nah), may He give prosperity to you (vah) and to us (nah)

He is the object of worship here of you (vah) and of us (nah) ”

Why do we say “पदात्” : e after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence As स्व पातु and not स्वा पातु Similarly मा पातु also

Why do we say “अपादादौ” : e when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वेदेरक्षये सर्वेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्ण सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not वयम् ॥

The word स्य in the sūtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution Therefore, not here इति शुष्मन्तुष्व though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet च substitution (VIII 1 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided

Vārt —The rules relating to nighāta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII 1 19 and VIII 1 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighāta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word The word वाक्य or “ sentence ” means that which contains one finite verb Therefore not here,—आह्न पच, तत्र भविष्यति । आह्न पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ “ Cook the food, it will be for thee Cook the food it will be for me ” That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII 1 22) for yushmad and asmad But the rule will apply here —शालीना ते ओदन दास्यामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yushmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim समय पदावधि (II 1 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction

For शालीना is not in construction with ते, but with ओदन । e शालीना ओदन ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence

Vārt —It should be stated, that the substitutes वा, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in anvādesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not, but when there is anvādesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातवभक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvādesa, we have only one form, as तस्मै नमः ॥ Which means “Brahmā is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper” But in the sequel, “to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due,” the form ते alone is admissible

४०८ । न चवाह्याऽद्वैचयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

आहवञ्चक्रयोगे नेते आदेशाः स्युः । हरिस्त्वा मा च रक्षतु । कथं त्वा मा वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तमहणात्साक्षाद्योगेऽयं निषेधः । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेशः स्यादेव । इये हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408 The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz —च, ‘and’ वा, ‘or’ ह, ‘oh’ अह ‘wonderful’, or एव ‘only’

Thus हरिस्त्वा च मा च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वा मा वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sūtra to indicate direct conjunction Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms Thus इये हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word Therefore the prohibition does not apply

४०९ । पद्वयार्थैश्चानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अवाधुषज्ञानार्थैर्धातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशाः न स्युः । चेतसा त्वा समीक्षते । परंपरासंबन्धेऽप्ययं निषेधः । भक्तस्त्व रूप ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति अक्षुषा ॥

409 The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of “seeing” when physical seeing is not denoted, but “knowing” is meant

Note —The word पद्वयार्थ is equivalent to दर्शनार्थ, and दर्शन means ‘knowledge’, i.e. verbs denoting ‘to know’, आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i.e. physical ‘seeing’ opposed to metaphorical “seeing” = “knowing” The substitutions of वा and नौ &c for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ‘seeing’ (metaphorically) but not ‘looking’ (physically)

Thus चेतसा स्वासमीक्षते, भक्तस्वरूप ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishti — With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct as भक्तस्वरूप ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वाया प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वाप्रथमान्तात्पर्यद्वारेणयोरन्वादेशोऽप्येते आवेशा वा स्युः । भक्तस्वरूप्यह तेन हरिस्त्वा जायते स नाम् । स्वा मेति वा ॥

410 When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa

Thus भक्तस्वरूप्यह तेन हरिस्त्वा जायते स नाम् ॥ Here the alternative forms स्वा and ना are admissible

— o —

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pāda. To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित which is defined in the next sūtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pāda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sūtra after next

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

संबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

411 The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अग्रे तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्रे नय । अग्र इन्द्र वरुण । इह युष्मदस्मद्वोरादेशास्तिङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नत प्राचीन रक्षेत्येतवाभित्यादेश । एवम् इम मे गच्छे यधुने इति मन्त्रे यधुन इत्यादिभ्य प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नेशङ्कमेवाभित्य सर्वेषा निघात ॥

412 A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्रे तव ॥ देव ! अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्रे नय ॥ अग्र इन्द्र वरुण ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्रे and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्रे नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII 1 28 S 3935

In अग्नं ' इन्द्र ' वरुण ' the rule VIII 1 19 S 3654 does not apply

Note —Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored. The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed. What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent? They are (1) the absence of the accentlessness of the subsequent Vocative which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII 1 19 S 3654. As देवदत्त ' यज्ञदत्त ' Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI 1 198 S 3653 (2) The accentlessness of the verb required by VIII 1 28 S 3935 is prevented as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII 1 20 23 S 404 &c is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) मान स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) मान स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII 1 37 S 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb, such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII 1 47, S 3954 though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्व and VIII 1 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII 1 49, S 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII 1 50 S 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव न ' although the word देव is non-existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word न is used

In इमं न गच्छे यद्युने सरस्वति शतुह्नि the first Vocative गच्छे is considered as non-existent with regard to यद्युने, and, therefore, यद्युने is considered as following immediately after the pada ने and thus यद्युने becomes anudatta, not because of गच्छे, but because of ने. In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of ने ॥ This nighāta or accentlessness is heard in Pada-Pātha only, i.e. when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitā-reading. In Sanhitā there will be eka sruti of I 2 39 S 3668

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्य समानाधिकरणे आनन्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवत्स्यात् । इरे दयालो न पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413 A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former

Thus इरे दयालो न पाहि "O Hari! O Merciful! protect us" अग्ने तेजस्विन् "O Agni! O powerful!" Here तेजस्विन् is all anudatta by VIII 1 19 S 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative

Note —Why do we say सामान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word'? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms. Thus अग्नये देवि सरस्वते ईडे

कौव्ये विद्वये एतानि ते अग्र्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Sarasvatī, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI 1 198) According to Pada-manjali the reading given in Taittiriya Br is —इडे रत्नेऽदिते सरस्वति प्रिय प्रियासि महि विभ्रते, एतानि ते अग्र्ये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term' When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, then the present rule will apply

This sūtra prevents the operation of the last sūtra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first Thus अग्ने शुद्धपते, माणवकजदिलकाध्यापन ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent

Why do we say 'the vocative subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पंचसि here the verb does not lose its accent Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent

Then applies Sūtra VIII 1 74 S 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here

४१३ (क) । विभाषित विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्ष्यामः । बहुवचनान्त विशेष्य सामानाधिकरणे भामन्त्रिते विशेषणे परे अव्ययमानसद्वा । श्रूय प्रभव । देवा शरण्या । युष्मान् भजे वो भजे इति वा । इहान्वादेशोऽपि वैकल्पिका आदेशा । सुपात् । सुपाद् । सुपादो । सुपाद । सुपादम् । सुपादौ ॥

413 A When the preceding Vocative is in the plural number, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term

Here the author of the Mahābhāṣya states —“The word *bahu vachanam* should be added to the sūtra to complete the sense” That is the sūtra should run as विभाषित विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sūtra with this emendation of Patanjali

Thus श्रूय प्रभव, देवा शरण्या । युष्मान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvādeśa there is optional substitution of व for युष्मान् ॥

—O—

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद् In the strong, *i e* in the first five cases it is declined as —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	सुपात् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपाद
Ac	सुपादम्	सुपादौ	

In the formation of the Acc Pl and the rest, the following rule applies,

४१४। पाद पत् । ६। ४। १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्त यद् म तत्तयस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदादेशः स्यात् । सुपद् । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि ।
अग्नि मन्थनीत्यग्निम् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमथौ । अग्निमथ । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चे
सुप्युपपदं कृत् ।

414 For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is
Bha

Vote —The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final,
on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is
actually enunciated in a rule" ॥

Thus the Acc Pl is सुपद् ॥ Instr Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपदभ्याम् &c

—O—

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning 'kindling fire' It
is declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	अग्निमत् ^१ or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथ
Instr	Dual is अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c		

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

—O—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in च्

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्

According to Sūtra III 2 59 S 373, the affix क्तिच् is employed
after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prātipadika, before the case terminations

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following
rules apply

४१५। अभिदितां हल उपधाया किति । ६। ४। २४ ॥

हलन्तानामभिदितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः स्यात्किति किति च । उगिद्वामिति तुम् । सयो-
गान्तस्य लोपः । तुमो नकारस्य क्तिन्मल्यस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन डकारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्णौ । प्राञ्चौ ।
प्राञ्च । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415 In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded
by न्,—this न् not being added to the root owing to its having
an indicatory इ (VII 1 58)—the न् is elided when an affix
having an indicatory क् or ड् follows

By Sūtra VII 1 70 S 361, the stem अञ्च् gets the augment तुम् in
the strong cases

Then by VIII 2 23 S 54, the last consonant is dropped By VIII 2 62 S 377 which says that 'a stem formed with the affix विवन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N S as प्राङ् thus —प्राङ् + सु = प्राच् (VI 4 24 S 415) + सु = प्रा + न् (VII 1 70 S 361) + च् + सु = प्राच् + सु + ओ (सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252) —प्राच् च् = प्राच् (च being elided by VIII 2 23 S 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII 2 62 S 377)

The N Dual &c are formed by changing the न् into anuswāra, and then the anuswāra into ञ् by VIII 4 58 S 124

Thus प्राचौ, प्राच , Acc प्राचम् प्राचौ

In forming the Acc Pl &c the following rules apply

४१६। अच् । ङ । ४ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारस्याञ्जतेर्मस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416 the अ of अच् (when अच् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI 3 138 S 417

४१७। चौ । ङ । ३ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तकारनकारेऽञ्जतौ परे पूर्वस्याणो र्ध्वं स्यात् । प्राच । प्राचा । प्राग्व्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । अच् इति लापस्य विषयेऽन्तरङ्गोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीच । प्रतीचा । अष्टमञ्जतीति विग्रहे । अदस अच् इति स्थिते ॥

417 The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च, when it assumes the form च्, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc Pl is प्राच , Instr Sing or Dual are प्राचा प्राग्व्याम् &c

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चम् ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI 4 138 S 416 and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c See under Sūtra I 3 11 S 46 Thus Acc Pl is प्रतीच , Instr Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रति + अच् + अस् ॥ Here two sūtras simultaneously appear for application, viz इकोयणचि and अच् ॥ Now इकोयणचि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ् of अच् is inside that of शस्, and the efficient cause शस् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside, therefore यण् ādeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रत्य् + अच् + शस् ॥ After this अ should be elided as प्रत्य् + च् + शस् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा

&c the अन्तर्ग्न यण substitution is set aside Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च as compounded with the pronoun अद्स् meaning अद्स् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अद्स् + अञ्च् + क्तिन् ॥ Here applies the following sūtra

४१८ । विष्वदेवयोश्च देर्यञ्चनौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अनयो सर्वनामश्च देर्यद्विषा स्याद्वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चनौ परे । अश्चि अञ्च् इति स्थिते यण ॥

418 In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it

Thus अद्स् + अञ्च् = अद्रि + अञ्च् = अद्रि + अच At this stage, applies the following sūtra

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो म । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य हात्प्रत्यय उदूतो स्तो इत्य च म । उ इति ह्रस्वदीर्घयो समाहारद्वन्द्व । आन्त एनम्याटस्व यज्ञनयार्हस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घ । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्च । अमुमुयञ्चम् । अल्पयञ्चा । अमुमुईच । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयभ्यामित्यादि । मुन्वस्यासिद्धत्वान्न यण् । अन्यथा भेऽन्व सन्दाभ्येति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव सुत्व वदता मने अद्स्मुयङ् । अ से सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य स आसिरिति व्याख्यानान् । त्यगन्त्यन्वविषय एव सुत्व नान्यत्वेति पक्षे अद्वयङ् । उक्त च ॥

अदसोऽङ्गे वृथङ् सुन्व कोचिच्छ्रुन्ति लत्ववत् ॥ कोचिदन्त्यस्यैव नत्यकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

• विष्वदेवयो किम् । अश्वाची । अचनौ किम् । विष्वग्यक । वप्रत्यये किम् । विष्वग्यनम् । वप्रत्ययग्रहण ज्ञापयति अन्यत्र धातुग्रहणे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कार । अत कृत्मीति स । उदङ् । उदचौ । उदच । शासाशवाचि ॥

419 When the pronoun अद्स् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म for त् ॥

The short उ in the sūtra is a samāhāra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ By the rule of antatīma I 1 50 S 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ, and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ Thus अद्स् + अञ्च् = अमुमुयङ् + अच : e the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ and the second द् and र् are also changed to म् and उ, so the declension is

	Nom	Acc	Ins
Sing	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयचम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual	अमुमुयचौ	अमुमुयचौ	अमुमुयभ्याम् &c
Pl	अमुमुयच	अमुमुइच	&c

The मु being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईच or

in असुयङ्, for the Sandhi rule इतोयणञि is contained in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini, while this हु substitute is ordained in the Tīpatī portion of Aṣṭa-dhyāyī. Hence the Sūtra VIII 2 1 S 12 applies.

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अदसुयङ् ॥

Pambhāśhā —“When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final” The second class apply this maxim and make हु change only for दृ which stands in proximity to the final.

There is a third form, अदस्यङ् which is obtained by explaining the असे in the Sūtra as अ सेर्यस्य रोयमसि, यच्च सकारस्य प्रकारं क्रियते ॥ ‘The word असि in the sūtra is a Bahuvrīhi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स’ ॥ The sūtra is thus confined to the form अद derived by changing the स into अ by VII 2 102 and not to any other अद ॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sūtra —

(1) the द् of अद, and दृ of अद्वि are both changed to हु by the present sūtra, (2), the first र् is not changed, but only दृ, (3) none is changed. Thus we have (1) असुयङ् (VII 1 70, VI 1 68, VIII 2 23 and 62), असुयचौ असुयच ॥ (2) Secondly, अदसुयङ्, अदसुयचो, अदसुयच ॥ (3) Lastly अदस्यङ्, अदस्यचौ, अदस्यच ॥ The above verse summarises this.

Verse —Some ordain that हु should come separately for both adas and advi, as there is double ल (in चलीकल्लप्यसे see sūtra VIII 2 18 and VII 4 90 S 2644) others would have हु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (1 e for दृ), while a third class would have none where, because they explain असे of the sūtra by confining it to VII 2 102.”

Note —Thus विव्वाचाति=विव्वङ्, This form is thus evolved अच् + विवच् = अच् + 0 = अच् + लुच् (VII 1 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant लच्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the विवच् affix (VIII 2 62), e 1 ल् is changed to ङ and we have अङ् which with विव्वङ् gives the above form देवङ्, तदङ्, यदङ् ॥ अद्वि and सधि (VI 3 95) have acute on the final irregularly (ni pātana) in order to prevent the kṛt accent and when इ is changed into अ the following vowel becomes svarita (VII 2 4).

Note —Why do we say of विव्वङ् and देव? Observe अश्वाची = अश्वमचलि, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV 1 6 Part. The अ of अच् is elided by VI 4 138 and the final of अश्वा is lengthened by VI 3 138. Why, ‘when अच् follows’? Observe विश्वयुक् ॥ Why do we say ‘when the affix हु follows’? Observe विव्वचन ॥ The व् is totally elided by VI 1 67. Another reading of the sūtra is अमत्यय (अचतावप्रत्यये) ॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows. The word वप्रत्यये or अमत्यये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अपत्यम् not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when *anch* followed, but when *avchana* ending in ह्युच् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहणं तथाहि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृत and अयस्कार, for VIII 3 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ theretofore which begins with कृ such as कार and कृत ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृत् which is followed merely by the verb कृ, as well as to forms like अयस्कृत ॥

Now we take up the declension of उद्घ. It is declined in the Nominative as उद्घः (S), उद्घौ (Dual) उद्घ (Pl)

Before the weak cases the following rule applies —

४२० । उद् ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छ्वात्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्याचतेभस्याकारस्य ईस्थ्यात् । उदीच । उदीचा । उदग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

420 Long ई is substituted for the अ of that (अश्च) where the nasal is elided after the word उद्, when the stem is Bha

As उदाच, उदीचा, उदग्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्यच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies —

४२१ । सम समि । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽन्वतौ परे । सम्यच् । सम्यच्चौ । सम्यच । समीच । समीचा ॥

421 समि is substituted for सम, before this अश्च when no visible affix follows

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्, सम्यचौ, सम्यच ॥

Ac Pl समीच, Inst Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सह+अच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies —

४२२ । सहस्य सध्रि । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्ते वतौ परे । सध्र्यङ् ॥

422 सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अच् followed by no visible affix

Thus सध्र्यङ्, सध्र्यौ, सध्र्यव, and सध्रीच, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI 3 138 for long vowel

Now, we take up the declension of तिद्यच् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies —

४०३ । तिरस्स्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

अलुप्ताकारेऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्ययान्ति परे तिरस्स्तिर्यादेशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यच । तिर्यचम् । तिर्यचो । तिरश्च । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

423 तिरि is substituted for तिरस् before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च is not elided

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यचो, तिर्यच ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI 4 138 The word अलाप in the sūtri is ambiguous It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision" The latter meaning should be taken however

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अञ्च when अञ्च means 'to honor' There are two roots (अञ्च) both belong, to the Bhvadi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move' The declension of 'अञ्च' meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule —

४२४ । नाञ्च पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याचनरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वान्न नुम् । प्राङ् । प्राचो । प्राच । नलोपाभावाद्कारलापो न । प्राच । प्राचा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्शु । एव पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्ङादयः । कुच क्रोदित्याल्पीभावयो । अस्य कृत्विगादिना नलोपाभावोऽपि निपात्यत । क्रङ् । कुचो । कुच । क्रङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चो कु ॥ पयोमुक् । पयोमुग् । पयोमुचौ । पयोमुच । व्रश्चानि बन्धनम् । स्कोरिनि सलोप । जम्बवचस्त्वे । सुवृद् । सुवृङ् । सुवृश्चो । सुवृश्च । सुवृद्सु । सुवृद्स्तु ॥ वर्तमाने पृथग्महद्बृहज्जगच्छतुवच्च * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शनश्चैषा कार्यं स्यात् । उगिस्वानुम् । सान्तमहत इति वाच । महाने पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तो । महान्त । हे महद् । महत । महता । महद्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

424 The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'

And as the nasal is not elided by VI 4 24 S 415 there is no नुम् augment Thus

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्राचौ	प्राच

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI 4 138 S 416 Thus the weak forms are Ac Pl प्राच ॥ Inst Sing and dual are प्राचा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्शु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यच when 'अञ्च' means 'to honor' Thus Acc Plu is प्रत्यच and not प्रतीच ॥ Similarly the Acc Plural of अङ्गञ्च is अङ्गुयच and not अङ्गुईच ॥

Similarly the Acc plural of उदञ्च is उदच and not उदीच ॥

Now we take up the declension of कृच्. This word, as already mentioned in sūtra III 2 59 S 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix कृच् to the root कृच् meaning "to curve or make crooked" or "to be or become small". Thus it is declined —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	कृच्	कृचौ	कृच
Instr	Dual is कृचयाच् &c		

Now, we take up the declension of पयोसुच्. In Nom Sing the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sūtra VIII 2 30 S 378. It is declined as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	पयोसुक् or पयोसुग्	पयोसुचौ	पयोसुच &c

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृद्च्. It is thus formed — सु + वृद्च् + कृच् in the sense of सुदु वृद्च्ति meaning 'that which cuts well'. The र् being vocalised by VI 1 16 S 2412, it becomes सु + वृद्च् + ओ. By VIII 2 36 S 294 the च् is changed to ष्. By VIII 2 29 S 380, the initial सु is elided*. Thus we get सु + वृद्च्. The ष् is changed to ज् and finally to द् by VIII 2 39 S 84 and VIII 4 56 S 206. Thus its declension is as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	सुवद् or सुवृद्	सुवृद्चौ	सुवृद्च
The Loc Pl	is सुवृद्स्तु or सुवृद्सु		

* Note — This would be true in the view that the original root was वृद्च् with a dental स् which becomes ष् by इजुनादसु VIII 4 40 S 111. This ष् substitution is asiddha for VIII 2, 29.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in त्

Now, we take up the declension of महत्. This word is formed by the Unādi affix भति (Unādi sūtra II 84) which means that the words पृषत्, बहत्, महत् and जगत् are irregularly formed with the affix भति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by क्त affix. Since महत् is to be treated as if it was formed by the क्त affix, therefore, the rule VII 1 70 S 361 would cause the insertion of क्त and the sūtra VI 4 10, S 317 would cause the lengthening of भ. Thus,

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्त
Voc	हे महन्	"	"
Acc	महान्तम्	"	महत
Instr	महता &c	महद्भ्याम् &c	महद्भिः

— 0 —

Now we take up the declension of धीमन् It is formed with the affix मनुप्

In its declension, the following rule applies —

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातो । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वसन्तस्योपधाया दीर्घ स्याद्धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासङ्ख्यौ सौ परे । पर नित्य च तुम बाधित्वा वचनसाभ्यर्थाद्दीर्घो दीर्घ ततो नुम् । धामान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्त । इ धीमन् । शसादौ महद्भ्यत् । धातोस्त्य स्वन्तस्य दीर्घ । गामन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा वयजन्तादाचारक्रियन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्तिप् । उगिह-
न्नामिति सूत्रेऽङ्गप्रहण नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तर्ह्यङ्चतेरेवेति । तेन सत् ध्वत् इत्यादौ न । अधा-
तोऽरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्याप तुमर्थम् । गामान् । गामन्तौ । गामन्त । इत्यादि । भातेर्द्ध्वत् । भवान् । भवन्तौ । भवन्त । शवन्तस्य स्वत्वन्तत्वाभावात् दीर्घ । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425 In the Nominative Singular (with the excep-
tion of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is
lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the conso-
nant (अस्) does not belong to a root

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII 1 70, after the elongation
has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being
penultimate, will not be lengthened at all This is because of the force of this
sutra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pāṇini's
Ashtādhyāyī, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subse-
quent and *utya* sutra (VII 1 70 S 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so Thus
its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्त
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महत्

Note —अस् —as सुपथा, सुयथा, सुश्रोता ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging
to a dhātū' ? Observe पिण्डम् where स् belongs to the root मस् (पिण्ड मसते), so also
चर्मव चर्म वस्ते ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included
here on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they
are taught in Grammar denote by I, 1 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning" (अनिस्मन् ग्रहानि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्ताविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sūtra indicates whatever ends in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, कवतु &c or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application. In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपय this rule not applying there

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place. The prohibition of अघातो in this sūtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns. Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमस्यति "He wishes to have cows". The affix क्यच् is added to गोमत् in forming the derivative root by III 1 8 or III 1 10 with the force of "wishing" or "behaving". The root is गोमस्य. It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sūtra. Now गोमस्य + क्विप् = गोमत् (अ is dropped by VI 4 48, and क्व by VI 4 50) "One wishing to have cows". Here गोमत् ends with अत् (which was part of the original affix मतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as लृच् ॥

The लृच् will be added for the following reason —

In the sūtra उगित्त्वा VII 1 70 S 361 the root अङ्गु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root अङ्गु only, and not to any other root having an ugit. Thus in जत् and धवत् there is no ugit operation. Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अङ्गु would take लृच् under that sūtra. The specific mention of अघातो in that sūtra would have become redundant. But the fact, that Pāṇini has mentioned अघातो in that sūtra, indicates that by घातो is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root.

Thus we have गोमन् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows"

Now we take up the declension of भवत् not derived from भू, but from भा meaning 'to shine' (see Unādi sūtra I 63) with the affix डवतु ॥ Thus भा + डवतु = भवत् (the भा is elided by VI 4 143 and I 4 18 because the affix has an indicative ड) It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	भवान्	भवन्तौ	भवन् &c

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix कृत्, as it does not then end with the affix अतु, the penultimate is not lengthened. Thus in this case the Nominative Singular is भवान्.

Now, we take up the declension of क्वत् formed from the root क् with the affix कृत् ॥ The root is reduplicated. The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment जुम्, for the sūtra after next prohibits it

४२६ । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

षाष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे सप्तद्विते अभ्यस्तसन्ते स्त ॥

426 Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतु । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्मुम् न स्यात् । ददत् । ददद् । ददतौ । ददत ॥

427 The Participial-affix शतृ (अत् अन्त्), does not take the augment जुम् after a reduplicate stem

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददत ॥

Note — This is an exception to VII 1 70, and applies of course to saivanāmasthāna or strong cases. The जुम् is to be read into this sūtra from VII 1 70, for the negation of this sūtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sūtra, for ई is never ordained after śatṛi therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet जुम् is to be read here

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षत्, formed with the affix शतृ added to the root जक्ष. Its declension is governed by the following Sūtra —

४२८ । जक्षित्वादय इद् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

पञ्च धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितिश्च सप्तम एतेऽभ्यस्तसन्ता स्तु । जक्षत् । जक्षद् । जक्षतौ । जक्षत । एव आमत् । ददित् । शासत् । चक्रासत् । दीधीवेव्योर्ङिस्तेऽपि छान्दसत्वाद्ब्रह्मणेन परस्मैपदम् । दीध्यत् । वेव्यत् । युप् । युञ् । युपौ । युपः । युष्मानित्वादि ॥

428 So also the six roots, with jakshī itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta

Note — The word abhyasta is understood here. The verb jakshī and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhātupāṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation. These are जक्ष, जागृ, ददित्, चक्रास्, शास्, दीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pāṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like ददत् ॥

Thus जक्षत् or जक्षद् (N S) जक्षतौ (N Dual), जक्षतः (N Plural). Similar is the declension of आमत्, ददित्, शासत्, चक्रासत् ॥ दीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhātupāṭha as दीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicative ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आत्मनेपदी by I 3 12 S 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी 1 cause of the Vaidic irregularities. These form their Nominative Singulars as दीध्यत् and वेव्यत्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending न्

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ए Now we take up the declension of एप् which is formed from the बुदादि root एप् with the affix क्तिप् The भास् of the बुदादि class is optionally elided by III 1 31 S 2305 It is declined as

Nom एप् or एव, एवौ, एष, Instr Dual एव्याम् &c

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ए

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ण

Now, we take up the declension of ताङ्गश्च formed according to the following Sûtra —

४२६ । त्वदादिषु दशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्वदादिषूपदेवज्ञानार्थाद् दशोर्धातो कञ् स्याच्चात् क्तिन् ॥

429 The affix कञ् as well as क्तिन् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्वद् &c which precede it, and when it does not signify perception

Note —The force of 'च' is that the क्तिन् also comes under similar circumstances त्वद् &c are pronouns, for a list of which see I 1 27, Thus त्वद्दृश् ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्न । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

सर्वनाम्न आकारोऽन्तर्दिश स्याद्दृग्दृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्ब्रजेति च । तस्य जडत्वेन ज । तस्य कुत्वेन ग । तस्य चत्वेन पक्ष क । ताङ्ग । ताङ्ग । ताङ्गौ । ताङ्ग । एत्वापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयट । हरदत्तादिनते तु चत्वाभावपक्षे ख एव श्रूयते नतु ग । जडत्वं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । दिगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्देशान्नासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । ब्रजेति बत्त्वम् । जडत्वचत्वे । विद् । विद् । विद्गौ । विद्ग । विद्गम् ॥

430 आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1 1 27) before these words दृक्, दृश् and the affix अवतु ॥

Thus तद् + दृश् + क्तिन् = ता (by the present sūtra) + दृश् + क्तिन् = ता + दृक् (the श् is changed to क् by VIII 2 62 S 377) This क् is not perceived (आसिद्ध) for the purposes of ए change by VIII 2 36 S 294 Thus we have ताङ्ग = ताङ्ग (VII 2 39 S 84) = ताङ्ग (VIII 2 62 S 377) = ताङ्ग (optionally by VIII 4 56 S 206)

Thus Nom forms are ताङ्ग or ताङ्ग, ताङ्गौ, ताङ्ग —According to the opinion of Kaiyata and Haradatta &c the form would be ताङ्ग but never ताङ्ग, in the alternative when it is not ताङ्ग Because they apply the कुत्व rule as an *apavāda* to एत्व rule and by कुत्व they get ख in the place of ण (See Padamanjari p 953) and ख will never become ग् by VIII 2 39 S 84, because ख obtained by क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्य कु VIII 2 62 is asiddha or not perceived by the जडत्व rule

VIII 2 39 S 84. Or we may say that ख is not asiddha for Pāṇini himself has changed ख into ण in the word दिण् (See IV 4 54 S 1429)

Now, we take up the declension of विण् This is formed by the affix विवप् added to the root विष् 'to enter' The ण is changed to ष by VIII 2 36 S 294, which is changed to ङ by VIII 2 39 S 84. and optionally to द् by VIII 4 56 S 206

Thus it is declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	विद् or विङ्	विद्यौ	विद्य
Acc	विद्यम्	&c	&c

— o —

Now, we take up the declension of नङ् In its declension, the following rule applies

४३१ । नङोर्वा । ङ । २ । ६३ ॥

नङो कवर्गोऽन्तादिभ्यो वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नङ् । नङ् । नङ् । नङ् । नङौ । नङ । नङ्भ्याम् । नङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

431 The final of नङ् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural

Note —Here the root नङ् has taken क्तिप् in denoting 'condition or state', by considering it as belonging to सप्तशब्दि class

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singular, namely —नङ् or नङ् or नद् or नङ् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नङौ, नङ

Instr Dual is नङ्भ्याम् and नङ्भ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश् Its declension is governed by the following rule —

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके क्तिन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुल्लपपदे स्पृशे क्तिन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृग् । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृश । क्तिन् प्रत्ययो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याभ्ययनात् क्तिन्पि क्त्वप् स्पृक् । षडङ्गका प्राप्त्वात् । अङ्गवा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्मादृत्विगादिना क्तिन् । द्वित्वमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । अस्मात्पूर्व अक्षत्वेन ङ ग । धृज्जोतीति दधृक् दधृग् । दधृषौ दधृष । दधृभ्यामित्यादि । रज्जानि धृज्जोतीति रज्जुद् । रज्जुङ् । रज्जुषौ । रज्जुष । षड्भ्यो लुक् । षद् । षङ् । षङ्भि । षङ्भ्य २ । षद्वचतुर्भ्योऽति नुद् । भनामिति पठुक् सप्तम्यङ्गत्वेन षेष् । यरोऽनुनासिक इति विकल्प बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषाया नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिक । षण्णाम् । षद्वच । षद्वच । तदन्त विधि । परमषद् । परमषण्णाम् । गौण्यत्वं तु प्रियवच । प्रियवचाम् । रुत्वं प्रति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सप्तम्यङ्गत्वरिति रुत्वम् ॥

432 The affix **किन्** comes after the verb **स्पृश्** 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than **उदक** 'water'

Thus **घृत स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश**, Nominative Singular **घृतस्पृक्** he who touches clarified butter' **स्पृश् + किन् + घृ = स्पृश् + हि + o** (VI 1 68) = **स्पृक् + O** (VI 1 67, and VIII 2 62)

Nominative Dual and Plural are **घृतस्पृशौ**, **घृतस्पृश** respectively

— o —

In the sūtra **किन्प्रत्ययस्य कु**, VIII 2 62, S 377 if we take the compound **किन्प्रत्यय** as a Bahuvrīhi, meaning a root to which the affix **किन्** can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix **किन्** is added. Thus the root **स्पृश्** takes the affix **किन्** when in compound with another word. But when it is used alone it takes the affix **किप्**. This **किप्** will also produce the guttural change, because **स्पृश्** is a root which is *liable* to take the affix **किन्**. Thus **स्पृक्** &c. Here the **श्** is changed to **ष्** then to **ङ**, then to **ग्** and then optionally to **क्** as shown above.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in **श्**

— o —

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in **ष्**

Now, we take up the declension of **दधृष्**. It is formed from the root **मिधृष्** 'to be impudent'. Thus **धृष् + किन् = दधृक्** ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent (III 2 59 S 373). The **ष्** of **दधृष्** must be changed to **ङ** before gutturalisation. Then this **ङ** should be gutturalised to **ग्** and then **ग्** is optionally changed to **क्**. Thus **दधृक्** or **दधृग्**, **दधृशौ**, **दधृश** ॥ &c

Now, we take up the declension of **रत्नमुष्** meaning 'one who steals gems'. It is regularly declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	रत्नमुद् or रत्नमुङ्	रत्नमुशौ	रत्नमुष

Now, we take up the declension of **बष्**. It is always plural. By Sūtra VII 1 22 S 261, the Nom and Acc Pl terminations are elided after it. Thus Nom Acc Pl are **बद्** or **बङ्** ॥ Instr Pl **बङ्गिभि** ॥ Dat and Abl Pl **बङ्गभ्य** ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl the augment **नुद्** is added by VII 1 55 S 338 to the case termination **भात्**. Thus **बष् + नात् = बद् + नात्**. By the exception made in the Sūtra VIII 4 42 S 114 the **त्** of **नात्** is changed to **ष्**. Thus **बद् + नात् = बद् + नाष्** ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of **द्** required by VIII 4 45 S 116 is superseded

by the Vārtika under the same sūtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature Thus बद् + णाप् = बण्णाप् The Loc. Pl is बद्भ्यु or बद्भ्यु

The declension of बद् is the same when it is the final member of a compound Thus परमबद् (N Pl) परमबण्णाप् (G Pl) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom and G Pl are प्रियबद् and प्रियबण्णाप् respectively

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ष्

— 0 —

Declension of Masculines ending in स्

We take up the declension of विपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read') It is derived from the root विपठिस् with the affix क्तिप् The ञ् of स् is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 The स् was changed to ष् by VIII 3 39 S 153 But this is not perceived by the Sūtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Panini's Ashtādhyāyī (VIII 2 66 S 162) Thus विपठिष् + सु = विपठिष् + O (by VI 1 68 S 252) Now विपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I 1 6 2 S 262) Therefore the ष् which is really स् becomes र् Thus विपठिष् becomes विपठिर् At this stage applies the following Sūtra

४३३ । वीरुपधाया दीर्घ इक । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घ स्यात्पदान्ते । विपठी । विपठिषौ । विपठिष्व । विपठीभ्याम् । वा धारीति वा विसर्जनीय ॥

433 A penultimate इ ०१ उ is lengthened, when the final ०१ ञ् of a root can stand at the end of a Pada

Thus विपठिर् becomes विपठी

The Nominative Dual and Plural are विपठिषौ and विपठिष्व

The Inst Dual is विपठीभ्याम्

In forming the Locative Plural the sūtra VIII 3 36 S 151 as well as the following comes into operation

४३४ । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्ववायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एतै प्रत्येक व्यवधानेऽपि इण्कुम्भ्या परस्य सस्य मूधन्यादेवा स्यात् । हुत्वेन पूर्वस्य बत्वम् । विपठीषु विपठीषु । प्रत्येकमिति व्याख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने बत्व न । निस्व । निस्से । नुम्वयहण नुम्वयानिकानुस्वारोपलक्षणाथ व्याख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिन्सु । पुस्तु । अत एव न शर्यहणेन गतार्थता । रास्त्वस्येति सलेपि विसर्ग । चिक्री । चिक्रीषौ । चिक्रीर्ष । रो सुपीति नियमात्र विसर्ग । चिक्रीर्षु । त्मेडोर्स् । डित्वसामर्थ्याद्विलोप । बत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्बुट विसर्गौ । षौ । षौषौ । षौष । पद्म इति वा षौषम् । षौष्ण । षौष्णा । षौष । षौषा । विश प्रवेशने । सन्नन्तात् क्तिप् । बत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्सयोगान्तलोप । ब्रजेति ष । जम्बवत्त्वे । विविड् । विविडौ । विविड । स्कोरिति कलोप । तद् । तड् । तक्षौ । तक्ष । गोरद् । गोरड् । गोरक्षौ ।

गोरक्ष । तक्षिरक्षिभ्या ण्यन्ताभ्या क्तिप् तु स्कारिति न प्रवर्तते । णिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पूर्वभासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य शेषे सयोगादिलोपलक्ष्यत्वोच्चिति निषेधात् । तस्मात्सयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तग् । गोरक् । गोरग् । स्कारिति क्ताप प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् सयोगान्तलोप । पिपक् । पिपग् । एव विवक् । दिधक् । पिस गतौ । सुहु पसतीति सुपी । सुपिसौ । सुपिस । सुपिसा । सुपीभ्याम् । सुपीषु । सुपीषु । एव सुह । तुस न्यण्डने । विद्वाद् । विद्वासे । विद्वास । ह विहद् । विद्वासम् । विद्वासौ ॥

434 The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanīya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters of the स्

Thus पिपडिस् + सुप् = पिपडीष् (the इ of डि is lengthened by the last sūtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I 4 17 S 230) + हु = पिपडीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sūtra) + हु = पिपडीषु or पिपडीषु ॥

The ष् takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively. Therefore not here निस्से, 'thou kissest', निस्सेव 'kiss thou' from the root निस् 'to kiss'. Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स (III 4 91)

From the explanation in Mahābhāṣya in explaining ह्यवरद् we learn that the नुम् of this sūtra must be the anusvāra which replaces नुम् and not any other anusvāra. Therefore not in सुहिन्नु or पुसु. Here there is no ष change. Though anusvāra was included in the pratyāhara षर् by the Vārtika षर् अङ्गभावत्वे " the visarjanīya, anusvāra jīhvāmuliya and upadhmāniya should be included in the षर् pratyāhara for the sake of अङ्ग विधि and स्वर्ष विधि ", yet the separate mention of नुम् in this sūtra indicates that that anusvāra is to be taken which results from नुम्.

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स्. This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स् meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्तिप्. This is thus formed — कृ + सन् ॥ Here the augment इद् is not added because of the sūtra VII 2 10 S 2246 or VII 2 12 S 2610, the affix सन् is क्तिप् by I 2 9 S 2612 and therefore there is no guna by I 1 5 S 2217. Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI 4 16 S 2614. Then the कृ is changed to इर् by VII 1 100 S 299. Then the root is reduplicated by VI 1 9 S 2395.

Thus we get किरि किरि ॥ The first र is elided by VII 4 60 S 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII 4 62 S 2245. Thus we have चिकिरि ॥ Now, चिकिरि + स = चिकिर्स् ॥ Then the ष of स is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308. Thus चिकीर्स्. To this is added the N S case termination सु ॥ चिकिर्स् + सु ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252.

Then we have चिकिर्स् ॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII 2 24 S 280. Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII 2 76 S 433. Thus we have चिकी ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षो &c is by अङ्गान् VI 4 16 S 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix We did not apply this sūtra, in Nominative S because सन् was already dropped

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकी , चिकीर्षो, चिकीर्ष ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII 2 76,77 S 433 and 354

The Loc Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here र् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the र् of इ but it is a portion of the word itself (see sūtra VIII 3 16 S 339)

Now, we take up the declension of होस् This is formed by the Unadi affix होस् added to the root ह् (Uṇadī II 69) The अच् of ह् is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ङ see VI 4 143 S 316, though the base is not अ Thus हास् ॥ Then स् is changed to ण् But this change is asiddha for the purposes of इ and visarga change Thus N S is हो । N Dual and Plural are होषौ, होष respectively In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, होषः or होष (Ac Plural), होषणा or होषा (Inst singular), for in these cases होस् is replaced by होषन् by VI 1 63 S 228

Note —the अच् portion of ह् is elided by VI 4 143 S 316 and though the base before it is not अ strictly speaking Sūtra VI 4 143 could not apply here, for that sūtra is confined to अ bases only But as the ङ of the affix होस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of णि portion of ह् by the analogy of VI 4 143

Now, we take up the declension of विविष् It is formed from the root विष् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विष्+सन् ॥ The augment इद् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII 2 10 S 2246 The सन् affix is क्तिप् by I 2 12 S 2368 and therefore there is no guna Thus विष्+सन्=विष् विष्+सन्=विविष्+स ॥ To this we add the affix क्तिप् by which the अ ० स is elided by VI 4 48 असौलोप and we get the form विविष् ॥ Then by VIII 2 23 S 54 स् is elided and we get विविष् ॥ This ण् is changed to ण् by VIII 2 36 S 294 which again is changed to ङ and then optionally to इ । In other cases ण् is changed to ङ् by VIII 2 41 S 295 , and स changed to ष VIII 3 57 S 211 Thus N forms are विविद् or विविङ्, विविक्षौ, विविक्ष ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्ष् ' to fashion , The क् is elided by VIII 2 29 S, 380 Thus the N S is तद् or तक्ष् formed under the same rules as विविद् or विविङ्

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ, तक्ष

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning ' one who protects cows ' Its N. forms are गोरद् or गोरङ्, गोरक्षौ गोरक्ष ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तन्नि and रन्नि with the affix क्तिप्, then VIII 2 29 S 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क्. This is because the णि which was elided by जे रन्निदि (VI 4 51 S 2313) will be स्थानिवत् ॥ But will not the following *Vārtika* पूर्ववालिङ्गीयेन स्थानिवत्, prevent the स्थानिवद्भाव ? "There is no stānivadbhāva in the last three chapters of Ashtādhyāyī."

To this we reply 'No' Because of the following exception *Vārtika* The above Vārtika is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII 2 29 S 380 (b) the rule relating to न change (c) the rule relating to ण change S 235

Therefore, we shall have सयोगान्तलोप i.e. the elision of the final स् and not of the initial क्. Thus the N S will be तक् or तन्, गोरक् or गोरन्

Now we take up the declension of विपक् meaning 'desirous of cooking' It is formed from the root पक् with the Desiderative affix सन्. Thus we get पक् + पञ्च + स = पपञ्चस = पपक् ॥ The ञ of the initial प is changed to इ by VII 4 79 S 2317. Thus we have विपक् ॥

Its N S is विपक् or विपन्. The क् of विपक् is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above.

Similar is the declension of विवक् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वक् 'to speak' and of विधक्, meaning 'desirous of burning', from the root द्ध् to burn. The Nominative Singular being विवक् and विधक् respectively.

Now, we take up the declension, of सुविस्. It is derived from the root विस्, 'to walk', hence सुविस् means 'one who walks well'. It is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	सुपी	सुपिसौ	सुपिस्
Instr	सुपिस्त	सुपीभ्याम्	
Loc			सुपीषु or सुपीषु ॥

Similar is the declension of सुदुस् 'well cutting'. Its Nominative Singular is सुदुस् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वस् meaning 'a learned man'. In the strong case terminations, it is declined as —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वसौ	विद्वान्
Voc	हे विद्वन्		
Acc	विद्वानम्	विद्वसौ	

In the weak case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule —

४३६ । वसो. सप्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वस्वरतस्थ भव्य सप्रसारण स्यात् । पूर्वपत्वं पत्वम् । विदुष । विदुषा । वसुस्त्विति इत्वम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेदिवान् । सेदिवासौ । सेदिवास । सेदिवासम् । अन्तर्ज्ञोऽपीडागम सप्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुष । सेदुषा । सेदिवद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसयोगोऽपि प्रसिद्धिर्न स्यात् । ननु धातो महच्छब्दसादृश्यात् । छुट्टु हिनस्तीति छुहिन् । छुहिसौ । छुहिस । छुहिभ्याम् । छुहिन्तु । ध्वत् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वस । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एव सन् ॥

435 The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem

Thus विद्वस् + वस् = विद् उ अस् + वस् ॥ उ and अ become उ by the पूर्वपत्वं rule (VI 1 108 S 330) = विदुस् + वस् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष् + वस् = विदुषस् = विदुष (Ac Pl) The Ins Sing विदुष्य is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वस् is changed to इ by VIII 2. 72 S 334 Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of सेदिवस् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix कसु to the root सद् by III 2 108 S 3097 The root is reduplicated by VI 1 8 S 2177 Thus — सद् + सद् + कसु = स + सद् + कसु ॥ The first इ being elided by इत्तादि चेष ॥ VII 4 60 S 2179 Then the first स is elided and the अ of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI 4. 120 S 2260 Thus we get सेद् + कसु = सेद् + वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इद् by VII 2 67 S 3096. Thus सेद् + इद् + वस् = सेदिवस् ॥ In strong cases there will be रुक् augment by VII 1 70 S 361 and lengthening by VI 4 10 S 317 Thus —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	सेदिवान्	सेदिवासौ	सेदिवास
Acc	सेदिवासम्	"	

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इद् augment of VII 2 67, S 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इद् when we are going to vocalise the इ into उ for then the efficient cause व of वस् would be absent This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c See under Sûtra I 3 11 S 46 Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस् But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस् for the application of the sûtra VII 2 67 So we have the Acc Pl सेदुष ॥ The Instr Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr Dual is सेदिवद्भ्याम् &c

In the sûtra VI 4 10 S 317, the words ending in conjunct consonant न्स् must be prâtipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prâtipadika महत् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with नङ् should be taken

Therefore the word सुहिन् where the न् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply Thus सुहिन् is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहितौ	सुहिंस

In the Instr Dual where सुहिन् gets the designation of pada, the न् is elided and we get सुहिन्भ्याम् ॥

The Loc Plural is सुहिन्सु 'or' सुहिन्सु ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वन् formed from the root ध्वन् with the affix क्तिप् The न् of the root ध्वन् is elided by VI 4 24 S 415 Thus it is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	ध्वन् or ध्वद्	ध्वसौ	ध्वस ॥
Instr		ध्वद्भ्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of सञ् from the root सञ्.

Now we take up the declension of पुञ् In its declension, the following rule applies —

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षितऽसुङ् स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थः । बहुपुसी इत्यत्र उगितमेति ङीवर्थे कृतेन पुमो ङुञ्जुमिति प्रत्ययस्यागित्वेनैव युज्यते । पुमान् । हे पुमन् । पुमासौ । पुमास । पुस । पुभ्याम् । पुभि । पुसु । ऋदुशनेत्यनङ् । उशाना । उशानसौ । उशानस । अस्य सङुखौ वाऽनङ् वलोपश्च वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे उशानन् । हे उशान । हे उशान । उशानोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेह । अनेहोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधा । वेधसौ । वेधस । हे वेध । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अधातोः लिङ्गोर्न ङीवर्थे । सुहु वस्ते सुवः । सुवसौ । सुवस । पिण्ड मसते पिण्डम् । पिण्डम् । मसु शसु मवने ॥

436 अङ् (अम्) is substituted for the final of पुञ् when the sarvanāmasthāna affixes are to be added

The ङ in असुङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that ङुञ् should be added under VII 1 70 S 361 because the ङुञ् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुञ् is formed from पा (to protect) + ङुञ्जु (Un- IV 178) and as the affix ङुञ्जु is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII 1 70 by causing ङुञ् *pari passu* as it does in causing ङीव् to be added to in the feminine, in forming बहुपुसी, by the sūtra उगितश्च (IV 1 6 S 455) Thus it is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमासौ	पुमांस
Voc	हे पुमान्		
Acc			पुंस
Inst	पुसा	पुभ्याम्	पुभिः
Loc			पुसु

Kāśikā —The word पुस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डुम्बुन् (Uṇ IV 178), the ण् being changed to anusvāra. So when स् of पुस् is replaced by अन् we get the form पुमन्, the ड of अङुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII 1 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमासा, पुमांस ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशानुसारं) otherwise the accent will be wrong. The compounds have acute on the final, (VI 1 223), therefore, परमपुस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमान् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु.

Now, we take up the declension of उद्यानस् ॥ By VII 1 94 S 276, अन्ङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Nom Sing. Thus Nom forms are उद्याना, उद्यानसौ, उद्यानसः ॥ In forming the Voc Sing the following Vārtika will apply —

Vārt —अन्ङ् is substituted for the final of उद्यानस् in the Voc S also, as हे उद्यानन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII 2 8) Otherwise we have हे उद्यान ' Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular as हे उद्यानस्, हे उद्यानन्, and हे उद्यान '.

The Instr Dual is उद्यानोभ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहस
Voc	हे अनेह		
Inst		अनेहोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	वेधा	वेधसौ	वेधस
Voc	हे वेध		
Inst		वेधोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस् meaning ' one who wears well ' Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom S its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अधासौ in VI 4 14 S

Hence its Nom forms are सुव सुवसौ, सुवसः ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डग्रस् and पिण्डग्लस् ॥ The verbs ग्रस् and ग्लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डग्र and पिण्डग्ल meaning 'a lump eater'

Now, we take up the declension of अद्स् In its declension the following rules apply —

४३७ । अद्स् औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अद्स् अकारोऽन्तविश स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तस्य स साविति इत्य स । असौ ॥ औत्वप्रतिषेध साकृत्कस्य वा वक्तव्य सादृश्य च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्निधोगादिदृष्टत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ । अलुक् । त्यहाद्यत्व पररूपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अद्सोऽसेरिति मत्वोत्वे । अद्सु । अस्य स्त्री । आदृश्य ॥

437 For the स् of अद्स् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided

As अद्स् + सु = अद् + औ + O (VII 2. 107) = अत् + औ (VII 2. 106 S. 381) = असौ ॥

Vart —When the augment अक् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative ङ is added after स्, as अलुक् or असकौ ॥

The form अलुक् is thus evolved —अक् + अद्स् + सु, now औ substitution of the present sūtra is prohibited, therefore, the अ substitution of VII 2. 102 takes place, and the इ is changed to स् by VII 2. 106, and the अ of अक् after स् is changed to ङ

In forming अद्स् we observe the following process —

अद्स् + औ = अद् + औ (VII 2. 102 S. 265 and VI 1. 97 S. 191) = असौ ॥

Here इ is replaced by ण and औ by अ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न ॥ ८ "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short ङ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाव्यमानोऽप्युकार सवर्णान्ग्राह्याति ॥ ८. The letter ङ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it, makes an exception in the case of ङ only

The rule पूर्वजासिद्ध (VIII 2. 1 S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the ङ and ण of VIII 2. 80, should be substituted because with regard to व्यवहृतिनाम् (VII 2. 102 S. 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyāya, the sūtra अद्सो से (VIII 2. 80 S. 419) which is a rule of Tripāḍī becomes asiddha Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII 2. 102 S. 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अद्स् ending with स्, and the rule VIII 2. 80 S. 419, requiring ङ for अ, and स् for इ would find no scope at all.

But if in the sūtra पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्, the operations of Tripādi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms असु असुम् &c For if we apply VIII 2 80 S 419 before the अ of स् of अद्स् obtained by VII 2 102 S 265, plus the अ of the द् of अद्स् become अ by VI 1 97 S 191, in other words, if we apply VIII 2 80 S 419 to the following nascent state of अद् + अ, then we shall have this incongruity असु द् + अ Here स् is asiddha for the purposes of VI 1 97 S 191, and अ of असु plus द् would become द, which is not desired

In forming the N Dual, the rule VII 2 102 S 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अद्स् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of द् and become अ by VI 1 97 and thus the base will be अद् Thus अद् + औ = अदौ The द् will be replaced by द् and औ by long ऊ and we get अदू (VI 1 102 S 164)

The N Pl is अनी It is thus evolved —

अद्स् + णी (VII 1 17 S 214) = अद् + ई = अदे (VI 1 87 S 69) Then applies the following Sūtra —

७३८। एत ईदुद्वने। ८। २। ८१॥

अदसो वात्परस्यैत ईत्यादस्य च मो बहुर्योक्तौ। अनी। पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् प्रादुस्त्वप्त्वे। असुम्। अदू। अदूम्। इत्ये कृते विसृज्या नामाव ।

438 For the ए coming after the द् of अद्स् there is substituted ई, and द् is changed to अ, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom Pl is अनी

In forming the Acc Sing, we have अद्स् + अम्. Now the sūtra स्वर्ग-दीनाम् (VII 2 102 S 265) has superior force to sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII 2 80 S 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद् + अम् = अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sūtra अदसोऽस्ते (VIII 2 80) and we get अदम्.

When अदम् is changed to अदु it gets the designation of चि (I 4 7 S 232) So in the Inst Sing the substitute ना offers itself from VII 3 120 S 244

Thus अदु + ना Here however the question might occur that the formation of द् being enunciated in VIII 2 80 S 419 in the Tripādi, whether VII 3 120 S 244 does not regard the द् as asiddha

Hence the following Sūtra —

४३६ । न मु ने । ८ । २ । ३ ॥

नाभावो कर्तव्ये कृते च दुभावो नासिद्ध स्यात् । अमुना । अमूभ्याम् । अमीभिः । अमुष्मे ।
अमीभ्य २ । अमुष्मात् । अमुष्म्य । अमुष्यो । अमीषाम् । अमुष्मिन् । अमुष्यो । अमीषु ॥

439 The sūtra VIII 2 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना

Note —The existence of मु is not considered unaffected when there is to be added ना ॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of चि by I 4 7 and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII 3 120 अमुना ॥ Had the मु been considered as noneffected, then the stem would not have been called *gh*, and there would have been no ना added But when ना had been added, then the मु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अद् ending in न्, and this अ would require lengthening by मुपि च VII 3 102 but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्त सन्निपातस्य “that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination” There being no long आ the द of अमु remains short Or this sūtra may be considered to be the condensation of two sūtras (1) मु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) मु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place Or the sense of the sūtra is ने परतो अद् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कस्य्ये दुभावो नासिद्ध “the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed” From this, it would follow by implication that मु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself So मु being always siddha, ना is added and there is no lengthening

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr and the succeeding cases is as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Plural
Instr	अमुना	अमूभ्याम्	अमीभिः
Dat	अमुष्मे	”	अमीभ्य
Abl	अमुष्मात्	”	”
Gen	अमुष्य	अमुष्यो,	अमीषाम्
Loc	अमुष्मिन्	”	अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants

अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह् such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it

४४० । नहो ध । ८ । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य ध स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानहो । उपानह । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानस्तु । उत्पूर्वात् ङिह प्रीतावित्यस्माद्विगादिना क्तिन् । निपातनात्तलोपपत्वे । क्तिन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्वेन हस्य ध । अदस्त्वचत्वे । उङिक् । उङिग् । उङिहो । उङिह । उङिग्भ्याम् । उङिस्तु । द्यौ । दिवौ । दिव । दुषु । गी । गिरौ । गिर । एव पू । चतुरश्रतस्रदिश । चतस्र २ । चतसृणाम् । किम कादिशे दाप् । का । के । का । सर्वावत् ॥

440 The ह of नह् is changed to ध before a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word

Note — As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes त् &c, is changed to ध by VIII, 2 40, and for the preceding ध is substituted ह् by VIII 4 ३३ उपानत् is formed by VIII 2 39, read with VIII 4 56 परीणत् is formed by क्तिप् as it belongs to सम्प्रदादि class, the lengthening is by VI 3 116, and ण-change by VIII 4 14 It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only ह् been ordained in the sūtra, instead of ध, but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII 2 40, by which there should be ध, for the participial त् &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishtha त् into न् by VIII 2 42 Thus नद्ध + त् = नद्ध + ध (VIII 2 40) = नद्धध (VIII 4 53) But had the substitute been ह्, we should have नद्ध + त् = नद्ध by VIII 2 42

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom S affix सु is elided by VI 1 67 and VI 1 68, and ध् is changed to त् or ह् by VIII 2 39 The Nom D is उपानहो and the Plural उपानह ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc Plural उपानस्तु

Now we take up the declension of the word उङिह् This word is formed with the upasarga उत् and the affix क्तिन् by III 2 59 added to the root स्निह् 'to love' The word उङिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre The त् of उत् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ण (VIII 3 59 and VIII 4 40) The ह् is changed to ध because it is a word formed with the affix क्तिन् by sūtra VIII 2 62 The ध् becomes ण् then क् by VIII 2 39 Thus we have Nom S उङिक् or उङिग् Nom D उङिहो, Nom Pl उङिह Ins D उङिग्भ्याम् Loc Pl उङिस्तु

Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as दिव्
Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word दिव्
See Sūtra VII 1 84 S 336 &c Nom S द्यौ Nom D दिवो Nom Pl
दिव , Loc Plu द्युषु

— 0 —

Now we take up the declension of words ending in इ such as गिर् It
is declined as the masculine word Thus Nom S गी , D गितौ , Pl गिर
Similar is the declension of पुर The word चतुर् is changed to चतसृ It is
always declined in the Plural Thus Nom and Acc Pl चतस्र , Gen Pl
चतसृणाम् ॥

— 0 —

Now we take up the declension of words ending in क् such as किम्
क is substituted for किम् by VII 2 103 Then we add the feminine affix दाप्
Thus Nom S is का Nom D के Nom Pl का The declension of the rest is
like the feminine form of सर्व (सर्वा)

— 0 —

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् Its declension is governed
by the following rule —

४४१ । य सौ । ७ । २ । ११० ॥

इदमो यस्य य स्यात्सौ ॥ इदमो न ॥ इयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वा दाप् । इति न । इमे । इमा । इमाम् ।
इमे । इमा । अनया ॥ हलि लोप ॥ आभ्याम् ३ । आभि । अस्त्यै । अस्या । अनयो २ । आसाम् । अस्याम्
आस्तु । अन्वादेशे तु । एनाम् । एने । एना । एनया । एनयो २ । क्त्विगादिना कृजे क्तिन् अनागमश्च
निपातित । सक् सण् । सजौ । सज । सभ्याम् । सस्तु । त्यदाद्यत्वा दाप् । स्या । त्य । त्या । एव तद् यद्
एतद् । वाक् । वाग् । वाचौ । वाच । वाग्भ्याम् । वास्तु । अप्सव्यो नित्य बहुवचनान्त । अप्तुन्निति दीर्घ ।
आप । अप ॥

441 य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the
Nominative Singular in the feminine

The final म् of इदम् remains unchanged by VII 2 108 S 343 Thus
Nominative S इयम् ॥ Then the feminine affix दाप् is added by the sūtra VII
2 102 S 265 इ is changed to य् by VII 2 109 S 345 The Nominative
Dual is इमे Nominative Plural इमा ॥ Accusative S is इमाम् ॥ Inst S is अनया ॥
इद् is changed to अन् by VII 2 112 By the rule VII 2 113 S 347 there
is elision of इद् so that we have in the Inst Dat and Abl Dual आभ्याम् ,
Inst Plural is आभि We have Dat S अस्त्यै by VII 3 114 , Gen S
अस्या and Dual अनयो by VII 3 105 and Plural आसाम् by VII 1 52 and VII 2
113 , Loc S अस्याम् D अनयो , and Plural आस्तु ॥ But in re-employment
(अन्वादेश) we have एनाम् in the Acc S एने in the Dual and एना in Plural
In Inst S एनया and एनया in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **ञ्** such as **सञ्** -

The word **सञ्** is formed by the sūtra III 2 59 with the augment **अम्** irregularly Thus we have **सक्** or **सञ्** in the Nominative S, **सञौ** in the Dual and **सञ्** in the Plural, **सञ्भ्याम्** in the Inst Dual, **सञ्भु** in the Loc Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **इ** such as **स्यइ** By the rule VII 2 102 and with the feminine affix **दाप्** we have **स्या** in the Nominative S **स्ये** in the Nom D and **स्या** in the Nominative Plural **सद्, यद्** and **एतद्** are similarly declined

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **च्** e g **वाच्** We have **वाक्** or **वाञ्** in the Nominative S **वाचौ** in D and **वाच** in the Nominative Plural In the Instru D we have **वाञ्भ्याम्** and in the Loc Plural **वाञ्भु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in **प्** such as **अप्** **अप्** is always used in the Plural By VI 4 11 S 277 the vowel **अ** is lengthened Thus we have in the Nominative Plural **आप**, in the Acc Plural **अप** ॥

In forming the Inst Plural the following rule applies —

४४२ । अपो भि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकार स्याद्भासौ प्रत्यये परे । अङ्गि । अद्भ्य २ । अपाञ् । अप्भु । दिक् । दिग । दिशौ । दिश । दिग्भ्याम् । दिक्षु । त्वादिष्विति दृशो क्तिन्विधानादन्यत्रापि कुत्वम् । दृक् । दृग् । दृशौ । दृश । त्विद् । त्विद् । त्विषौ । त्विष । त्विद्भ्याम् । त्विद्भु । त्विद्भु । सह जुषते इति सजू । सजुषौ । सजुष । सजूर्भ्याम् । सजूष्णु । सजू षु । सत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्भुत्वम् । आशी । आशिषौ । आशिष । आशीर्भ्याम् । असौ । त्वाद्यत्वं । टाप् । औङ् शी । उत्वमस्त्वं । अमू । अम् । अमूम् । अम् अम् । अमूम् । अम् । अमुया । अमूभ्याम् । अमूभि । अमूभ्यै । अमूभ्याम् २ । अमूभ्य । अमुभ्या २ । अमुयो । अमुयो । अमुषाम् । अमुष्याम् । अमुषु ॥

442 **त्** is substituted for the final of the stem **अप्** before a case-ending beginning with **भ्** ॥

Thus we have **अङ्गि** and in the Dat and Abl Plural **अद्भ्य**, in the Gen and Loc Plural **अपाञ्** and **अप्भु** respectively

Now we come to the declension of words ending in **श्** such as **दिश्** ॥ Thus in the Nominative S we have **दिक्** or **दिञ्** by III 2 59 S 373 and VIII 2 62 S 377, in the Nominative Dual **दिशौ** and Plural **दिश**, in the Inst Dual **दिग्भ्याम्** and Loc Plural **दिक्षु** ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word **दृश्** ॥ By the rule III 2 60, S 429 **दृश्** takes the affix **क्तिन्** when in combination with the pronoun **स्यद्** &c But we infer from this that the root **दृश्** will take the affix **क्तिन्** even when it is not in combination also Thus in the Nominative S we have **दृक्** or **दृग्** Nominative D **दृशौ**, Plural **दृश** ॥

So also **स्वि** Its Nominative S is **स्वि** or **स्वि** by VIII 2 39 S 84 in the Nominative D **स्विषौ** ॥ Nominative Plural **स्विष** ॥ Inst D **स्विष्याम्** and the Loc Plural **स्विषु** or **स्विष्व** with the optional augment **वृ** by VIII 3 29 S 131

The word **सख**, "a friend" By the rule VIII 3 36 S 151, **इ** is substituted for its final and by VIII 2 23 S 54 there is the elision of **वृ**, then by applying the rules VIII 2 76 S 433 and VIII 3 15 S 76 we have **सख** in the Nominative S The Nominative D **सखौ** and Plural **सखष**, similarly in the Inst D **सख्याम्** and Loc Plural **सख्यु** or **सख्व**, the change of **स** to **ष** caused by VIII 4 41 S 113 being not perceived by VIII 2 66 S 162 causing **वृ** ॥

In the same way the word **आशि** for **आशि** is declined Thus we have the Nominative S, D and Plural **आशी** **आशिषौ** and **आशिष** respectively, In Inst D we have **आशीम्याम्** and Plural **आशीभि** ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun **अह** ॥

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	असौ (VII 2 102 S 265)	अम् (VIII 2 80 S 419)	अम्
Acc	अम्	अम्	अम्
Inst	अह्या	अह्याम्	अह्यभिः
Dat	अह्यै (VII 3 114 S 291)	"	अह्यभ्य
Abl	अह्या	"	"
Gen,	"	अह्यो	अह्याम् (VII 1 52)
Loc	अह्याम्	"	अह्यु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants

अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS

स्वमोरलुक् । इत्स्वम् । स्वनङुत् । स्वनङुद् । स्वनङुही । अतुरनङुहारित्याम् । स्वनङुहाहि । पुनस्तद्गत् ।
 दोष पुवत् ॥ दिव उत् ॥ अहर्विमलद्यु । अन्तरवर्तिनो विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्थेवोत्तरखण्डस्यापि
 पदसंज्ञाया प्राप्तया ॥ उत्तरपदत्व चापवादिवधौ प्रतिषेध * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षणा न । विमलदिवो ।
 विमलदिवि । अपवादिविधौ किम् । इधिसेचौ । इह षत्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्त्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वा ।
 वारी । अक्षलन्तस्वान्न नुम् । वारि । चत्वारि । न लुमतेति कादेशा न । किम् । के । कानि । इवम् । इमे ।
 इमानि ॥ अन्वादेशे नपुंसके एनङुत्कृत्य * ॥ एनत् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनेनो २ । ब्रह्म ।
 ब्रह्मणी । ब्रह्माणि । हे ब्रह्मन् । हे ब्रह्म । रोऽसुपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा ङित्येव । अङ्गी । अहनी ।
 अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनङुद् By the rule VII 1 23 S 319 we have the elision of the case endings डु and ञम् In the case of स्वनङुद्, by the application of the rule VIII 2 72 S 334. इ is substituted for ह Thus we get स्वनङुत् or स्वनङुद् in the Nominative Sing स्वनङुही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII 1 19 S 310 In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII 1 98, S 331 we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनङुहाहि The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative The rest is declined like the Masculine

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in इ such as विमलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI 1 131, S 337, इ is substituted for the final thus we get विमलद्यु in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day "

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration —the word विमलदिव् is a compound of two words विमल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज् पुरुष = राजपुरुष But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is rāja-purusha and not rājan-purusha. Similarly in वागीश the क् is changed to ग् ॥ Now if this elided case affix (antar vartinī vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets? This doubt is removed by the following vārtika

Vārtika —The rule of "Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakshanam" does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada" Therefore, there is no pratyaya lakshana and so the word विद् in विमलदिद् does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation Bha, and consequently we can apply to it the sūtra VII 1 19 S 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only विमल दिद् being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the औ is changed to णी, and we get the Nominative Dual विमलन्वि and not विमलद्वौ ॥ The Nominative Plural is विमलद्वि

Why do we say in the above vārtika अपसादिविधौ "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe दधिसेचौ = दध् + सेचौ = दधि सेच् Here the second term सच् does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* स् being changed to ष् ॥ Had it not been a Pada then स would have been changed to ष after द् by VIII 3 58 S 434 But though सच् is treated as a पद for the purposes of the application of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as पद for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter च् which would become guttural क् if it were a Pada

Note —सेच् is derived from the root सिच् 'to sprinkle,' with the affix विच् (III 2 75 S 2980) The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound

Obj —But if we form the upapada compound with the root सिच् and the upapada दधि in the Accusative, as दधिम सिचत्, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhaktis, the word सेच् has no pada designation, and so स does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to ष् Thus in upapada-samāsa, the ष change is inevitable

Ans —To this Kaiyata replies "अनाभिधानात् सोपपदाद् विड्भाव, दधिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word अपसादि means पसादि the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada

Now, we take up the declension of वार् Its N S and Dual are वार and वारी respectively In forming the N Pl there will be no रुच् ordained by VII 1 72 S 314 because the base does not end in कल् letters Therefore the N Pl is वारि

The Nominative and Acc Pl. of चतुर् is चत्वारि ॥ The rest is like the masculine

Now we take up the declension of क्रम Thus क्रि + लु = क्रि + लु by VII 1 23 S 319 Now the affix is elided by using the word लुक् and so it leaves no trace behind, by I 1 63 S 263, and therefore क्रि is not changed to क as would otherwise be required by Sūtra VII 2, 103 S 342 Thus it is declined as —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	किम्	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम् Its Nom forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vārtika — In the Neuter, where there is Anvādeśa of re employment it should be stated that एनत् replaces इदम्

Thus एनत्, एन, एनानि , Ins S एनेन Gen D एनयो &c

Now, we take up the declension of ब्रह्मन्. It is declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom1	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मणी	ब्रह्माणि
Voc	हे ब्रह्मन् or हे ब्रह्म		

Now we take up the declension of अहन् By VIII 2 69 S 172 र् is substituted for the final न् of अहन् and thus अहर्भाति in the Nominative Sg Had there been ह्, then the र् would have been changed to उ by हश्चि VI 1 114 S 166 The form would have been अहोभाति in the Nom Sing In the N D by VI 4 136 S 237, the अ of अन् portion of अहन् is optionally elided and thus we get अह्नी or अहनी N Pl is अहानि ॥

Before भ्याम् &c, where अहन् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies

४४३ । अहन् । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहन्नित्यस्य रु स्यात्पदान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभि । इह अह अहोभ्यामित्यादौ रत्वस्त्वयोरसि-
द्धत्वाभ्रलोपे प्राप्त अहन्नित्यावस्य नलापाभाव निपात्य द्वितायेन रुर्विधय । तदन्तस्यापि रत्वरस्वे ।
दीर्घाण्यहानि यस्मिन् स दीर्घाहा निराद्य । इह हल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्रत्ययभक्षणेनाऽऽसुपीति निषेधाद्भ्रत्वाभावे रु ।
तस्यासिद्धत्वाभ्रान्तलक्षण उपधावीर्थ । सञ्जुद्धौ तु हे दीर्घाहो निराद्य । दीर्घाहानौ । दीर्घाहानौ । दीर्घाहानौ ।
दीर्घाहोभ्याम् ।

इण्डि । इण्डिनी । इण्डीनि । सग्नि । सग्निणी । सग्नीणि । वाग्नि । वाग्निनी । वाग्नीनि ।
बहुवचसाणि । बहुप्राणि । बहुर्यमाणि ।

असृज पशन्त कुत्स्व । सृजे किनो बिधानात् । विश्व सृडासौ तु न । सागदशोरिति
सृजे रज्जुसङ्ख्यामिति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । यद्वा ब्रह्मादिसृज सृजियज्यो पशन्त षत्व कुत्वापवाद ।
अगच्छत्स्वकृशब्दयोस्तु निपातनादेव कुत्स्व । असकृशब्दस्तु अस्त्येतौणादिके ऋजप्रत्यये बोध्य ।
असृक् । असृग । असृजी । असृज्जि । पशन्न इति वा असत् । असानि । असृजा । अस्त्रा । असृ
भ्याम् । असृभ्यामित्यादि ।

ऊर्क । ऊर्ग । ऊर्जि । ऊर्जिज । नरजाना सयोग ॥ बहूर्जि नुस्प्रतिषेध । * ॥ अन्यात्पूर्वो
वा नुस् ॥ यहाज बहुर्यजि वा कलानि ।

व्यान् । त्यद् । त्यः । व्यानि । तन् । तद् । ते । तानि । यन् । यद् । ये । यानि । एतन् ।
एतद् । एते । एतानि । अन्वादेशे तु । एतन् ।

बेभिकाने क्लिप । बेभिन् । बेभिद् । बेभिदी । शास्त्रोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाभिलन्तत्वात् नुम् ।
अजन्त लक्षणम् नुम् न । भविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात् । बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि । चच्छिदि ॥

गवाकशस्य रूपाणि क्लृप्तान्वागतिभेदतः । अतश्च बहुपूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशतं मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वमनुष्यं नव षट् भावो षट्के स्थुर्हीणि जइशसो । चत्वारि शेष दशकेरूपाणांति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामचतीनि विग्रहे ऋत्विगादिना क्तिन् । गतौ नलोप । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्येत्यवङ् । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावे । गोभक् । गोभग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक । गोग् । पूजाया नस्य कुत्वेन ङ । गवाङ् । गोभङ् । गाङ् । अभ्यपि एतान्येव नव । औङ् , शी । भत्वादश्च इत्यङ्लोप । गोर्चा । पूजाया तु गवाञ्चर्चा । गाभञ्चर्चा । गोञ्चर्चा जडशसा चि । शि सर्वनामस्थानत्वानुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोभ चि । गोञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोश्चीत्येव । गोचा । गवाञ्चा । गाभञ्चा । गोञ्चा । गवाभ्याम् । गोभभ्याम् । गोञ्भ्याम् । गवाङ्भ्याम् । गोभङ्भ्याम् गोङ्भ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपितु ङान्तानां पक्षे ज्ञौ कुगिति कुरु । गवाङ्क्षु । गाभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्क्षु । गोभङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । न चैह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारणे षण्णावाधिक्यं शङ्क्यम् । चर्त्तृत्वासिद्धत्वात् । कुरुपक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जडत्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयादेशाच्चीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

उद्यमेषा द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वाच्चिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभि ॥१॥

तिर्यक् । तिरश्ची । तिर्यग्भिच । पूजाया तु । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यङ्ची । तिर्यग्भि । यकृत । यकृती । यकृन्ति ।
 पद्मिनि वा यकन् । यकानि । यक्ता । यकृता । शकृन् । शकृती । शकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्ता । शकृता ।
 वक्न् । वक्ती ॥

443 ह is also substituted for the र् of अहर् at the end of a Pada

Thus **अहो-व्याध, अहोति ॥** The sūtra exhibits the form **अहन्** without the elision of **न्** in order to indicate that there is not elision of **न्** ॥ As **दीवाहे, निदाध हे दीर्घाहेऽनेति ॥** See Vārtika under VIII 2 7 The **न्** of **अहन्** is not changed to **र** in the sūtra by VIII 2 69, because it is intended to show the word form **अहन्** ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I 4 1,

Vart — Before the words रूप, राजि and रयन्तर, the र् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोराजि, अहोरयन्तर साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII 2, 69 Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र्, as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र् and ह changes in अहर् (N S) and अहोभान् (Ins D) ordained by VIII 2 69 S 172 and VIII 2 68 S 443 are asiddha : e not perceived by the preceding Sūtra VIII 2 7 S 236 which requires the elision of न्. Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र् (which is really न्) would be elided. But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII 2, 68 S 443 is in N S without the elision of न्, and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided, and by the second word, the ह् is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into ह and र् by VIII 2 68 and 69 S 443 and 172 Thus we have the Bahuvrīhi compound दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहा निराध ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions The word दीर्घाह् is thus evolved —दीर्घाह् + लु = दीर्घाह् + ० (there is lopa elision of लु by VI 1 68 S 252) Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I 1 62 S 262 and would cause the ह् substitution for न् to the exclusion of र्, because the र् would not come, as in the sūtra VIII 2 69 S 172 अलुपि is used But this ह् being asiddha i e not perceived by VI 4 8 S 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ ॥ Thus we have दीर्घाह् in the N S

In the Voc we have हे दीर्घाहो निदाच ॥

Note —The word दीर्घाह् is a Bahuvrīhi (II 2 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI 1 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII 2 68, and it is changed to ड (VI 1 114) In हे अहन् the न् is not elided by the option of the following Vārtika under VIII 2 8 वा नपुलकानाम् which means that in the Neuters न् is optionally not elided

It is thus declined —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom & Acc	दीर्घाह्	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहान
Instr	दीर्घाह्वा	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of दाण्डन् &c Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular	Dual	Plural
दाण्डन्	दाण्ड	दाण्डनी	दाण्डीणि
सग्विन्	सग्वि	सग्विणी	सग्वीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीणि
बहुवृचह्	बहुवृच	बहुवृचनी or बहुवृचणी	बहुवृचहाणि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूषणी or बहुपूषणी	बहुपूषाणि
बह्वर्थमन्	बह्वर्थम	बह्वर्थमणी or बह्वर्थमणी	बह्वर्थमाणि

Now we take up the declension of असृज् which is a negative compound of अ + सृज् The ज् will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्तिन् has been ordained after the root सृज् क्तिन् प्रत्ययस्थितः, but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसृज् &c The N S of विश्वसृज् is विश्वसृद, because Patanjali in his Mahābhāṣya, in commenting on sūtra VI 1 58 S 2405 employs the form रज्जुसृडभ्याम् or because the षत्व taught in VIII 2 36 S 294 for the final ज् of सृज् and यज् would debar the gutturalisation While the gutturalisation in सृक् and कृत्विक् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sūtra III 2 59 S 373 Or to remove all these objections we say that असृज् is not a negative compound of अ + सृज् but is a Uṇadī formed word derived from the root अस् “to throw” with the affix कृज्, then the

form will be असृक् in the N S without any difficulty Thus the declension of असृज् will be

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	असृक् or असृज्	असृजी	असृजि ॥
Acc	"	"	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, viz, one with असृक् (VI 1 63 S 228) and the other with असृज् ॥ Thus Acc Pl असृजि or असृजि ॥ Instr Sing Dual असृजा or अस्त्रा, असृज्याम् or अस्त्र्याम् &c

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज् ॥

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom & Acc	ऊर्ज् or ऊर्ज्	ऊर्जी	ऊर्जि ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is र्ज् and ज् ॥

Vārtik —There is prohibition of the augment नुस् in the case of बहूर्ज्

Vārtik —Or, the नुस् may be added before the final consonant, i e. inserted between र् and ज् ॥ Thus बहूर्जि or बहूर्जि कुलानि ॥

Note —According to Mahabhisya the Nom Pl is ऊर्जि without any nasal (See sūtra VH 1 72) His reason is that the word अच् in नपुंसकस्य भलञ्च should be construed in the Ablative, the sūtra meaning " the augment नुस् should be added to a Nenter stem which ends in झल् consonant, provided that such झल् is preceded by a vowel " In उर्ज्, the letter that follows the vowel, i e र् is not a jhal, nor does the Nenter stem end in ङ् But the jhal ज् which is final, is not preceded by a vowel but by र् ॥ So there will be no nasal here

Now, we take up the declension of खद् &c Nominative and Accusative

	Singular	Dual	Plural
खद्	खत् or खद्	खे	खानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	ते	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	ये	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्	एते	एतानि ॥

But in anvādesha or remployment, the Nom Sing of एतद् is declined as एनत् ॥

The word बेभिद् is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the verbal root बेभिञ् (a Frequentative root) The अ and य are dropped (अनो लोप) ॥

Its N and Ac S and Dual are बभित् or बेभिद्, बेभिदी ॥ In the Plural, i e before the affix सि, the augment नुस् required by VII 1 72 S 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ of बेभिद्च is considered as sthānivat

and so the base does not end in a स्त consonant * Nor will it take नुम् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthānivat-bhāva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self

Thus the Plural is वेभिर्दि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of चेच्छिद् is चेच्छिदि ॥

The root अञ्च has two meanings, (a) to go, (b) to worship (See भवति 203) When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो+अञ्च+क्तिन् ॥ Thus गा अचति meaning 'he drives the cow' The nasal will be elided by VI 4. 24 S 415 But when the meaning is 'he honors or worships the cow' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI 4. 30 S 424

Thus we get two forms (1) गवाञ्च (2) गवाच् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो+अञ्च itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI 1 122 S 87 (2) where अवङ् is substituted for ओ of गो by VI 1 123 S 88, (3) where ओ+अ of गो and अञ्च become ओ by VI 1 122 S 87 Thus (1) गोअञ्च (2) गवाञ्च (3) गोऽञ्च ॥

Verse —In the Neuter, the word गवाञ्च meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोअञ्च, (2) गवाञ्च (3) गोऽञ्च (4) गाअञ्च (5) गवाञ्च (6) गोऽञ्च ॥ The case terminations सु (N S), अन् (Ac S) लुप् (L Pl) give rise to nine forms each, the भा (1 e Instr, Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each, the जस and शस् (1 e Nom and Acc Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case terminations four forms each

Thus when we analyse गवाञ्च or गवाच् as गान् अचति, we add the affix क्तिन् by III 2 59 S 373 Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is 'to move' Then there is the अवङ् substitution by VII 1 123 S 88 In this case we have N S as गवाक् or गवान्, or when we apply the option of VI 1 122 S 87, we have गाअक् or गोअन्, when we apply the rule of पररूप, we have गाऽक् or गोऽन् ॥

When the sense is 'to honor', we have the कुस् or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ as N S गवाङ् or गोअङ् or गोऽङ् ॥ In the Acc S we shall also get these nine forms

In the Nom and Acc dual, the termination is शी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the अ of अञ्च is elided by VI 4 138 S 416 and thus we get the form गोभ्यी ॥ But when the sense of the verb is 'to honor', we get the forms गवाचो, or गोअच्यी or गोच्यी ॥

* The अ of वेभिर्दि was elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 The *Varitka* कौलुप् न स्थानिवत् see sūtra VI 4 85 S 273 is not applied here, as that *Varitka* is not of universal application

The N and Ac Pl affix is सि which being a Sarvanāmasthāna, we have the augment तुम् and thus we have गवाचि or गोमचि or गोचि whether the verb means 'to go' or 'to honor'

The Instr Sing of गवाच् is only गोचा, for the same reason as N and Ac Dual is गोची, of गवाच् is गवाचा or गोचा or गोमचा ॥

The Instr, Dat and Abl dual of गवाच् is गवाग्भ्याम् or गोमग्भ्याम् or गोग्भ्याम्, of गवाच् is गवाङ्भ्याम् or गोमङ्भ्याम् or गोङ्भ्याम् &c

In the Loc Pl, when the base is गवाच्, we add the augment क् by VIII 3 २8 Thus गवाङ्क्षु or गोमङ्क्षु or गोङ्क्षु or गवाङ्क्षु or गोमङ्क्षु or गोङ्क्षु ॥

But when the base is गवाच्, we get L Pl as गवाक्षु or गोमक्षु or गोक्षु ॥

By applying the vārtika चयो द्वितीया, क may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that Vartika is not applicable, since the चर्त्त rule is asiddha

Now we take up the declension of तिरच् ॥

Its Nom forms are तिर्यक्, तिर्यची, तिर्यचि ॥

But when अच् means 'to honor' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom forms are तिर्यङ्, तिर्यची, तिर्यचि ॥

Now we take up the declension of यक्त् ॥ Its Nom and Acc forms are यक्त्, यक्ती, यक्न्ति ॥

But before weak case terminations यक्त् is optionally substituted for यक्त् as ordained by VI 1 63 S 228 Thus Ac Pl is either यक्न्ति or यक्ता ॥ The Instr Sing is यक्ता or यक्ता ॥

Now we take up the declension of शक्त् ॥ Its Nom and Acc forms are शक्त्, शक्ती, शक्न्ति ॥ According to VI 1 63 S 228, शक्त् is optionally substituted for शक्त् before the weak case terminations So the Acc Pl is optionally शक्ता ॥ Similarly, the Instr Sig is either शक्ता or शक्ता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इक्त् ॥ Its Nom Sing and dual are इक्त्, इक्ती ॥

The formation of the N Pl is governed by the following rule

४४४ । वा त्रपुस्तकस्य । ७ । १ । ७६ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परा य शता तदन्तस्य क्रीबस्य तुम् वा स्यात्सर्वानामस्याने परे । इवन्ति । इवन्ति । तुम् ॥

444 The Participial-affix शक्त् optionally takes the augment तुम् after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a saivanâmathâna I 1 42 S 31} follows

Thus Nominative Plural इदं न्त or इदंति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of तुवत् ॥ Its N S is तुवत् ॥

In the formation of its N Dual and Plural the following rule applies —

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवर्णान्तादङ्गात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्यो परत । तुवन्ता । तुवती तुवन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचत् ॥

445 When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending णि VII 1 19 S 319 and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I 4 3 S 266)

Thus N D तुवन्ति or तुवती, N P तुदन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् 'shining' Its Nominative forms are भात्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the declension of पचत् ॥ ('cooking') Its N S is पचत् ॥ Its N D Pl are governed by the following rule —

४४६ । शपदयनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपदयनोरात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्य नुम् स्याच्छीनद्यो परत । पचन्ती । पचन्ति । वीव्यत् । वीव्यन्ती । वीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वप् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुम् प्राक् अप्ठुन्निति ईर्ष । प्रतिपदोक्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाप्ति । निरवकाशत्वं प्रतिपदोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते ताद्विरहान्नुमेव । स्वाप्ति । स्वपा ॥ अपोभि ॥ स्वङ्गशाम् । स्वदाभि । अस्तिपिबतीत्यादिना धनेरुम् । रुत्वम् । धनु । धनुषो । सान्ति वीध । नुम्-विसर्जनायेति षत्वम् । धनुषि । धनुषा । धनुभ्याम् । एव चक्षुर्होविरादय । पिपडिषे क्तिप् । वागिति वीध । पिपडा । पिपडिषी । अल्लापस्य स्थानिवच्चात्स्त्रलन्तलक्षणो नुम् न । स्वादिधौ स्थानिवच्चाभावात्त्रलन्तलक्षणोऽपि नुम् न । पिपडिषि । पिपडीभ्यामित्यादि । पय । पयसी । पयासि । पयसा । पयोभ्यामित्यादि । सुपुम् । सुपुसी । सुपुमांसि अद् । विभक्तिकायम् । उत्त्वमस्व । अम् । अमूनि । शेष पुवत् ॥

446 When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप् and इयत्, it invariably takes the augment नुम् before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadi)

Thus N D पचन्ती, N Pl पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvritti of वा (VII 1 79 S 444)

Similarly, the Nominative forms of वीव्यत् are वीव्यत्, वीव्यन्ती, वीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वर meaning 'a tank containing good water,

Note —In forming the compound **सु+अप्**, sūtra V 4 74 S 940 required the addition of **अ** to the final **अ** in the case of **सि+अप्=सिप**, but here the **अ** is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V 4 69 S 954. Nor is the **अ** changed to long **ई** required by VI 3 97 S 941 because the word **अप्** in that sūtra means that **अप्** which has taken the समासान्त affix **अ** ॥ Thus we get the base **स्वप्**.

Its N S and Dual are **स्वप्** or **स्वप्** and **स्वपी** respectively. In the N Plural the **अ** of **स्वप्** will be *first* lengthened by VI 4 11 S 277 and then **नुम्** is to be added. This is because the word **अप्** is *specifically* mentioned in the sūtra VI 4 11 S 277. Otherwise by the general rule, the augment **नुम्** taught by VII 1 72 S 314 is *niṭya* and subsequent in order of Ashtādhyāyī to the sūtra VI 4 11 and should have been added first. Thus the Nominative Plural is **स्वामि** ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a *niṭya* and a subsequent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise, then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI 4 11 S 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like **आप स्तिष्ठन्ति**, while in **स्वप्+सि**, the **नुम्** taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural **स्वामि** ॥

Note —This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr Sing is **स्वपा** ॥ The Instr Dual is **स्वद्वयम्**, the **प्** being changed to **इ** by VII 4 48 S 442. The Instr Plural is **स्वाङ्** ॥

Now we take up the declension of **धनुस्** ॥ This word is formed by adding the Unādi affix **उस्** to the root **घन्** (Unādi II 117). The **स्** is changed to **इ** (VIII 2 66 S 162) and then changed to **Visaṭṭi**, thus Nominative Sing is **धनु**, Nominative Dual **धनुषी** ॥

In the Nominative Plural the **उ** of **धनुस्** is lengthened by VI 4 10 S 317. The **स्** is changed to **इ** by VIII 3 58 S 434. Thus Nominative Plural is **धनुषि** ॥ The Instr S and Dual are **धनुषा**, **धनुर्द्वयम्** respectively. Similar is the declension of **बभ्रुस्** and **हविस** &c.

Now, we take up the declension of **पिपडिस्** ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root **पिपडिष** with the affix **क्तिप्** before which the final **अ** is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 and in the N S the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII 2 76 S 433. Thus N S **पिपडी**, N Dual **पिपडिषी** ॥

In the Plural, **इ** before the affix **सि**, the augment **नुम्** required by VII 1 72 S 314 is not added, because the lopa elided **अ** is considered as *sthānivāt* and so the base does not end in a **ह्रस्व** consonant.

Nor will it take **नुम्** by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided **अ** can not be considered as *sthānivāt* in applying the rule to its own self (compare sūtra 443). Thus N Pl is **पिपडिषि** ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as विपरीत्यान् &c are similar to those of the Masculine

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c

Nom and Acc				
	Singular	Dual	Plural Instr	S Dual
पयस्	पय	पयसी	पयासि ॥ पयः, पयोभ्या	
सुपुस	सुपुम्	सुपुसी	सुपुनासि ॥	
अदस्	अद			

In the Dual and Pl all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the ड and न substitution mentioned under VII 2 107 S 437 and VIII 2 81 S 438 should take place Thus N and Acc D and Pl are अम् and अमूनि ॥

Note —The N D of अदस् is thus formed —

अदस् + सी = अद + ई (The स् is elided by VII 2 102 S 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII 2 80 S 491 The द् is thus changed to न and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अम् ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अदस्, we get the N Pl अहानि, to which applying VIII 2 80 S 491, we get अमूनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants

अथाठ्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV

THE INDECLINABLES

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वरादया निगानाश्चान्ययसज्ञा स्युः । स्वरं अन्तरं प्रातरं पुनरं सनुतरं उच्चैस् नीचैस्, शनैस् ऋधक् कतं यगपत् आरात् पृथक् ह्यस् श्वस् दिवा रात्रौ सायम् चिरम् मनाक् इषत्, जायस् तुष्णीम् बहिस् अवस् समया निकषा, स्वयम्, वृथा नक्तम् नञ् हेतौ इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत् ब्राह्मणवत् क्षत्रियवत् मना, सनत् सनात् उपधा तिरश्च अन्तरा, अन्तरेण ज्याक् कम्, शम्, सहसा विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा अलम् वषट् श्रापट वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति उपाशु क्षमा, विहायता शेषा वृषा मिथ्या, युधा, पुरा मिथा, मयस्, प्रायस्, बुहुस्, प्रब्राह्मणम्, प्रवाहका, आयहलम्, अभीक्षणम्, साकम्, सार्धम् नमस्, हिक्, धिक् अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रचान् प्रतान्, मा, माङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च वा, ह, अह, एव एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वन्, युगपत्, भूयस् कूपत्, सूपत्, कुवित् नेत् चत् चण कच्चित्, किञ्चित्, यच्च नह हन्त माकि, माकिम् नकि आकिम् माङ्, नञ् यावत् तावत् त्य, द्वै न्वै, रे, श्रापट्, वाषट् स्वाहा स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि खलु किल, अथो, अथ, सुधु स्म, आह उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर प्रतिरूपकाश्च । अवदन्तम् अह्यु अस्तिक्षारा भ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ ए ऐ ओ, आ, पशु शुक्म्, यथा- कथाच, पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग हे हे मा, अय, व्य, विष्णु एकपदे, युत् आत । चादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words *svai* 'heaven,' &c, and the particles (I 4 56) are called indeclinables

This defines *avyaya* or indeclinables Their list is given below —

स्वरं 'heaven,' अन्तरं 'midst' प्रातरं 'in the morning,' पुनरं 'again,' सनुतरं 'in concealment,' उच्चस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक् 'rightly, separately aside, singly, particularly, truly,' कते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' इषत् 'slightly, a little जायस् gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् outside, अवस् 'below, without, outside समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा in vain, नक्तम् at night, by night, नञ् negative particle, not, हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brāhmanavat, Kshatruyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरश्च 'crookedly, awry, over' अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्याक् 'long,' कम् expletive particle, शम् ease, सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वम् 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रापट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of

butter, 'अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise' अस्ति 'being present,' पादशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दाया 'at night or in the evening,' दृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' दुःसा 'in vain' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मयस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' पुनस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहकुम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time' भार्यहलम् 'violently' अभिज्ञम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरिक् 'without विक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' अम् "quickly" आम् "indeed" प्रसाम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रसाम् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not'

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तासल्ल (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with पासप् (V 3 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with शस (V 4 42 S 2109) and ending with समासात् (V 4 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वत्, सुचत्, भाव् and चाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix चि, or by the affixes अम or आम्, तसि or वसि, न or नाम् are also indeclinables

This class is known as 'avayava' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," इ an expletive, अह् vocative particle एव 'only,' एवम् 'thus,' नूनम् 'certainly' शश्वत् 'continually,' अगपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' क्षुपत् 'excellently,' सुपत् 'excellently' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् or चेत् "if," चय् "if" कश्चित् "what if" अत्र 'where' नह 'no,' हन्त ah! 'माकिम्, माकि, नकि or नकिम् "do not," माङ् "do not" नञ् 'not' आवत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' स्व, हे or न्वे perhaps, हे disrespectful interjection, औषद्, वैषद् or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वाषद् "oblation to the Gods" तुम् "thouing," तथाहि "thus" खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अथ now, सुष्ठु excellent' स्म (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), आह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I 4 59 S 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII 4 47 S 3078 In the example अहयु 'egoistic' the ahan 'is' not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound

In the example अस्तिमीरा, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or 'is' which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing अ, आ, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पशु 'well,' शुक्म् 'quickly,' अथाकथाच "any how" पाद्, प्याद्, अङ्ग, हे, ह, ओ (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' अ in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, बिदु "on all sides," एक्रपदे at the same moment' अत् 'blame' भात् 'hence'

This list also from च &c is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्ति । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्मात्सर्वा विभक्तिर्नोत्पद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽव्यय स्यात् । परिगणन कर्तव्यम् । तसिलादयः प्राक् पाश्चात् । असुप्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अम् । आम् । कृत्वोर्या । तसिबती । नानाज्याविति । तेनेह न । पञ्चतिकल्पम् । पञ्चतिरूपम् ॥

448 And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1 76 S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसिह् (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with पाश्च (V 3 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with अस् (V 4 42 S 2109) and ending with समासान्त (V 4 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, आम्, where meaning कृत्वोश्च, by the affixes तसि and बति and न or नाञ् ॥

Hence पञ्चतिकल्पम् and पञ्चतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note —Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानव, asarva vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यत् is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As तत् thence, 'तत्र' 'there' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यत्, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा, &c

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्त । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

कृद्यो नान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमव्यय स्यात् । स्मरस्मारम् । जीवसे । पिबथ्ये ॥

449 The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III 1 93 S 374) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds —1 Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots. Primary affixes 2 Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns. Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita

Text —Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म् or ए, आ, इ, ओ औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुश्

(technically तुङ्) and अङ् (technically ञङ्, III 3 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in ङ्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus स्मरन् स्मरन् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवते to live, पिबथैः 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ङ्, &c

४५० । क्त्वातोसुनकसुन । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतन्तमव्यय स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतो । विस्त्र ।

450 The words, ending with ktvâ (III 4 18 S 3316) tosun (III 4. 16 S. 3443) and kasun (III 4 9 S. 3436) are Indeclinables

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतो 'having risen,' विस्त्र, 'having spread'

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अभिहि ।

451. (The compound called) Avyayībhāva (II. 1 5 S 651) is also Indeclinable

Thus अभिहि 'upon Hari or Vishnu'

Note —The Avyayībhāva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary termination of the nominative or accusative neuter

The word च in the sūtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya. The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sūtras

What is the object gained by making the avyayībhāva compounds avayayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables viz., we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, i. e., sūtra II 4 82 S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upāgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salaḥhāh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलमा पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुख स्वर), i. e., sūtras VI 2 167 & 168 S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्नि मुख, here, sūtra VI 2 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sūtra VI 2 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga into स्, this change being technically called उपचार thus उपपद्य कार, उपपद्य कर्म, as compared with अवस्कार. Here, the compound उपपद्य being treated as avyaya, sūtra VIII 3 46, S 160 applies and prevents the change of into स् ॥

४५० । अव्ययादाप्तुप् । २ । ४ । ५२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्यापि सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शालायाम् । विहितविशेषणान्नेह । अस्त्युच्चैस्तौ ।
अव्ययसंज्ञाया यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आह्वयप्रहण व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वान् ॥

सदृश त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वास्तु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यत्र व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिलिङ्गकारकसंख्याऽभावपरा ।

वद्वि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयो । आप चैव हलन्तानां यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाह । अवगाह । पिधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452 There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall' Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'

By using the word "ordained" in the surra we mean that the case affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a prātipadika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member. Thus in the compound अति + उच्चैस् though the word उच्चैस् separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case affixes will not be dropped after it. Thus Nominative Dual अस्त्युच्चैस्तौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply.

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sūtra, because an Avyaya has no gender.

Verse — "What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya."

Thus according to Sṛuṭi, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers.

"The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ of अव and आपि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e.g. वाचा (instead of वाच), निशा (instead of निश), दिशा (instead of दिश्)."

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian. So either अवगाह or वगाह ॥ पिधानम् or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV

FORMATION OF FEMININES

४५३ । स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ३ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । समर्थानामिति यावत् ॥

453 When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed

Note —This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated,' must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV 1 81 inclusive. The anuvṛtti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the sūtra, IV 1 1 S 182, not so, however the anuvṛtti of the words 'ङीष्' , for we are now going to form words by the application of ङीष् and आप् affixes

४५४ । अजाद्यतष्टाप् । ४ । १ । ४ ॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च वाच्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वस्य तत्र ङीष् स्यात् । अजाद्युक्तिर्द्विषो ङीष्प्रसङ्गनाय । अजा । अतः, खट्वा । अजादिभिः स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्तेह । पञ्चाङ्गी । 'द्विषो' (४७९) इति ङीष् । अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारानिष्ठ स्त्रीत्वम् । अजा । एडका । अश्वा । अटका । मुषिका । एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्तः । बाला । वस्ता । होडा । मन्दा । विलाता । एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीष् प्राप्तः ॥ * सभस्त्राजिनशणपिण्डेभ्य कलात् * सकला । भस्त्रफला । ऊषापोरिति ह्रस्वः ॥ ° सवृष्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्य पुष्वात् * ॥ सस्पुष्वा । प्राक्पुष्वा । प्राक्पुष्वा । * शूरा चामहस्पृषा जातिः * ॥ पुयोगे तु शूरी । अमहस्पृषा किन् । महाशूरी । कुञ्च । दण्डिहा । देवविशा । ज्येष्ठा । कनिष्ठा । मध्यमेति पुयोगेऽपि । कोकिला । जातावपि । * मूलान्नम् * । अमूला ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीष् ॥ कर्षी । इण्डिनी ॥

454 The affix ङीष् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms 'aja' &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीष् ।

The words अजा &c are given below. Thus अजा a 'he goat,' अजा 'a she goat' The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्वा whose feminine will be खट्वा ।

Note —The word खट्वा is formed by adding the Unādi affix क्त्वा to the root खट् meaning "to desire" (Unādi I 151)

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e g तट्,

तदी तदम् ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines such as दाराम् ॥

The words अञ्ज &c must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix टाप्, therefore not in पञ्चाञ्जी meaning "a collection of five goats" Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and अञ्ज. Therefore this feminine पञ्चाञ्जी is formed by ङीप् (IV 1 21 S 479)

Following are the words belonging to the अच्चादि class

1 अञ्ज	अञ्जा	2 एडक	एडका	(3 कौकिल	कौकिला)
4 चटक	चटका	5 अश्व	अश्वा	6 मूषिक	मूषिका

Note —The above words denote 'jāti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sūtra, the affix 'nish' (IV 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine

7 बाल	बाला	8 होड	होडा	(9 पाक	पाका)
10 वस्त	वस्ता	11 मन्	मन्वा	12 विलात	विलाता

Note —The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sūtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV 1 20 S 478) in the feminine

13 पूर्वापहरण,	पूर्वापहरणा,	14 अपरापहरण,	अपरापहरणा,
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Note —These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being दिन्, would have taken ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) but for this Sūtra

Vārtika —The words सम्, भक्ष, अजिन्, शण and पिण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with टाप् ।

15 सफल	सफला	16 भक्षफल,	भक्षफला,
17 अजिनफल,	अजिनफला,	18 शणफल,	शणफला,
19 पिण्डफल,	पिण्डफला,	(20 त्रिफल,	त्रिफला,)

In भक्षफला, the long आ of भक्षा is changed to short अ by the sūtra VI 3 S 1001

Note —The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix nish (IV 1 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class, 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला, when a Bahuvrīhi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

Vārtika —The word-पुष्प preceded by सत्, अच्, काण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix टाप् ॥

21 सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा,	22 प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा, So also म्रत्यक्पुष्पा
23 काण्डपुष्प,	काण्डपुष्पा,	24 प्रान्तपुष्प,	प्रान्तपुष्पा,
25 शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा,	26 एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा,

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken nish by IV 1, 64 S 519

Vārtik —शुद्र forms its feminine शुद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste

27 शुद्र शुद्रा

Note —But the feminine of शुद्र is शुद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a sudra', so also when the word शुद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशुद्री 'a woman of 'महाशुद्र' class'

Note —The term 'महाशुद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I 1 72, S 26, but for the vārtika, viz 'शुद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जाति' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim —“That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself” Therefore, the word 'sudra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā sudra' This objection is futile the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta vidhi is valid and does apply Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती ॥

28 कुच् कुचा 29 उष्णिह उष्णिहा 30 देवविश्व देवविशा

Note —The above words end in consonants and would not have taken दाप् but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class

31 उयेष्ठ उयेष्ठा 32 कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33 मध्यम मध्यमा

Note —The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'nīsh' by IV 1 64 S 519

The word कोकिला takes दाप् even when denoting a class

Vārtik —When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by दाप् ॥

34 अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'nīsh' by IV 1 64 S 519

४५४ A । ऋन्नेभ्योडीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S 306)

454 A The affix डीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Note —Of the affix डीप्, the letter ड् is taken in order to make a common term with डीष and डीन्, and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes, the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कन्,—f कर्त्री, हन्—f हर्त्री, इण्डिन्—f इण्डिनी,

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगितन्तास्यातिपदिकात् स्त्रिया डीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । शीन्यन्ती । शपथ्यनोपिति नुम । उगित्त्वामिति सूँऽङ्ग्रहणत धानोऽद्देगित्कार्थं तर्ह्यञ्चतेरेवेति नियम्यते । तेनेह न । उखासत् । क्षिप् । अनिदितामिति नलोप । पर्णध्वन् । अञ्चतेस्तु स्यादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455 And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine

Note —The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, क् and ण् ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way, it may be, that word form is called उगित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here. The prātipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्, similarly a letter may be उगित्, as त् meaning त् in VI 4 127 S 364, ("त् is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c')

Thus, भवतु 'honored sir,—f भवती 'madam' Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवतु—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady' Similarly पचतु (formed by adding शतृ III 2 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the तुप् comes by VII 1 82 S 446 So also शिव्यतु and शिव्यन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk' Thus the roots स्रु 'to fall down' ध्रु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ, and we get from these roots the prātipadikas like उखासतु and 'पर्णध्वतु, (III 2 76 S 2983) The उखासतु ब्राह्मणी, 'पर्णध्वतु ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ॥

The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् ॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची,'

४५६ । वनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

वन्नन्तात्तदन्ताच्छ प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रिया डीप् स्यात् । रश्चान्तादेश । वन्निति ड् वनिष्कृनिष्कृनिष्कृनिष्कृ सामान्यग्रहणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तद्वेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणान्तदन्ता न्तमपि लभ्यते । सुत्वानमतिक्रान्ता अतिसुत्वरी । अतिधीवरी । शर्वरी । * वनो न ह्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ रुशन्ताद्भातोर्विहितो यो वन तदन्तात्तदन्तान्ताच्छ प्रातिपदिकान् डीप् रश्च नेत्यर्थः । 'आण् अपनयन' वनिष् । विड्वनारित्यात्वम् । अवावा ब्राह्मणी । राजयुध्वा ॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा * ॥ बहुधीवरी । बहुधीवा । पक्षे डाप् वक्ष्यते ॥

456 The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable वन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable

Thus धीवृन् (Unādi IV 115) f धीवरी 'a female artisan', धीवन f धीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman,' शर्वन् f शर्वरी 'night' (शृ+वनिष् III 2 75 S 2980, lit that which destroys light)

अनिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ड्वनिप्, (III 2 103 S 3091) ड्वनिप् and वनिप् (III 2 74 S 3418) These words end in न् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV 1 5 S 306, the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Paribhāṣā —“An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself” Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prātipadika, we apply the affix डीप् to the prātipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिसुखरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma- juice, अतिशायरी and शर्वरी ॥

Vārtika —After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix डीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals

To the root ओष् meaning ‘to remove’ we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओष् + वन् = ओष्वा (the long वा being substituted for ष् by VI 4 41 S 2982) + वन् = ओषवावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine Thus the Feminine is ओषवा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is ओषवा ब्राह्मण So also राजकुम्भा meaning राजान् ओषितवती “she who has incited the king to fight” It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III 2 95 S 3005

Vārtika —It is optionally so in the Bahuvrīhi compound Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधावा नगरी “a city that contains many artisans”

In the third alternative, the affix डाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV 1 13 S 461 Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवानो or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७ । पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८ ॥

पाच्छब्द कृतसमासान्तस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष्वा स्यात् । द्विपरी । द्विपात् ॥

457 The affix ‘ङीप्’ is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word ‘pāda’ when it assumes the samāsānta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात् ॥

The word पात् becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrīhi compounds (V 4 140 S 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीष्) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI 4 130 S 414 (as read with I 4 18 S 231) Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी, चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । दावृचि । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

अचि वाच्याया पादन्ताद्वाप् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ पञ्च चतस्रः । पञ्चस्य नलोपे कृतेऽपि षण्णन्ता षडिति षट्सज्ञा प्राति नलोपः सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् षट्स्वस्त्रादिभ्य इति न दाप् ॥

458 The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda

This debarbs ङाप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses', similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A न षट् स्वस्त्रादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥

458 A The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I 1, 24 S 369), and 'स्वस्त्र' &c

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मण 'the five Brāhmaṇī ladies' चतस्रः ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine

Note —In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of सज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I 1 24 S 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII 2 2 S 353 and so there is no दाप् after पञ्च by the present Sūtra

सज्ञाविधि —As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्य, दश ब्राह्मण्य ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (षण्णन्ता षट् I 1 24) Being called षष, they do not take दाप् in the feminine (IV 1 10 S 308)

According to the Vartak 111, there is no necessity of using the word सज्ञा in the sūtra VII 2 2 S 2330 सज्ञा महणानर्थक्य च सन्निमित्तत्वाद्भोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट्) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस and शस, without such elision there is no pada sanjñā of these words, and unless these words get Pīda designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII 2 7 S 361 the shish designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sūtra The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप् in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in ष and require दाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sūtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q How can this be the purpose of this sūtra ? There are two views as regards definitions (सज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, prior to any operations, and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise. This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देश सज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñā, and Paribhāṣas remain where they are taught'. The other view is that the sanjña sūtra is to be read with every particular operative sūtra, and the sanjñā given to the word afresh, with every new operation. In other words, the sanjñā sūtra becomes identified with a vidhi sūtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied. This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकाल सज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñās and Paribhāṣas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations". In the first view, the षट् sanjñā will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and हस् and for prohibiting दाप् ॥ Hence this sūtra is not necessary in that view. But in the other view, the sūtra is necessary. For if the view be taken that a sanjñā is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjña which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and हस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word सज्ञा is taken in this sūtra, to prevent the application of the second view.

४५६ । मन । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मन्तान्ताङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459 The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c

४६० । अनौ बहुव्रीहे । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

अन्तान्ताङ्गव्रीहेर्न ङीप् । बहुयज्वा । बहुयज्वानौ ॥

460 The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not, as it will be taught in IV 1 28 S 462. Thus बहुयज्वन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N s बहुयज्वा, N d बहुयज्वानौ &c. The penultimate ष of वन् is not elided because of the prohibition of न सयोगात् &c (VI 4 137 S 355).

४६१ । डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सूत्र द्वयोपात्त भ्या डाब् वा स्यात् ॥ सीमा । सामे । सीमानौ । दामा । दामे । दामानौ । नपुंसिदाम इत्यमर । बहुयज्वा ॥ बहुयज्वे । बहुयज्वानौ ॥

461 The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi

compound ending in **अन्**, as mentioned in the preceding two Sūtras

Of the affix **डाप्**, the letter **ड** indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the **दि** (I 1 64 S 79) of the base. Thus **दामन्** + **डाप्** = **दाम** + **आ** = **दामा** ॥ This being an optional rule we have 1 s **दामा**, d **दाम** ॥ **दामानो** pl **दामा** or **दामान**, similarly with **सीमा**, as, **सीमा** सामे or **सीमाना**, **सामा** or **सीमान** ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in **अन्** ॥ As —

बहुराजा,	बहुराजे ०। बहुराजानौ,	बहुराजा or बहुराजान ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे ०। बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षा ०। बहुतक्षाण ॥
बहुयज्वा	बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानौ	

Why do we say “optionally”? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV 1 7 S 456 also, i e when a prātipadika ending in **अन्**, which can be regarded as ending in **अन्**, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of **न** into **र्** and the application of **ङीप्** are optional we may apply the affix **डाप्** instead. As — **बहुधीवा** or **बहुधीवरी**, **बहुधीवा** ०। **बहुधीवरी** ॥

By IV 1 5, S 306 prātipadikas ending in **अन्** would have taken the affix **ङीप्**, in as much as they end in **न्**, but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus **दामन्** ‘a string’ is both neuter and feminine, and is declined as follows — 1 s **दामा**, d **दामानौ**, pl **दामान** ॥ Similarly **पामा**, **पामानौ**, **पामान** ॥ The word **दामन्** is never masculine according to Amarkosha

४६२ । अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेऽपधालोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे डाब् डाब् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462 The affix **ङीप्** optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable **अन्** loses its penultimate **अ** ॥

Thus **बहुराजन्** is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in **अन्**, in applying **ङीप्**, it loses its penultimate by VI 4 134 S 234 (अलोपोऽन there is elision of **अ** of **अन्** when a *bha* affix follows) Thus **बहुराज्ञी** ‘having many king’ In the alternative, when **ङीप्** is not added, we may add the affix **डाप्** by IV 1 13 S 461 Thus **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजे**, **बहुराजा** ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV 1 12 S 460 and have **बहुराजा**, **बहुराजानौ**, **बहुराजान** ॥

Note —When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix **ङीप्** at all in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वे** **सुपर्वा** or **सुपर्वा**, **सुपर्वाणौ** **सुपर्वाण** ॥ That is to say we apply IV 1 13 and 12 only, for in the case of **सुपर्वा** &c rule VI 4 137 S 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्, सयागाहमनन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ or अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

In forming the feminine of words ending in अक् the affix दाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sūtra

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात् इदाप्यसुप । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्कारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्थेकारः स्यादापि परे स आप् सुप परे न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थात्किम् । शक्नातीति शक्ता । असुप किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरा । कात्किम् । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राक्ता । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ मामकनरकयोस्त्वस्यथानमः * ॥ मामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ त्यक्त्यराधः * ॥ राक्षिणास्थिका इहस्थिका ॥

463 इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i.e. when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrīhi)

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i.e. क् must be the put of the affix. The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c. Why do we say अतः ? The क must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका. Why do we say belonging to an affix ? The क must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शक्ता from शक्त शक्नोति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distinctness, there is no affix which is only क ॥ Why do we say असुप 'provided that the feminine affix आप् does not come after a case affix' ? Observe बहु परिव्राजका अस्या नगर्याम् = बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II 4 71, S 650 and it still exerts its influence by I 1 62 S 272. Why do we say after क ? The rule applies to क, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before" ? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, शृङ्गका ॥ Why do we say short अ ? Observe राक्ता ? Why do we say when आप् follows ? see कारकः ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आप् qualifies क ॥ The क should be followed by आ ॥

Vāit —मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix as मामिका नरिका ॥ Here ममक is substituted for मम before the affix अण (IV 3 3 S 1372), to which is then added दाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV 1 30 S 488) therefore though मामक ends in अण, it does not take डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) but दाप् (IV 1 4 S 454), नरान् कायति = नरक formed with the affix क (अ III 2 3 S 2915)

Vart —The rule applies to the words ending in **त्यक्** (IV 2 98 and **त्यप्**, (IV 2 104 S 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII 3 46 S 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहल्यिका ॥

Note —The word in the sūtra is **कात्** the fifth case of **क** ending in **अ** ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in **ka क** and not in **k क्**, then the rule will not apply to **एतिका** ॥ Because here the augment is **अकच्** (**अक्** with **क्** the final **अ** in **अकच्** is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in **भिन्धकि**, **हिन्धकि**, **रुन्धकि** ॥ The word **कात्** therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant क्* ॥

४६४ । न यास्यो । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्येन स्यात् । यका । सका । यकाम् । तकाम् । त्यकनञ् निषेध * ॥ अधित्यका । उप यका । आगिधि वुनश्च न * ॥ जावका । भवका ॥ उत्तपदलापे न * ॥ देवशक्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका स्नाना च * ॥ क्षिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्यातिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वणका तान्त्रे * ॥ अन्यत्र वर्णिका ॥ वर्तका शकुनो प्राचाम् * ॥ उदीचा तु वर्तिका ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवस्ये * ॥ अष्टिकान्या ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्धकारकाया वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति चठ्ठ । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वैश्वर्य । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे उनीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षःकार । अन्यत्रेत्वबाधनार्थमकारस्यैव पक्षःकार । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464 The **इ** is not substituted for the **अ** of **य** and **स**, with the augment **क**, when the feminine **अ** follows.

As यका, सका, यकाम्, तकाम् ॥

Note —The **या** and **सा** simply stand for **यद्** and **तद्**, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms **या** and **सा** may lead one to think **न यन् तद्वा** would have been a better sūtra. The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीयते, तका पचामहे ॥ Or यकायकामधीयते (1 e कच्चा गाथा च), and तका तकाम्पचामहे (1 e ओषधी शाकिनी वा) ॥

Vart —Prohibition with regard to the affix **त्यक्** (V 3 34 S 1983) should be stated also —As अधित्यका, उपत्यका ॥

Vart —So also in the affix **वुन्** used in benediction as जीवताद् जीवका and भवतान् भवका See III 1 150 S 2912

Note —The feminine of **पावक** &c in the Veda does not take **इ** for **अ** ॥ As इहण्यवर्ण शुचय पावका, यासु अ लोमका चक्षका &c But पाविका, अलोमिका in secular literature

Vart —So also when the second member is elided in a compound as देवशक्तिका यज्ञशक्ता, the second member **इत्त** is elided, the fuller forms being देवशक्तिका, यज्ञशक्तिका (अनञ्ज्ञौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्य) See V 3 83 Vart S 2035

Vart —क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition as क्षिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका, कन्यका ॥

Vārt —तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vārt —वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder' as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायने 'Bhāguri is a comemntary of Lokāyāta'

Vārt —वतका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वतिका according to the Northern authorities Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वतिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vārt —अटका when meaning a पितृदेव्य ceremony, but अटिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitṛdevatā is called Pitṛdaivatya, the affix is यन् ॥ The former is derived from the root अष् with affix तक्रन् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा भोक्षन्मस्या), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V I 22 S 1687)

Vārt —Optionally सूतका पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vārtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति, and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sūtra, but इ of डीन् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples अ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीचामात स्थाने यकपूर्वाया । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कार्पूर्वस्येद्वा स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्व । आर्थिका आर्थिका चटकका चटकिका ॥ आत किम् ॥ साकाक्ष्ये भवा साकाक्ष्यिका ॥ यकेति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभ यातीति शुभया ॥ भजता शुभया ॥ शुभयिका ॥ धास्वन्तमकास्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका, सुपाकिका ॥

465 According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII 4 13 S 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule As आर्थिका or अर्थिका, चटकका or चटकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe साकाक्ष्ये भवा=साकाक्ष्यिका ॥ The word सकाक्ष्य is formed from सकाश by the affix ण्य (सकाशे निर्दृष्ट) ॥ Then is added the affix हुम् (IV 2 121 S 1345) Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वक अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वाया is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the feminine affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभयिका from शुभया (शुभ याति) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where या is part of the root या, see III 2 74 S 3418)

Vart —Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root When the य or क् preceding this अ, is the final of the root the prohibition contained in the sūtra, does not apply as सुनयिका, सुपायिका ॥

४६६ भस्त्रैषाज्जाह्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्त लुप्तपृथीक पदम् एषामन्त इहा स्यात् ॥ तदन्ताविधिनेव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टायम् ॥ भस्त्रामहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्येभ्य तत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा ह्य एनयास्तु सपूर्वैयानन्तम् । अ तवतिर्नी विभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽनुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परनेषका अद्वेके परमद्वेके ॥ स्वशब्दमहण सज्ञापसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आत स्थाने इत्युन्नवृत्त स्वशब्दस्यानो विशाषणम् नतु द्वेषयोगसम्भवात् । नाप्यन्येषामन्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वनुपसर्जनमात्मायवाची अक्रजर्ह ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ सज्ञापसर्जनो भूतस्तु कप्रत्ययान्तत्वाद्भवत्युदाहरणम् ॥ एव चात्मीयाया स्विक्का ॥ परमस्विकोत् नित्यमेवेत्यम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतपत्वनिर्येष्टाज्ञेह विकल्प ॥ एतिके एतिका अजका अजका । जका जिका ॥ द्वेके द्विके ॥ नि स्वका नि स्विका ॥

466 According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क् by VII 4 13 S 834), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, ह्य (VII 2 102 S 265), and स्वा, even not then, when the negative particle precedes them

The word भस्त्रैषाज्जाह्वास्वा of the Sūtra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it, the word नञ्पूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sūtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded, because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vudhi* applies here The word भस्त्रा is mentioned in the Sūtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sūtra

Not. —भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII 3 48 it would not have taken इ, its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrīhi is made the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भावितपुस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क् by VII 4 13 This short अ (VII 4 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine

But of the two words एषा and ह्य, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word, because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of अनुप of

Sutra VII 3 44 S 463 would have applied to these Thus अनेषका, परनेषका, अहक, परमहके ।

Note —The mention of these two words in the Sûtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, भक्षा, भज्जा ज्ञा, and स्वा there would be इत्थ, by the option allowed by this Sûtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of अनुप ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आत् स्थाने qualify स्व only For this word alone is ambiguous For when स्वा is a Sarvanāma meaning one's own, १ २, when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V 3 71 S 2026 Thus स्वा + अकच् = स् अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a क ng आ, and so the present sūtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII 3 44 ante, and it will be स्विको *always* So also परमस्विका

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally Therefore, it must be either a sañjñā (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sūtra For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sūtra

So also निर्भक्षिका or निर्भक्षका, एषका or एषिका, भजका or भजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका इक or इके नि स्वका or नि स्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sūtra with a ष and it shows that the option of this sūtra does not apply when the ष is not changed to ष, as एतिके and एतिका for in the dual and plural there is not ष substitution

Note —Of एषा and हि there are no examples with the negative particle For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII 2 102 S 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine दाप् can come So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and दाप्, comes after लुप्, and therefore by the prohibition of अनुप in VII 3 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अहके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sûtra not as a Sarvanāma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a सज्ञा, (1 e when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note —compare I 1 27 S 213 for the *Sarvanāma* स्व ॥

The anuvṛtti of "आत स्थाने," which we read in to this aphorism from the last sūtra, qualifies the long आ of स्वा only and not of the 'sarvanamans ह्रा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvanamans take the affix अकच् (V 3 71 where other words would have taken कप् or अज्ञात क or कुत्सित क &c

Thus ह्रा + अकच् = ह्र + अक् + आ (because this अकच् comes always before the हि portion of a word) = ह्रका ॥ Here the अ of ह्र before क is not a substitute in the place of long आ of ह्रा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आत स्थाने can not qualify it

As regards the other words भस्त्रा, भञ्जा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आत स्थाने because they being invariably feminine will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुस्काच्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यात स्थानेऽत इह स्यात् ॥ गङ्गका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहिभाषितपुस्कत्वात्ततो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ अज्ञाता अखद्वा अखद्विका ॥ शेषिके कपि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467 According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII 4 13 S 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes

अभाषित पुस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form When a short अ is ordained to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine Thus गङ्गा is such a word It has no corresponding masculine form When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII 4 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional but compulsory, after a Bahuvrīhi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुस्क word The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrīhi compound is always a भाषित पुस्क : i.e. it has always a corresponding masculine form Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional Thus the word खद्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form We can form a Bahuvrīhi compound from it such as अखद्वा meaning 'a man who has no bedstead' The feminine of this will be अखद्वा 'a woman who has no bedstead' This need not take the Samāsānta affix कप् as V 4 154 S 891. is optional Now, this

word अखद्वा may take the affix क by V 3 73 S 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाना खद्वा will be अखद्वा + क ॥ Before this क the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII 4 13 S 834 Here the option of the present sūtra will not apply Thus we shall have only one form अखद्दिका by VII 3 44 S 463 meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead ?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead' But when the samāsānta affix क् of sūtra V 4 154 S 891 is added then the option of the present sūtra will apply For when क् is added, we have the Bahuvrīhi compounds as अखद्वाक or अखद्वाक (VII 4 15 S 892) 'a man who has no bedstead' The Feminine of the second form अखद्वाक will be अखद्वाका or अखद्दिका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आदा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ उक्तपुस्तकानु शुभ्रिका ॥

468 According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभ्रिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं ध्वनस्तिरित्यभिधाय ॥ अयमेव स्त्रीमत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469 The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV 1 77 S 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound (I 2 43 S 653)

Notes —As a general rule, tadanta vidhi (I, 1, 72 S 26) does not apply to compounds, but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra, for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinatā (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna) But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound

४७० । दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दङ्गञ्मात्रचतयपठकृठञ्कञ्कवरप । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जनं यदिहादि तदन्तं यदन्तं प्रातिपदिकं तत् स्त्रिया ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जन-
स्वाग्निहं बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नद्, नदी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र दिङ्ढाणिस्वाच्च ङीप् प्राप्तं ॥ बासुदेो द्वित्वेन
लाभ्यमनुबन्धकार्यं नदिशानामिति ज्ञापनात् भवति ॥ इन् ज्ञानञ्च शिच्चेन कश्चिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यन-
न्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्द्री । ओत्सी । ऊरुद्वयी । ऊरुद्वनी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी ।
आक्षिपी । लावणिका । यादूयी । इत्यरी ॥ *ताच्छीलिक जेऽपि* ॥ चौरौ नञ्स्नञ्चिकृष्युस्तरुणतलुनानाडु
पसख्यानम् * ॥ स्त्रैणी । पौस्नी । शान्तीकी । आडचनाङ्गरणी । तरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470 The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट, or if the affix be ट् or मण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दङ्गच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठक्, or कञ् or कवरप् ॥

The word अन्त 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV 1 4 S 454 and qualifies the affixes above mentioned, wherever necessary This debars the affix टप् of IV 1 4 S 454 We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, म, कुरुचर f, कुरुचरी m, मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर + ई = चर् + ई, the final अ is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III 2 16 S 2930), of which ट् is indicatory

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I 2 43 S 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II 2,35 S 898), therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नद् is read with an indicatory ट् in the पचादि class of Ganapātha under sūtra III 1 134 S 2896, it forms its feminine as नदी, because it has an indicatory ट् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix ज्ञानञ्च (III 3 14 S 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory ट् as well as an indicatory ञ्च and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sūtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhāṣhā

Paribhāṣhā —“The substitutes of लट् do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of लट् ॥” This paribhāṣhā is derived from the ज्ञापक of sūtra III, 4 103 S 2209 where the बासुद् the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly द्वित् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनन्विधौ of sūtra I 1 56 S 49 So though in some places, the substitute अ ज्ञानञ्च may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory ञ्च, yet it will not be so always

(2) Of words ending in ट् we have, म सौपर्णेय f, सौपर्णेयी so also f

वैनतेयी ॥ The व stands for the affix वक्, and it is replaced by एय (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus सुपर्णा + वक् (IV 1 120 S 1123) = सुपर्णा + एय = सौपर्णेय (VII 2 118 S 1076)

Note —There is no affix which is merely व without any indicatory letters, and denoting the feminine, the only affix as said above is वक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here —“When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it,” and we cannot say that the व of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less व of V 3 102 S 2057 which is always Neuter

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of साड्य वृत्ता (IV 2 24 S 1226) or तस्येव (IV 3 120 S, 1500) Its feminine will be ऐन्दी ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f औत्सी, औत्पान, f औत्पानी, (IV 1 86 S 1078)

Note —Though by IV 1 73 S 527 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re employment of this affix, in the present sūtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV 1 63 S 518 that is, even when ‘ṇish’ is indicated, ‘ṇish’ is not to be employed here

(5) The three affixes ह्यसच्, द्यसच्, and मावच् are added by V 2 37 S 1838 as, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुद्यसी, ऊरुमावी ‘reaching to the thigh’ Similarly जानुह्यसी, जानुद्यसी, जानुमावी ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयच् (V 2 42 S 1843) As पञ्चतयी ‘of which the parts are five,’ so also द्यतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in वक् (IV 4. 1 S 1548) as, भाषिकी ‘a female dicer’ शालाङ्गिकी ॥ The व is replaced by इक् (VII 3 50 S 1170)

(8) Similarly with words ending in वञ् (V 1 18 S 1680) as, लावणिकी ‘elegant’

Note —The affixes वक् and वञ् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix वन् &c. For had the word व merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes वक्, वन् and वञ्, which is not desired

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III 2 60 S 429) as, ग्राहणी, नाहणी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरच् (III 2 163 S 3143) as, हस्वरी ‘swift’, नस्वरी ॥

Vārtika —The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of “whose habit is this,” are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV 4. 62 S 1612),

Vart —In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ् and झञ् (IV 1 87 S 1079) and ईकच् (IV 4. 59 S 1609) and ऋयच् (III 2 56 S 2973) and of the words लृण and लृण

'a youth' Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', पौत्री 'a male', शार्ङ्गाकी 'a female spear bearer', भाव्यकरणा 'enriching', तद्वती or तद्वती 'a young woman'

४७१ । यञञ्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तात्स्त्रिया ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471 The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV 1 105 S 1107)

Note —The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ् only runs and not of others

Thus गार्ग्यं । ङीप् = गार्ग्यं-ङीप् (VI 4. 148 S 311) by which अ is elided

At this stage, applies the following Sutra —

४७२ । ह्रस्वतद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

ह्रस्व उत्तरस्व तद्धितयकारस्योपभाभूतस्य लोपः स्याद्वितीति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ भनपत्याधिकारस्याङ्ग ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वेष्ट्या ॥ अधिकारप्रहणान्नेष्टे देवस्यापत्य द्वेष्ट्या देवाद्यञ्प्रमाविति हि यञ् प्राग्वीत्यतीत्यो न स्वपत्याधिकारपठित ॥

472 The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus गार्ग्यं + ई = गार्गी + ई = गार्गी

Vari —This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष्ट्य of द्वीप । यञ् (IV 3 10 S 1380) Its feminine will be द्वेष्ट्या 'living on or relating to an island'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the Apatyādhikāra Therefore, the य् ordained after द्वेष्ट्य by the *Vārtika* under IV 1 85 S 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule Thus द्वेष्ट्या the feminine of द्वेष्ट्य, where यञ् is prāgdivyatiya affix, pure and simple and not an affix read in the apatyādhikāra

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्याद्विती, the following rules apply

४७३ । प्राच्यां ष्फ तद्धित । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तात्स्त्रियोपभावात् स्त्रिया स य तद्धित ॥

473 In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix

४७४। ष प्रत्ययस्य । १ । ३ । ६॥

प्रत्ययस्यादि ष इत्स्यात् ॥

474 The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory

४७५। आयनेयीनीयिय फटखछघा प्रत्ययादीनां । ७ । १ । २ ॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फट्खछघा क्रमादायन्नादय आदेशा स्युः । तद्धितान्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वम् ।
विस्वसामर्थ्यात् फणोक्तोऽपि स्त्रीत्वे बिङ्गौरेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष् ॥ गार्ग्यायणी ॥

475 आयन्, for फ्, एय् for ङ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and ईय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix

गार्ग्यायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prātipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes

Of this affix ष् the letter ष् is indicatory (I 3 6 S 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'fish' (IV 1 41 S 498) The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz.* by 'shpha' and 'fish' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I 2 46 S 179) The affix फ् is replaced by the substitute आयन् (VII 1 2) Thus गार्ग्य + ष् + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी, so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गानी and वात्सी ॥

Note —The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sūtra IV 1 18 S 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of अनुवृत्ति, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this Thus IV 1 75 S 529 says —'the affix चाप् comes after आवञ्च' ॥ Here आवञ्च ends in यञ् and by IV 1 16, S 471 the word आवञ्च would have taken the affix निप् IV 1 75 S 529 debarred this But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवञ्चायनी ॥

४७६। सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्य । ४ । १ । १८ ॥

लोहितादिभ्य कतवादान्तभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्य ष् स्यात् । लौहियायनी । कात्यायनी ॥

476 The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ् ॥

Thus लौहियायनी and कात्यायनी ॥

Note. —The words लोहित &c are a subdivision of Gaigādī class (IV 1 105)

The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्, compulsory while it was optional in the IV 1 17 S 478

४७७ । कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

आभ्या ञ् स्यात् । दाप्डीपौरपवाद । कुर्वादिभ्योऽञ् । कौरव्यायणी । ढक् च मण्डूकादित्यञ् ।
माण्डूकायनी ॥ * आसुरिस्त्वसख्यानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी ॥

477 The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ञ् to the base कुरु (IV 1 151 S 1175), this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by दाप् (IV 1 4 S 454), but for the present sūtra So also by IV 1 119, S 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक, and the feminine of māndūka would have been formed by णिप् (IV 1 15 S 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

Vart —The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māndukya Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word असुर, the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV 2 112 S 1333)

४७८ । वयसि प्रथमे । ४ । १ । २० ॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽदन्तात् स्त्रिया ङीप् स्यात् । कुमारी ॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूदी ।
चिरण्डी । वधूदचिरण्दशब्दो यौवनवाचिनौ । अतः किम् । शिशु । कन्याया न । कन्याया कनीन चेति
निर्देशात् ॥

478 The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age

The word वय means the condition of the body as dependent upon time, such as, youth, old age &c Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ङी, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl' किशोरी 'a young girl', बर्करी 'a she kid'

Why do we say ending in अ ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine

Vart —The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age' ? Thus वधूदी 'a young woman', चिरण्डी 'a young woman' These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i.e. they denote women who have attained their maturity

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl' ? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form, as in sūtra IV 1 116 S 1119

४७९ । द्विगोः । ४ । १ । २१ ॥

अदन्ताद्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात् । चिलोकी । अजादिस्वाभिफला । ज्यनीका सेना ॥

479 The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound

Thus त्रिलोकी ॥ But we find त्रिकला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'भज &c' (IV 1 4 S 454) Also इयतीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणविस्तारितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्विस्तारयन्ताश्च द्विगोर्डीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सन्ति । पञ्चभिरश्वे क्रीता पञ्चाश्वी ॥ भार्गविकम् । अध्यर्थेति लुक् । द्वौ विस्तौ पचति द्विविस्ता । इषाचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्ताच्च इषादकी । तद्धितलुकि किप् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480 The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure, or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses' Here the Taddhita affix इप् (V 1 37 S, 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V 1 28 S 1693 This compound does not end in a word denoting parimâna technically so called or a measure The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by शप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses' So also with the words विस्त & c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता व्याचिता, व्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimâna or a 'measure'? Observe इषादकी, इषादकी "a female purchased for two or three âdhakas' Here âdhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoirdupois

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'नीप्' will apply Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also इषाश्वी ॥

Note —This debars 'नीप्' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra The words विस्त 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', व्याचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart loads or 80,000 tola's', and कम्बल्य 'a measure', all denote measure, and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from सख्या 'a Numeral', See V 1 19, &c

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्तुत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

क्षेत्रे य काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न डीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्या सा द्विकाण्डा

चेन्नभक्ति । प्रमाणे द्वयसजिति विहितस्य मात्रच प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । चेन्न किञ्च । द्विकाण्डी खञ्जु ॥

481 The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्ति 'a division of a field of the measure of two kandas' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kanda', the Taddhita affixes द्वयसच् &c denoting measure enjoined by V 2. 37, have been elided by the *vārtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure" The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'āp' but by दाप्, so also द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्ति ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी खञ्जु 'a rope two kandas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे य पुरुषस्तन्ताद्विगोर्डीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्या सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेस्तद्विशेषा स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यनङि कृते डाप्डीप्निषेधेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

483 The syllable anan is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrīhi.

Note —As कुण्डानिव ऊधोऽस्या = कुण्डोर्ध्वी, घटोर्ध्वी ॥ The feminine is formed by adding ङीष् ॥ (IV 1 25), and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only, no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोधा पर्जन्य, घटोधा धेनुकम् ॥ ऊधस-अन् = ऊधस् (VI 4 148 S 311) ऊधस् + ङीष् = ऊधस् + ई (अ being elided by VI 4 134 S 234) = ऊध्वी ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of डाप् and ङीप्, when the following sūtra comes up

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरुधसो ङीप् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्ङीप् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोऽनी । स्त्रियाः क्तिन् । कुण्डोऽधो धेनुकम् । इहा-
ऽनङ्गपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसख्यानान्त् ॥

484 The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word ūdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrīhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोऽधस्, then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V 4. 131 S 483), thus we have कुण्डोऽधन्, which would have been liable to the rules IV 1 12, 13 S 460 & 461 ante, the present sūtra enjoins ङीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोऽनी (V 4. 134 S 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrīhi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊध = प्राप्तेऽधो (II 2 4 S 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound.

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अनङ् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोऽधो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only.

४८५ । सख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

ङीषोऽपवादः । द्व्युध्नी । अत्युध्नी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्युधा ॥

485 The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in 'ūdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sūtra ordains 'nlp', where by the last sūtra there would have been 'nīsh'. Thus श्री + ऊधस् + अनङ् + ङीप् (V 4. 131 S. 483) = द्व्युध्नी 'having two udders', so also त्र्युध्नी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrīhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अत्युध्नी 'many uddered', निरुध्नी 'having no udders'. The word "Bahuvrīhi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrīhi we have अत्युधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

सख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्मान्ताद्द्वायनान्ताच्च ङीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते डाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तेऽर्हायनान्ते वापि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विदाम्नी । अव्ययग्रहणाऽननुवृत्तेरुहाया वडवेत्यत्र डाप्प्रतिषेधावपि पक्षे स्तः । द्विहायनी बाला ॥ * त्रिचतुर्भ्यां हायनस्य णस्व वाच्यम् * । वयोवाचकस्यैव हायनस्य ङीप् णस्व चेप्यते * ॥ त्रिहायणी । चतुर्हायणी । वयसोऽन्यत्र त्रिहायना ॥ अतुर्हायना बाला ॥

486 The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words *dāman* 'a rope', and *hāyana* 'a year'

The word *हामन्* was liable to be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV 1 13 ordaining *डाप्* and by IV 1 11 S 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of *ङीप्*, while *हायन्* would have taken long *आ* by IV 1, 4, S 454, the present *sūtra* ordains nip to the exclusion of all those. As *द्विवासी* 'a (mare) bound by two ropes' *द्विवासी* ॥ We do not read the anuvṛtti of *अव्यय* from the last *sūtra* into this. Therefore when an Indeclinable such as *उत्* precedes *हामन्*, then the affix *डाप्* of IV 1 13 S 46 and the prohibition of IV 1 11 S 459 will apply, as *उदामा वड्वा* ॥ *द्विहायनी बाला* 'two years (old girl)', *द्विहायणी चतुर्हायणी* ॥

Vārt —The word '*hāyana*' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this *sūtra*. Therefore we have no *nīp* here —*द्विहायना बाला* 'a hall of two years existence'

Ishti —After *त्रि* and *चतुर* the *n* of *हायन* is changed into *ण*, when *हायन* denotes 'age', and not otherwise *द्विहायना* and *चतुर्हायना* when referring to a hall

४८७ । नित्य सज्ञाछन्दसो । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

अनन्ताद्भुव्रीवरूपधालोपिनो ङीप् स्यात् सज्ञाछन्दसो । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यत्र पूर्वेषु विकल्प एव । वेदे तु शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

487 The affix *ङीप्* necessarily comes in the *Chhandas*, and in forming Names, after that *Bahuvrīhi* compound which ending in the syllable *अन्* loses its penultimate *अ* ॥

This is an exception to IV 1 28 S 462, for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix *ङीप्* ॥ Thus *सुराज्ञी* 'the city called *Surājñī*', *अतिराज्ञी* 'the city of *Atirājñī*' When not a name, the option of IV, 1 28 S 462 will hold good. Similarly in the *Chhandas* we have *शतमूर्ध्नी* ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापपरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्य ङीप् स्यात्सज्ञाछन्दसा । अर्थात्तद्वन् केवलाविंश । मामका । भागधेयी । पापी । अपर समानी । आर्यकृती । सुमङ्गली । भषजा । अन्यत्र केवला इत्यादि । मामकमहण नयमाथम् । अणन्तत्वादेव सिद्धे । तेन लोकऽसज्ञाया मामिका ॥

488 The affix *ङीप्* necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the *Chhandas* —*केवल* *मामक*, *भागधेय*, *पाप*, *अपर*, *समान*, *आर्यकृत*, *सुमङ्गल* and *भेषज* ॥

The phrase सज्ञा छन्दसा of the last sūtra is understood here also Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name, so also मामकी तन् in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधया in Bhāṣhā, तन्व सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhāṣhā, अपरी as उताऽपरीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये, (Rigveda I 13) otherwise अपरा, समानी व आकूति (Rigved,) otherwise समाना, आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता, सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X 85 33) सुमङ्गला, शिवारुदस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV I 41 S 498 as belonging to Gaurādi class No 86 The word मामक is read in the sūtra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it, for it would have taken डीप् by IV I 15 S 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (-IV 3 3 S 1372) In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII 3 44 S 463)

४८६ । अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् । ४ । १ । ३२ ॥

एतयो स्त्रिया नुक् स्यात् ॥ क्रत्रेभ्यो डीप् ॥ गर्भिण्या जीवर्ज्ज्जाया च प्रकृतिभागो निपात्यते । तन्वान्तरस्यस्या गभ इति विग्रहे अन्त शब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावाद्ग्रासो मतुब् निपात्यते । पतिवत्स्त्रीत्यत्र तु वस्व निपात्यत । अन्तर्वत्स्त्री । पतिवत्स्त्री । प्रत्युदाहरण तु । अन्तर्गन्त्यस्या शालाया घट । पतिमती पृथिवी ॥

489 The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix डीप् follows

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added (and it must be added at the end, by sūtra I 1 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, and these words must take णिप् by virtue of IV 1 5, S 306 if not by this sūtra Thus we have अन्तर्वत्स्त्री and पतिवत्स्त्री ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following —प्रयत स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी, here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वत्, in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मनुप्) ॥ Because मनुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V 2 94, S 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V 2 94 S 1894 The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मनुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra The म is changed to व by VIII 2 2 S 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular

The augment नुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas — as सान्त्वत्स्त्री or सान्त्वत्स्त्री देवानुपेतु ॥ पतिवत्स्त्री or पतिवत्ता तरुणवत्सा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्थाव्यज्ञेन सवन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । तत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोगीत्यर्थः ।
वन्धस्थो सहाधिकारान् ॥

490 The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha. Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४

पतिशब्दशान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य प्रानपदिकस्य नो वा स्यात् । गृहस्य पति गृहपति । गृहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येताहात्तरायमनुवृत्तमपि न पत्युर्विशेषणं किंतु तदन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीहावपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपति । दृढलपत्नी । दृढलपति । अथ दृढलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ते कपमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपपन्नं यत् । बह्व । आचारक्रियगतात्कर्तरि क्तिप् । अस्मिन् पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयङ्गविषये विशेषः सपूर्वस्य क्तिप् । गवा पति स्त्री ॥

491 In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound गृहपति or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta vibhāshā. Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga" of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवापति स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows'. Here the feminine is पत्नि and not पत्नी although preceded by गवा but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvṛtti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvṛtti is necessary for the next sūtra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sūtra. Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasārjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, as दृढपत्नी or दृढपति "whose husband is strong". So also दृढलपत्नी or दृढलपति ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like दृढलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sūdra", for a Sūdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sūdra is analogous to the wife of a Brāhmana. Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव आचरति "she who behaves like a Patni". If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI 4 77 S 271 as चत्विधो 'two wives of a Sudra' and पत्निय 'many wives of a Sûdra' and not पत्न्यौ and पत्न्य as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२ । नित्य सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवादः । समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यत । समान पतिर्यस्या सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492 In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here सपत्न्या is replaced by स by this sūtra

४९३ । पूतकतोरे च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामै आदेशो डीप् च । इय चिसूची पुरोम एवेत्यते ॥ पूतकतो स्त्री पूतकतायी । अथा तु कतव पूता स्यात्पूतकतुरेवसा ॥

493 In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतकतु, when the affix डीप् is added

Thus पूतकतायी 'this wife of Putakratu' *Isht* —According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sutras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sūtras will not apply see IV 1 48 S 504. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतकतु will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (कतव) are sanctified (पूता)

४९४ । वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्त । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषाधुवात् ऐ आदेशः स्याद् डीप् च । वृषाकपे स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिविष्णु वृषाकपी इत्यमरः, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्वीरिति च । भगनायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी । कुसितायी इत्यमरः नत्तु दार्ढ्यमध्य ॥

494 In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद् ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X 86 13) 'the wife of Vṛṣhākapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3 129 and 155) namely Lakshmi or Gauri भग्नो-यी, (Rig Ved I 22 12) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसितायी

'the wife of Kusida' In the above the udatta falls on the syllables कौ, मा, तौ and कौ respectively The last word is कुसिद् and not कुसीद् as in some texts

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुशब्दस्यैकारश्च स्वादुवाच ऐकारश्च वा । ताभ्या सनियोगशिष्टो ङीप् च । मनो स्त्री मनावी । मनावी । मनु ॥

495 औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udatta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine

The phrases ऐ and उवाच are understood The force of वा is to make the substitution optional Thus we have three forms, मनावी or मनावी or मनु, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तौपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तोपधस्तदनुपसर्जनात्प्रातिपादकाद्वा ङीप् स्यात्कारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णाना तणतिनितान्तानामिति फिदसूत्रेणाशुशक्त । इयेण्या च शल्लयेति गृह्यसूत्रम् । त्रीण्येतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहि । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीना चेत्यन्तोश्चोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । शिति स्त्री । * पिशङ्गादुपसर्ज्यानम् * ॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ कितु * असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥ * उन्शसि क्रमेके * ॥ असिक्ती । पलिक्ती ॥ अवशातशब्दस्त न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची तेन अवशाता इत्येव ॥

496 The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ।

Thus of एत 'variegated', the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated' रोहिणी or रोहिता so द्यता or द्येनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green' All these words have udatta accent, on the first vowel, by the Phit sutra II 10 (वर्णाना तणतिनितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण or ति or नि or त्, the udatta accent falls on the first vowel") as they are formed by तन् &c (Un III 36) Thus इयेण्या च शल्लया (Gṛhya Sūtra) The word tryenya is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning "she who has three variegated"

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phit sutra I 21 घृतादीना च "the words ghrita &c, have udatta on the final")

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter न् in the masculine Otherwise this rule will not apply As शिति स्त्री 'a black woman' Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्,

has anudātta accent on the final (VI 1 197) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्, but as it does not end in ञ्, its feminine is not formed with न्निप्

Vārt —The affix न्निप् comes also after the word विशङ्ग, as, विशङ्गी or विशङ्गा 'of tawny color'

Vārt —There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित, as असिता 'black and पलिता 'grey'

Vārt —According to some, the substitute क्तिन् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature As असिक्ती (Rig Veda IX 73 29), पलिक्ती R Veda V 2 4 The word अवदात does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदात means white clear"

४६७ । अन्यतो डीष् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

तोपधभिन्नाद्वर्णवाचिनोऽनुदात्तान्तात्प्रतिपदिकात् स्त्रिया डीष् स्यात् । कल्माषी । सारङ्गी । लघावन्ते इत्योश्च बहुषो युरुरिति मध्योदान्तावेतौ । अनुदात्तान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent, and which has no त् as penultimate

The word वा of IV 1 38 does not govern this sūtra The word अन्यत means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism 1 e after words which have *not* त् as penultimate The difference between न्निप् and निश affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III 1 4) and the latter acute Thus सारङ्गी, कल्माषी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phit Sūtra II 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be)

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा कपिला ॥

४६८ । विद्वौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

विद्वभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च डीष् स्यात् । नर्तको । गोरी । अनडुही । अनड्वाही ॥ विष्पत्यादयश्च ° ॥ आकृतिगणोयम् ॥

498 The affix डीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष् and after the words गौर and the rest

Thus by Sūtra III, 1 145 S 2907' the affix ष्वन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist The feminine of the words so formed, will take nish As, नतकी^१ 'an actress' So also the words नीर &c, as नीरी, अनडुही^२ अन्डुही^३ ॥

In the Gaurāḍi class is to be included the Pippalāḍi words also (see Garapāṭha at the end) This is an Āṭitigana, no complete list being given any where

४६२ । सूर्यतिथ्यागस्त्यमत्स्याना य उपधाया । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

अङ्गस्योपधाया यस्य लोप स्यात्स चेद्य सूर्याद्यवयव ॥ * मत्स्यस्य डक्षाम * ॥ * सूर्यागस्त्ययोऽङ्गे च डक्षाम च * ॥ ' तिथ्यपुण्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि यलोप इति गच्छाम् * ॥ मत्सी । मातरि विद्येति विस्वादेव सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठादित्य । पिता ङीष् । वृष्टा ॥

499 Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिथ्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य (and then derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix

Thus सूर्येणकादिक् = सौरी (सूर्य + अण् under IV 3 112 S 1492 = सौर्य, then ई of ङीप् = सौरी), as सोरी बलाका ॥

So also तिथ्य—तैषमह, तैषी रात्रि ॥ So also अगस्त्यापत्य स्त्री = भागस्ती (IV 1 114 S 1117) भागस्तीय, So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीष् as it belongs to the Gaurāḍi class (IV 1 41 S 498)

Part --The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only therefore not here मत्स्यस्येव मात = मा स्यम् ॥

Part —Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ् and ई (of the feminine) as सौरीय, सोरी भागस्ताय भागस्ती ॥ But not here साय चर निवपेत्, भागस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV 1 114)

Part —Of तिथ्य and पुण्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिथ्यण नक्षत्रण युक्त काल = तैष, पौष (IV 2 3 S 1204)

By the *varṭika* मातरि विद्य given under IV 2 36, S 1242 the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicative ष ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is बित्, its inclusion in the list of Gaurāḍi indicates that the rule of ङीष् application, because a word is बित्, is not universal (अनित विरु लक्षणा ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like वृष्टा &c

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककवरादृष्ट्यम-
त्रावपनाहृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौदयवर्णानाच्छादनायाविकारमैथुनेच्छाकशवेशेषु । ४ ।
१ । ४२ ॥

एभ्य एकादशेभ्य प्रातिपदिकेभ्य क्रमाद्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष्स्थात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्या तु जानपदी । उत्सादिरसादन्नत्वेन टिडहेति ङीष्यात्युदात्त । कुण्डी अमत्र चत् । कुण्डान्या । कुडि वदि । शुगेश्च हल इति अत्र यय । यन्तु अमृत्त जायज कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्तत्तो जानिलभर्णा ङीष् मय-
स्येव । अमने हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादमासा ङीष् विधायत नतु नियम्यते । रौणी आरप चत् । गाणान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिणा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी आणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नार्गी मृन्ना चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नगमशब्द स्थौल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम् । सर्पवाचा तु वैद्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त प्रत्युदाहरणम् । काली वणश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादनं चेत् । नालाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शार्दूल्यर्थः । नाल्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यम् । अनाच्छादनं न सर्वत्र कर्तुम् ॥ * नीलाशेषो * ॥ नीली ॥ * प्राणिनि च * ॥ नीली गो ॥ सज्ञाया वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । काशुकी मेथुनेच्छा चेत् । काशुकाऽन्या । कवरी केशानां सनिवेशश्चेत् । कवराऽन्या चित्रत्यर्थः ॥

500 The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jānapada &c, in the sense of profession &c respectively, 1 e after the words 1 जानपद 2 कुण्ड, 3 गोण, 4 स्थल, 5 भाज, 6 नाग, 7 काल, 8 नील, 9 कुश, 10 कामुक, and 11 कवर, the affix ङीष् is employed when the sense is that of 1 'profession or living' 2 'a bowl', 3 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4 'a natural spot of ground', 5 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6 'stout', 7 'black-coloured', 8 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9 'a plough-share', 10 'a libidinous female' 11 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जाँनपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix भञ् to janapada, by sūtra IV 1 86, as it belongs to Utsādi class of words in forming the feminine the affix ङीष् will be added in this latter case by IV 1 15 S 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable (2)

(2) So also कुण्डा 'bowl shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress'. To the root 'कुडिश्' the affix ञ् is added by III 3 103 S 3280. The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicative इ in the Dhātupātha. The कुण्ड when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take डाङ् in the feminine by IV 1 63, S 518 and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no डाङ् in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard' (3)

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादिं प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गेष्ठा a particular name, (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement', otherwise स्थला as स्थल्योर्वक् परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा (6) नार्गी a stout elephantess, otherwise नार्गा "a long she serpent". When नार्ग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नागी under the present sūtra. But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

✓(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth'. This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting 'colored' by the *Vārtika* under sūtra IV 2 2 S 1203 and thus the base is नीलम् to which आप् is added in forming the feminine

The word अनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below: i.e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'

Vārtika —ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नील when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo plant'

Vārtika —So also when an animal is meant as नीलीनौ. The *Nilgāi*

Vārtika —Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass'
(10) कायुक्ती 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कायुक्ता 'a woman desirous of wealth'
(11) कवरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कवरा 'mixed, variegated'

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501 The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'

५०२ । चोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

इदन्ताद्गुणवाचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ मृद्वी । मृदु । उत किम् ॥ शुचि । युजेति किम् । आखु ॥

* स्वरसंयोगोपधात् * ॥ स्वर पतिवरा कन्या । पाण्डु ॥

502 The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus मृदु or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'thus brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say

“expressive of a quality ?” Observe माखु ‘a mouse’ (both masculine and feminine)

Vart —Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and after words ending in short उ, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate As खरुरिय ब्राह्मणी ‘a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband’ Similarly पाण्डु is common gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant As पाण्डुरिय ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३ । बह्नादिभ्यश्च । ड । १ । ४५ ॥

एभ्यो वाडीष् स्यात् । बह्वी बहु ॥ * कृदिकारादन्तिन * ॥ राशि । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽन्तिन्या दि स्येके ॥ शकदि । शकदी । अन्तिन्यात्किम् । भजननि । न्तिन्नन्त्वात्प्राप्ते विध्यर्थ पद्धतिशब्दो गणे उपपद्यते । हिमकाषिहतिषु चत पङ्काव । पद्धति पद्धती ॥

503 And the affix डीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest

As बहु or बह्वी ॥

Vartika —So also after the vowel इ of a kṛt affix, not न्तिन् (III 3 94), as राशि or रात्री ॥

Vartika —Some say that the feminine affix *nīsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix न्तिन् ॥ As शकदि or शकदी ॥

Why do we say ‘not न्तिन्’? Observe भजननि ॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Ganapāṭha, to make it a *vulhi*, although it is formed with the affix न्तिन् ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI 3 54 S 992. Thus —पाद् + हति + न्तिन् = पद्धति ॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धति or पद्धती ॥

५०४ । पुयोगादाख्यायाम् । ड । १ । ४८

या पुमाख्या पुयोगात् स्त्रिया वर्तते ततो डीष् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्ताम् * ॥ गोपालिका । अश्वपालिका ॥ * सूर्यादेवताया चाप् वाच्य * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवताया किम् । सूरौ कुन्तो । मातृपीयम् ॥

504 The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी

Vart —Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक ॥ Thus गोपालिका ‘the wife of a cow herd’, also अश्वपालिका ॥

Vart —The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being As सूर्यौ ‘the celestial wife of the god Sūrya.’ Why do we say ‘a celestial being’? Observe सूरौ denoting the human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kuntī.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययन्यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ।
४।१।५९॥

एवामानुगागम स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णा मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुयोग एवेत्यते । तत्र ङीष् सिद्धे आनुगागममात्रं विधीयते । इतिरेषा चतुर्णां भुवयम् ॥ इन्द्राणां ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्महस्वे * ॥ महद्भिन्म हिमानी । महदरण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ दुष्टो यवो यवाना । * यवनाक्षिप्याम् । यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोरानुक्वा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥ उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्य * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥ आचार्यावणत्व च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्यात्री ॥ आर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा स्वार्थे ° ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैद्या वेश्यर्य । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया । पुयोगे तु । अर्थी । क्षत्रियी । कथं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505 The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow,' अरण्य 'a forest,' यव 'barley,' यवन 'a Yavana,' मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and आचार्य 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i.e. the Proper Nouns upto मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra'

Vārt —Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine

Vārt —After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat"

Vārt —After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'

Vārt —Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional Thus मातुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor'

Vārtika —But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of डीप् is optional. Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया

Vārt —And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII 4 2 S 197), after the word आचार्य. Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'

Vārt —After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीप् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding डीप्. The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण् to the root ब्रू "to breathe" in the sense of object by III 2 1 S 2913, ब्रह् + अन् + अण् = ब्रह्माण् f ब्रह्माणी

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्ताद्वन्तात्करणारे स्त्रिया डीप् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीता । क्वाचित्र । धनक्रीता ॥

506 The affix डीप् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means where with the thing is bought

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण of 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीता 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'. The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II 1 32)

५०७ । क्वादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणारे कान्तान् स्त्रिया डीप् स्यादल्पत्वे याये । अभ्रलिप्ती द्यौ ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम् चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना ॥

507 The affix डीप् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means where with," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'

Thus अभ्रलिप्ती द्यौ 'a sky covered slightly with clouds',

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note —The word कर्ण पूर्वत् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means where with', of the last Sūtra governs this also The participle in क्त must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहे क्तान्तावन्तोदात्तादन्तात् क्रिया ङीप् स्यात् ॥ * आतिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहु-
नञ्मुक्तकालमुखादिपूर्वात् । ऊरुभिन्नी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * जातान्ताम् * ॥ दन्तजाता । * पाणिगृहीती
भार्यायाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या ॥

508 The affix ङीप् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable

Note —The word क्तान् of the last aphorism governs this also This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svānga* word But if the antecedent member is not a *svānga* word, then the application of the rule is optional

Vārt —It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jāti (class-name) as first member As

ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vārtika* —

Vārt —Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words —बहु, नञ्, झु, words denoting time, मुखा &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vārt —Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'

↓ *Vārt* —In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife', (अभिस्तासिक्त यस्या पाणिर्गृह्यते), but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c'

Note —Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI 2 170 and the following

५०९ । अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सुरापीती । सुरापीता । अन्तोदात्तात्क्रिय । वक्रच्छन्ना । अना-
च्छादनादिस्तुसात्तनिषेध । भत एव पूर्वेषामि न ङीप् ॥

509. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तासनात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory Thus सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe शखभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe बन्धच्छन्ना which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI 2 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI 2 170; and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sūtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनात्सयोगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असयोगोपधुपसर्जनं यस्वाङ्गं तदन्तादन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशानतिक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशा । चन्द्रमुखी । चन्द्रमुख्या । सयागापधास्तु सुयुक्ता । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं विधा ।

अद्वयं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् * ॥

सुस्वेदा इवत्वात् । सुज्ञाना अमूर्तत्वात् । सुयुक्ता शाला अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोभा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतस्तथ तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तत्र चेतत्तया युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवत्प्राणिसदृशं स्थितत्वात् ॥

510 And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा, चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुख्या ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpuruṣa compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान् and केश is upasarjana by I 2 44.

Note —The *anuvṛtti* of the words बहुव्रीहिः, कान्तादन्तादात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism But the *anuvṛtti* of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशोखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical) Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुयुक्ता, सुपाद्वी) ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse —

अङ्गव मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।

अतस्तथ तत्रदृष्टं च तत्र चतुस्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not being a fluid (अङ्गव) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having a form (मूर्तिमत्) is svāṅga, it must exist in a living being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतस्तथ lit not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्रदृष्टं lit was seen in the body), (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चतुस्तथायुतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svāṅga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat" here "sweat" is "liquid" and so it is not a svāṅga, सुज्ञाना "who has good knowledge", here "knowledge" has no form, and so it is not a svāṅga, सुमुखी चाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svāṅga, so that the following is wrong कलमुखी वस्त्रमुखी चानवस्था, similarly सुदाका 'she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours' Here 'swelling' or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrescences and hence it is not a svāṅga

Of the second kind of svāṅga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथा "A chariot well cushioned with hair" Though chariot is a non living being yet hair is always found in a living being

Of the third kind of svāṅga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts" Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being

५११ । नान्निकोदभैपुजङ्गादन्तर्कणभृङ्गाच्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीष् स्यात् । अत्रार्थद्वन्द्वक्षणो निषेधा बाध्यत । पुस्तनादपवादव्यायान् । भाष्यादीनां पञ्चानां तु असत्यागोपधामिनि पर्युदास प्राप्त वचनम् । भैष्ठास्पवादव्यायान् । सहनञ्जक्षणस्तु प्रतिषेध परत्वादस्य बाधक । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । सहनासिका । अनासिका । अत्र वृत्तिः ॥ अङ्गमात्रकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्वप्नी स्वप्न्यादि । एतद्यानुक्तसमुच्चयायेन चकारेण समग्रमिति केचित् ॥ भाष्याद्यनुक्तत्वादप्रमाणानि प्रागाणका । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाच्च * ॥ सुपुच्छी । सुपुच्छा ॥ कबरमणिनिषकारभ्यामित्यम् * ॥ कबरचित्रपुच्छयस्याः सा कबरपुच्छी मूर्त्ती इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्पक्षा पुच्छाच्च * ॥ नित्यमित्येव । उल्लापकी चाला । उल्लापपुच्छी सेना ॥

511 And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' आष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sūtra This sūtra debarb the application of IV 1 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त "Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words आष्ठ &c, were excluded from the operation of the preceding sūtra by the incidental negation (paryudāsa) of असंयोगात् ॥ This present sūtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words This is on the maxim मध्येऽपवादो पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्त नात्तरान् "Apavādas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavāda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE not those that follow them" Therefore though the sūtras IV 1 54 and 56 are superseded by the present sūtra, not so the sūtra IV 1 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका, &c, but we have only one form as नङ्गनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV 1 57 S 513

In the opinion of Kātyāyana, the affix ङाङ् optionally comes after अङ्ग, गङ्ग, कण्ठ &c Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c

According to others all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sūtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Buddhya* Hence the following *karikas* —

Vārt —So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail' As दुष्टपुच्छा or दुष्टपुच्छी ॥

Vārt —The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कर्त्र meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष् and शर ॥ As, कर्करपुच्छी 'a peahen' मणपुच्छी विष्पुच्छा, a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vārt —So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words वक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison As उलूकवक्षी सेना उलूकपुच्छी बाला ।

५१२ । न कोडादिवह्व ॥ ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

कोडादिवह्वश्च स्वाङ्गात् ङाङ् । कल्याणकोडा । अश्वानाशुर कोडा । भाकृतिगणोऽयम् । सुवचना ॥

512 The feminine affix ङीप् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables

क्रोडा means 'the breast of a horse' The krodâdi class is âkṛitigana So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables

Note —According to Ganaratnamahodadhī the word क्रोड without any gender is read in the Ganapāṭha implying that examples can be given with all the three genders Mādhava derives it from krod with चञ्, krodâ meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रोडा is read in Ganapāṭha and it forms Bahuvrīhi when it has the sense above given Otherwise as a general svāṅga word we have ङीष् as कल्याणक्रोडी नयूरी ॥

Note —The class क्रोड &c is akṛiti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage The following are some of the examples —As कल्याणक्रोणा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण बाला, कल्याण शफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पशुजघना, महा-ललाटा ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūṅvād bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasārjana (I 2 48)

५१३ । सहनञ् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादिकपूर्वान् ङीष् । सकशा । भकेशा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513 The affix ङीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'

Thus सकेशा, भकेशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note —The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV 1 55 ante as well as IV 1 54

५१४ । नखं मुखात्सङ्गायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

ङीष् न स्वात् । शर्पणखा । गौरमुखा । सज्ञाया किम् । ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514 The feminine affix ङीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name

Thus शर्प + नखा = शर्पणखा, 'Śurpanakhā the sister of Ravana' The ङ is changed to ण by VIII 4 3 S 857 (पूर्वपदात् सज्ञायाम्) ॥ So also गौरमुखा, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'

५१५ । दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदास्त्वान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीषो ङीवादेशः स्यात् । माङ्गुली । आयुवात्त पदम् ॥

515 The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction

Thus माङ्गुली ॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable

Note —This aphorism overrules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 510 to 514. Wherever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent, the affix ङीप् being anudatta (III 1 4 S 3709) Thus माङ्गुली ॥

५१६ । वाह । ४ । १ । ६१ ॥

वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् ङीष् स्यात् । ङीषेवानुवर्तत न ङीप् ॥ दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

516 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛtti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीष्, though the latter was nearer. Thus दित्यवाद् च मे दित्यौही च मे ॥

Note —The word वह् is formed from the root वह् with the affix णिच् (III 2, 64). The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of tadanta, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh." Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon' This form is thus evolved — दित्य + वाह् + ङीष् = दित्य + ऊह् + वाह् + ङीष् (VI 4 132 वाह ऊह्, Uth is the samprasāraṇa of vâh, when this is a bha) = दित्य + ऊह् + ङीष् (VI 1 108) सप्रसारणाच्च after a samprasāraṇa if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'), = दित्यौही (VI I 89 S 73 एतेष्वन्युद्भुतं viddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edha*, or *ûth* follow') Similarly प्रवौही 'a young heifer training for the plough'

५१७ । सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

इतिशब्द प्रकारे भाषायामित्यनन्तरं द्रष्टव्यम् । छन्दस्यपि क्वचित् । सखी । अशिश्वी । अशिश्वी धुनयन्तामशिश्वी ॥

517 The form सखी 'a female companion' and अशिश्वी "a childless woman," are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit

The word इति in the sūtra has the force of प्रकार 'thus' its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the Vaidic literature also

Note — Thus सखाय मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्या विश्वस्तीति = अशिषी ॥ Why do we see in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिषामत्र मामय विश्वरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as आधेनवो धुनयन्तामाशिषी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रिया नियतनयोपध तत् स्त्रिया ङीष् स्यात् ।

आकृतिग्रहणा जाति * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येति । तदी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्माणा * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गत्वं सत्यकक्षा व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्तघन्तरे कथन विनापि सुप्रहा जातिरिति लक्षणान्तरम् । वृथली । सत्यन्त किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्र च चरणे सह * ॥

अपत्यप्रत्ययान्त शाखाभ्येतवाची च शब्दा जातिकार्यं लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कडी । बह्वृची । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शास्त्रवादापाठान् ङीष् ङीष् बाध्यते । जात किम् । सुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषया-स्किम् । बलाका । अयापधास्किम् । क्षात्रिया ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्यगवयपुत्रकयमनुव्यमस्यनानामप्रतिषेध * ॥ इथी । गवयी । पुत्रयी । हलस्तद्धितस्यति यलोप । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङभाम् ° ॥ मत्सी ।

518 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate

The word जाति is thus defined —

आकृति ग्रहणा जातिर्लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।

सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा गान् च चरणी सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained) आकृतिग्रहणाजाति whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jāti Or a jāti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature Thus तदी 'a bank, a place near the river' But —(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्माणा, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

specially mentioned. Such a word would also be jāti. Thus वृषला "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c. Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ला ॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe इवदत्ता (3) गान्न च चरण सह "A word denoting Gotia descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jāti word." That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school who studies a particular portion of the Vedas. As आपगवी, कनो बह्वृचा ॥ In ब्राह्मणा the ङीष् is debarred by ङीष् as it is read in saṅgaravadi class (IV 1 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jāti"? Observe शुण्डा 'shṛven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality.) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman' Why do we say "not having the letter ष for its penultimate"? Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'

Vārt —In excluding words that have the letter ष as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate ष) viz, गव्य 'the Bos Caveans,' हय 'horse,' हुक्य 'a sort of animal' मत्स्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man' Thus गवयी हयी मनुषी (VI 4. 150 S 472) हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the ष of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long इ follows' मत्सी ॥ The ष of *Matsya* is elided by the vārtā 'मत्स्यस्य ङङात्' ॥ See also VI 4. 149 S 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV 1 41 S 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vārtika

Note —The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra. Charana is one who studies a particular śākhā of a Veda. Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Loukika Gotra of Clans. The above examples of कंठी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda is belonging to the Katha Śākhā" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of Vedas even in Pāṇini's time. The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so. For we read —

पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।

अध्यापन च वेदानां सावित्रावचनं तथा ॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were taught the Vedas and the Gṛvatri."

५१९ । पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिन स्त्रीविषयादपि ङीष् स्यात् । आवनपाकी । शङ्कुकर्णी ॥ शालपर्णी । खड्गपुष्पा । हाताफला । र्भमुली । गावाक्षी । ओषाधिविशेष रुडा एते ॥

519 And the feminine affix **ङीष्** comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पत्र्य 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and बाल youth'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sūtra Thus औदनपात्री शकुकर्णी, शालपर्णी शखपुष्पा, दासीकला, दर्भमूली, and गोबाली all these are rudhī words expressing medicinal herbs

When, however, the affix **ङीष्** is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV 1 4 S 454, such as सफला, भस्मफला, सखपुष्पा, भमूला &c

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजाते । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीष् स्यात् । दाक्षी । शोषधाक्षि । दक्षमेयस्यापत्य औदमेयी । मनुष्येति किम् । तित्तिरि ॥

520 The feminine affix **ङीष्** comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men

Thus अवन्ता 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kuntī,' दाक्षी 'Dākshī.' Thus अवन्ति + ङीष् (IV 1 171 S 1189) 'आवन्त्य men of Avanti' In the feminine this affix by IV 1 176 S 1195 is elided दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha" Why do we say "ending in short इ"? Witness वैश् 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat' Why do we say "of men"? Witness तित्तिरि 'part-ridge'

Though the anuvṛtti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV 1 63, S 518 its repetition here indicates that **ङीष्** is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vārt — This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इष् (IV 2 80 S 1292) though they do not denote a jāti Thus सौतगमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इष् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV 2 80 S 1292 and ordained to come after सुतगम &c, and does not denote a jāti

५२१ । ऊङुत । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्नाद्यापधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिन स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । ऊङु ॥ कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्य ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुङ् । भयोपधात्किम् । अथर्व्यु ॥ अग्नीजित्तारज्ज्वाहानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ रज्ज्वादिपर्युषासादुवणान्तेभ्य एव । अलाब्धा । कर्कन्धा । अनयार्क्षीयान्तत्वेऽप नाङ्धात्वारिति । व-भत्तुशचैः प्रतिषेध ऊङ् फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातिस्तु कृकवाकु । रज्ज्वोदस्तु रज्जु । हनु ॥

521 After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ङीष्.

The anuvṛtti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरू 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धू "a Brahman of the class of the fallen Brahmins so called," जीवबन्धू : "a woman of the Jivabandhu class"

Thus कुरू + ण्य = कौरव्य IV 1 172, S 1190 and this affix is elided by IV 1 176 S 1195 in the feminine

Note —The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form करू (कुरू + उ = करू) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V 4 154, S 891 in Bahuvrīhis will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबन्धू and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sūtras like नोङ् धात्वो (VI 1 175 S 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sūtra VI 1 175 S 3721 would have run as नो धात्वो and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there. Thus in ब्रह्मबन्धवा we could not have known the accent

Why do we say "not having the letter ङ् as its penultimate"? Witness अथर्वब्राह्मणी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'

Vārt —The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions afterwords denoting non animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus अलाब् 'the bottlegourd', कर्कन्धू 'the jujube tree'. Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाब्वा and कर्कन्धवा are svāita accented on the final by VI 1 175 S 3721. Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाङ् 'a kind of lizard'. Why do we say "except the word रज्जु &c"? Witness रज्जु 'rope', हनु 'cheek' &c. The example अलाब्वा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative

५२२ । बाह्वन्तात्सत्रायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाह् । सत्राया किम् । वृत्तबाहु ॥

522 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

भद्रबाहु 'Bhādrabāhū' Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहु 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गु । श्वशुरस्थोकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चादृङ् । पुयोगलक्षणस्य ङघिोऽपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्ट-
परिभाषया स्वाद्यः । श्वश्रू ।

523 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'

Vart —The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वश्रू, and thereby there is elision of the letter ष and of the letter श्र of the word As श्वश्रू 'mother-in law' This debars the punyoga ङीष् of IV 1 48 S 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वश्रू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c see IV 1 1 S 182.

५२४ । ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ । १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदमूकत्तरपदं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तस्मादूङ् स्यात् । । करभोकः ॥

524 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant

Thus करभोक 'a female' 'th thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness इत्तोरु स्त्री "a woman with round thighs" The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विचक्रे च करेणुकरोरु ॥

५२५ । सहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थं सूचय् । सहितोरु । सैव शफोरु । शफौ खुरौ ताविव सन्निष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणशब्दार्थाभावाच्च । लक्षणोरु । वामोरु ॥ सहितसहाम्ना चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह सहितौ ऊरु इत्या सा सहितोरु । सहिते इति सहौ ऊरु यस्या सा सहितोरु । अङ्गा । विद्यमानवचनस्य सहस्य-
दस्य ऊर्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words सहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended As सहितोरु 'a female whose thighs are joined (e g from obesity)' शफोरु 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot' लक्षणोरु 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरु, 'with handsome thighs' The word lakshana here is a Taddhita formed word meaning "she who has the mark" The affix अङ् is added to lakshana by its belonging to अर्थादि class V 2, 129 S 1933

Vārt —So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितोक्त and सहोक्त ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness' though it literally means mere existence

५२६ । सज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकम् ल्वो सज्ञायाम् स्त्रियासूङ् स्यात् । कद्रू । कमण्डलू । सज्ञायाम् किम् । कद्रु कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्नेर्य वचनम् ॥

526 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms Thus कद्रू 'a female named Kadrū wife of Kāśyapa,' कमण्डलू 'Kamandālū' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रू 'the tawny color' कमण्डलू 'a water-gourd'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादेरञो योऽकारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीन् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैरी । जाते-रित्यनुवृत्तेः पुयोगे ङीषेव । वृत्तर्योर्वृत्तिश्चेति गणसूत्रम् । नारी ॥

527 The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the 1st, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sārṅgarava woman' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, बैरी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind In other words, this aphorism debar the affix ङीष् of IV 1 63 S 518 &c, where it came after jāti-vāchaka words, but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV 1 48 S 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीष् by IV 1 5 S 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jāti These words take वृद्धि before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases This is by force of the sūtra वृत्तया &c read in the following list Such sūtras are called gana-sūtras

The following is a list of Sārṅgaravādi class words —

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैर, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अञ्, the first four being formed by the अञ् of (IV 1 83 S 1073) from शृगर, कपट, गुगुलु and ब्रह्मन्, the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अञ् of IV 1 114 This word is also included in Gauṛādi class IV 1 41 S 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशीकेय ॥ These are formed by ङक् (IV 1 123 S 1126) except kāmāṇḍaleya which is formed by ङञ् (IV 1 135 S 1141) 12 वारस्यायन, 13 मोङ्गायन ॥ These are formed by फक् of IV 1 101 S 1103 and IV 1 99,

S 1101 and denote castes or Gotra 14 कौक्सेय is also formed by ढक् (IV 1 123 S 1126) 15 काष्य, 16 सौव्य are formed by ड्यङ् (IV 1 171 S 1189) 17 एहि, 18 पयैहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह् 'to try', and परि+आ+इह् (Un IV 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आस ह्य is formed by यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107)

0 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV 3 76 S 1455) 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वत्तण्ड are jāti words 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिवत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name These words are formed by the affix मतुप्, and are consequently ङगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV 1 6 S 455) This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङश्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रिया चाप् स्यात् । यङ इति व्यङ्ग्यङो सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बष्ठया । कारीष-
गन्ध्या ॥ षाद्यञश्चाप् वाच्य * ॥ पौतिमाश्या ॥

528 The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix ड्यङ् or व्यङ् (with final acute VI 1 163)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes व्यङ् (as taught in IV 1 171 S 1189 and व्यञ् (IV 1 78 S 1198) as it is common element of both Thus आम्बष्ठयाँ a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya'

Similarly व्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्याँ, &c

Vast —The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter व् immediately precedes such yañ As शार्कराक्ष्याँ 'a female descendant of Śarkarāksha,' पौतिमाश्याँ 'a female descendant of Pūti-māshya'

५२९ । आवट्याश्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अस्माच्चाप् स्यात् । यञञेति । ङीपोऽपवाद । अवट्टादौ गर्गादि । आवट्या ॥

529 And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word अवट्य ॥

The word अवट् belongs to Gargādī class (IV 1 105 S 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV 1 16 S 471) Thus आवट्याँ 'are female descendant of Avaṭa'

५३० । तद्धिता । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चपुल्लमात्रेऽधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530 The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pāṇini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita.

Note —Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra As युवात् The word so formed is called Pratipadika. The word तद्धिता is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्यय (III 1 1 S 180) &c and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as पृथिव्य आम्नो ॥ अग्नादि पश्चाद् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव अग्निम्, आग्निम् पश्चिम ॥ See Vait IV 3 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I 2 46

५३१ । युनस्ति । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवनशब्दात्तिप्रत्यय स्यात्स च तद्धित । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवति । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्या सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौते शब्दन्तान् ङीप् बोध्यम् ॥

531 The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita

As युवति 'a young maid' By IV 1 5 S 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debar it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV 1 65, S 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine making affix though a Taddhita or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV 1 65 S 520 would not apply. But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths" The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवत् ॥ and is a different word altogether

अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI

THE KĀRAKAS

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिक प्रातिपदिकार्थ । मात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येक योग । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र
लिङ्गमात्राधिक्य परिमाणमात्रे सख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उचै । नीचै । कृष्ण । आ । ज्ञानम् ।
अलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इत्यस्यवाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तद ।
तदी । तदम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणा व्रीहि । द्रोणरूप अस्परिमाण तत्पारिच्छन्नो व्रीहिरित्यर्थ । प्रत्ययार्थे
परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन सस्मरणेन विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु परिच्छेद्यपरिच्छेद्यकभावेन व्रीहौ विशेषणमिति
विवेक । वचन सख्या । एक । द्वौ । बहव । इहोक्तार्थत्वादिभेदेरप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532 Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I 2 45 S 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed

By the word "prātipadikārtha" (sense of the crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word The word mātra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sūtra

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prātipadika—उचै aloft," नीचै "below," कृष्ण Krishna, श्री Sri, ज्ञानम् "knowledge"

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Krishna &c

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also As तद, तदी or तदम् "the (river) bank"

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्राणो व्रीहि "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Drona" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su) But though the force of the affix सु after व्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abhedha sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su but on the

contrary, in the case of *vr̥hi* and *su*, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base *vr̥hi*, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of *parichchedaka* (measurer) and *parichchedya* (measurable),

The word "vachana" means number, as एक one, दो two, अने many

The terms *dvityā* &c, are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pāṇini, they apply to the triads of अङ्ग affixes. कट करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्राम गच्छति 'he goes to the village'.

५३३ । लघोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रयत्नं स्यात् । हे राम ॥

533 And when the sense is that of addressing the first case-affix is employed

Thus हे राम O Rāma

— o —

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534 The phrase 'kārika' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note—Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a *kārika*. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master' Here Rama is agent *kāraka*, 'food' is object *kāraka*, 'vessel' is a locative *kāraka*, fire is an instrumental *kārika*, 'furnace' is the ablative *kāraka* and 'master' is the dative *kārika*.

The word 'kārika' thus is synonymous with the word cause (*hetu*) and occasion (*nimitta*). All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be *kārikas*. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a *kāraka* to a verb.

५३५ । कर्तुरीप्सिततम कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तुं कियथा आप्तुमिष्टतम कारक कर्मजज्ञ स्यात् । कर्तुं किम् । माषेन्नश्च वध्नाति । कर्मण ईप्सिता भाषा नतु कर्तु । तमश्महण किम् । पयसा भादन भुङ्क्ते । कर्मेत्यनुवृत्तौ पुन कर्ममहणभाषा रीतिवृत्त्यर्थम् । अन्यथा गह प्रविशेतासिक्त्वा स्यात् ॥

535 That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma As कट करोति "He makes the mat" ग्राम गच्छति "he goes to the village" Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe गावस्सद्वन्धाति "he ties the horse in the gram field" Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word गाव takes the locative case Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदन मुह्यन्ते "he eats the food along with the milk" Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case

Though the word कर्मे was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from the sūtra I 4 46 S 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛtti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because we do not take the anuvṛtti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛtti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases Thus while we could very well say गेह प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say भोजन पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तु पिबति "he drinks saktu" By repeating the word in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536 The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sūtras

Note —Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c, are applied to a noun only then when the force of the case affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c

५३७ । कर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

अदुक्ते कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । हरि भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मणि प्रतिपदिकार्यमात्र इति प्रथमैव । आनेधान तु प्राथम्य निङ्कृत्तद्धितसमास । निङ् हरि सेव्यत । कृन् लक्ष्म्या सवित । तद्धित, ज्ञानेन क्रीन शन्य । समास प्राप्त ग्रानन्वे य स प्राप्तानन् । कृन्निपातेनाभधान यथा । विषवृक्षाऽपि स्वार्थ स्वय छत्तुमसापत्तम् । सापतामत्यस्य हि युज्यत इत्यर्थ ॥

537 When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c. &c. when the verb &c. does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word

Thus हरि भजति "he worships Hari", But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c, then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II 3 64

The force of a case affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्, *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित, or *lastly* by compounds (Thus this sutra declares that the second case affix is applied in denoting the object, as कद करोति 'he makes the mat' ग्राम गच्छति 'he goes to the village') But the object can be denoted otherwise Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरि सेव्यते "Hari is served" Here the termination of the verb denotes the object See sutra I 3 13 and III 4 69 S 2679 and 2152 So also by the कृत् affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवित "served by Lakshmi" sūtra III 4 70 S 2833 So also by a Taddhita affix as शतम् or शतिक meaning 'purchased with a hundred' = शतेन क्रीत Similarly by samāsa, as प्राप्त आनन्दो ग्रामानन्द "Whom happiness has reached"

Sometime the case relation may be shown by a preposition or Nidāta as विषवृक्षोऽपि स्वयम् छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् ॥ Here विषवृक्ष is equal to विषवृक्षम् ॥ साम्प्रतम् means, "is proper" It is not proper to cut himself the poison tree that one has grown

१३८ । तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम् । १ । ४ । ५० ॥

इप्सिततमवच्छिद्यथा युक्तं नाप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसज्ञं स्यात् । ग्रामं गच्छन् वृणु स्पृशति । ओदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्त ॥

538 If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma

That which is not desired by the agent is anīpsita or object of aversion Thus ओदनं भुञ्जु विषं भुङ्क्त 'he eats poison while he was hungry for rice' ग्रामं गच्छन् वृणु स्पृशति 'going to the village, he touches the grass'

Here विष and वृणु are in the Accusative case or karma karaka, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case

५३९ । अकथितं च । १ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपादानादिविशेषैरविवक्षित कारको कर्मसज्ञः स्यात् ।

दुह्यात्पच्यन्डरुधिप्रच्छिन्निहृशासुजिमधुषम् ।

कमयुक् स्यात्कायित तथा स्यान्नीहृक्ष्वहाम् ।

दुहादीनां शब्दानां तथा नोपपत्तौनां चतुर्णां कर्मणामप्युच्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । गा रोग्धि पयः । बलि याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोदनं पचति । गर्गाय शतं दण्डयति । ब्रजमवरुणञ्चि गमम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधा क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं दुष्णाति । ग्राममजा नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थानिवन्धनेयं सज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिधत्ते वक्तव्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसज्ञक इति वाच्यम् * ॥ कुरुन् स्वपिति । मांसमास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । क्रोशमास्ते ॥

539 And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c, is also called karma.

Kāraka —In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' हृष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs गी ह्, कृण, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case.

As, गा रोग्धि पयः 'he milks the cow' बलि याचते वसुधा 'He begs the earth of Bali', अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant," similarly तण्डुलानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice" गर्गाय शतं दण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money" ब्रजमवरुणञ्चि गमम् "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow pen" माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road" वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree" माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma" शतं जयति देवदत्त, "He wins hundred from Devadatta" सुधा क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk" देवदत्तं शतं दुष्णाति, "He steals a hundred from Devadatta," ग्राममजा नयति हरति-कर्षति वहति वा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them" are examples of the other roots in order.

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corollary that other verbs also though not mentioned in the above list, but being synonym-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects Thus बलिं भिक्षते बहुधा or माणवक धर्मं भाषते, अभिषेत्ते or व्यक्ति &c.

Why do we say "a kāraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितर पन्थानं पृच्छति "He asks the father of the boy which is the road" Here माणवकस्य not being a kāraka retains the Genitive

Vārtika The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over As कुरुन् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus" मासमास्ते "He stays for a month" गोरोहिमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow" क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krośa (two miles)"

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्मकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता सणौ ।१।४।५२॥

यत्प्रत्ययार्थानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ य कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

राजानगमयस्वर्गं वैशर्षं स्वानवद्यत् ।

आशयच्चासृत देवान्वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥

आसयत्सलिले पृथ्वीं य स मे श्रीहरिरिति ॥

गतीत्यादि किम् । पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अप्यन्तानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं समपरं प्रयुङ्क्ते । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रं ॥ नीवह्योर्न * ॥ नाशयति वाहयति वा भारं भूलेन ॥ नियन्तु कर्तृकस्य वहेरनिषेध * ॥ गृहयति रथं वाहान् सूत ॥ आदिख्याद्योर्न * ॥ आशयति खादयति वाज्रं बहुना ॥ भक्षयति सार्यस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बहुना । अहिसार्यस्य किम् । भक्षयति बलीवर्दान् सस्यम् ॥ जल्पति प्रभृतीनामुपसख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तं ॥ हृषेय * ॥ वृषयति हर्षं भक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसमान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरति जिघ्रसीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति प्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन । ॥ शब्दायतेर्न * ॥ शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन । धात्वर्थसंगृहीतकर्मत्वेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न सम्भवति तेषां कर्मका । न स्वाविवक्षितकर्मणोऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तामित्यादौ कर्मस्वभावत्वेन । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540 That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense, also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged, e g

Thus in the verse above given —

Causal

राजान-अगमयन् स्वर्गम्

He sent the enemies to Heaven.

Non-Causal

राजान स्वर्गम् अगच्छन्

The enemies went to Heaven

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रसि 'he smells' &c As स्मारयति घापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell"

Vart —Not so with the verb शब्दायति as शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound"

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c, and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident, as किकर पचर पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood, hence किकरण पाचयति and not किकर ॥ Thus in मासमासयति दवदत्त the word मासम् is in the accusative case, but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c

Note —Patanjali in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sutra गतिबुद्धि &c शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दे येषा क्रिया or शब्दा येषा कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) ऋयति (ऋ) and शब्दायते (denom. of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule, as, ह्वयति देवदत्त ह्वययति देवदत्तेन, ऋयति शब्दायते देवदत्त, ऋययति शब्दाययते देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots श्रु ज्ञा with वि and लप् with उप must be included in the rule, १९ श्रुणोति विज्ञानाति उपलभते देवदत्त आदयति-विज्ञापयति उपलभयति देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि must be included in the rule, जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषत देवदत्त, जल्पयति विलापयति आभाषयति-देवदत्त ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e g

Primitive	Causal Active	Causal Passive
रामो ग्रामं गच्छति ॥	रामं ग्रामं गमयति ॥	रामो ग्रामगम्यते ॥
Rama goes to a village	(He) causes Rama to go to a village	Rama is caused to go &c
शूत्यं कटं करोति ॥	शूत्येन शूत्यं वा कटं कारयति ॥ शूत्यं कटं कार्यते ॥	
The servant prepares a mat	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat	The servant is made to prepare &c
गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥	गोविंदं मासमासयति ॥	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥
Govind sits for one month	(He) makes Govind sit &c	Govind is made to sit &c

(a) But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa

e g माणवक धर्म बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty', माणवको धर्म बोध्यते or माणवक धर्मो बाध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy', बटुमोदन भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food' बटुमोदेन भोजयते or बटुमोदेन भोज्यते (S K)

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also, i e, those roots that imply motion &c, govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes, as, वामनो बलि वसुधायाचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलि वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth' गोपेऽजा नगर हरति, (स्वामी) गोप गोपेन वाजा नगर हरयति ॥ '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town'

५४१ । हृकोन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृकोरणौ य कर्ता स णो वा कर्म स्यात् । हरयति कारयति वा भृत्य भृत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिहृषो रात्मनेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देव भक्त भक्तेन वा ॥

541 The agent of the verb in its non-causal form, in the case of hri "to lose" and kri "to make," is optionally called kama or object when these verbs are causal

Primitive	Causal
As हरति भार भृत्य ॥	हरयति भार भृत्य or भृत्येन ॥
The servant takes the load	He causes the servant to take the load
करोति कट भृत्य ॥	कारयति कट भृत्य or भृत्येन ॥
The servant makes the mat	He causes the servant to make the mat

Vart —The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal as—

Primitive	Causal
अभिवदति देव भक्त ॥	अभिवादयते देव भक्त or भक्तेन ॥
The devotee bows down to the Deity	He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity
पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥	दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानम् or दर्शयते भृत्ये ॥
The servants see the king	He makes the servants see the king

५४२ । अधिशीङस्थासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाणामेषामाधार कर्म स्यात् । अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठ हरि ॥

542 That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था "to stand," आस "to sit," when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kāraka or object

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sūtra there would have been the Locative case As अधिशते अधितिष्ठति अभ्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठ हरिः ॥ "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuntha

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्सघातपूर्वस्य विंशतेराधार कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रयणे त्र्यश्वानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्या महणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाश्रयणात्कचित् । आपेऽभिनिवेश ॥

543 That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश 'to enter,' is also called kārma-kāraka.

As अभिनिविशते-सन्मार्गम् 'he resorts to the good path' This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra I 4 44 S 580 should be read into it, though between I 4 44 S 580 and the present sūtra I 4 47 S 543 two other sūtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read This leaping over intermediate sūtras and exerting its influence on a remote sūtra is based on the maxim of "frog leap" The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhashā"

Thus we have the following forms also आपेऽभिनिवेश "resorting to sin" कल्याणेऽभिनिवेश "resorting to good" The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa

✓ ५४४ । उपान्वध्याड्वस । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसनेराधार कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्ठ हरिः ॥ अनुवसत्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभयवर्तसा कार्या ऽधुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥

द्वितीयाऽऽप्रेडितान्तषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्ण गोपा । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोक हरिः । अध्यधि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

✓ अभित परित समानिकषाहाप्रतियोगेऽपि * ॥ अभित कृष्णम् । परित कृष्णम् । मान समया । निक्षया लङ्गात् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यत इत्यथ बुभुक्षित न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् ॥

544 That which is the site of the verb वस् 'to dwell,' when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and ān, is called kārma-kāraka

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति वैकुण्ठ हरिः 'Hari dwells in Heaven'

Vart —Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote "lying in a locality" As वने उपवसति "he fasts in the forest" Here the verb "upavasati" governs the locative case and not the accusative

Vartula —The words उभयतः, सर्वतः, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽधो, अध्याधो when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative, sometimes other cases also As उभयतः कृष्णगोपा 'on both sides of Krishna are the gopas' सर्वतः कृष्ण 'on all sides of Krishna', धिक् कृष्णभक्तम् 'fie to non devotee of Krishna' उपर्युपरि लोक हरि 'just over the lokas is Hari, अध्याधो or अधोऽधो लोकम् 'just below the loka'

Vart —The words अभित, परित both meaning 'round,' समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern, the accusative case, as, अभित or परित कृष्णम् 'round Krishna' ग्राम समया 'near the village' निकषा लङ्काम् "near the Lankā" हा कृष्णभक्तम् 'woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind'

५४५ । अन्तरान्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा त्वा मा हरि । अन्तरेण हरि न सुखम् ॥

545 A word joined with (or governed by) the word antariâ, or antarena takes the second case-affix

Note —The anuvṛtti of dvitīya is understood here and not that of tītiya Both these words antari and antarena are Nipatas They govern the accusative This debars the genitive case The word antari means 'between,' while antarena means 'besides that,' 'without' 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'

As अन्तरा न हरि न सुख 'there can be no happiness without Hari' अन्तरा त्वा मा हरि 'Hari is between thee and me'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तत्कालिनाच पादलिपुन वृत्तस्य प्रकार ॥

— o —

• KARMAPRAVACHANIYAS

५४६ । कर्मप्रवचनीया । १ । ४ । ८३ ॥

इत्याधेक्य ॥

546 From this point as far as aphorism I 4 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanīya

Note —These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed *upasarga* and *gati*. As सुस्तुतं भवता 'well praised by you' सु सिक्तं भवता "you have sprinkled well" Here सु is a *karma-pravachaniya* and qualifies the sense of the verb, & it is an *adverb*. It is not an *upasarga*, for had it been so, it would have changed the स् into ष (VIII 3 65 S 2270). The word *karma-pravachaniya* is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, टि, वि, घृ &c, which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word *karmaprayachaniya* is not however merely a technical term, it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called

५४७। अनुलक्षणे। १। ४। ८४॥

लक्षणे योऽनुलक्षकस्तथात्। गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापनात् ॥

547 The word *anu* when it denotes a sign, is called *karma-pravachaniya*

The word *lakshana* means a sign, an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after, in consequence of,' 'because of,' or 'being indicated by'

This debarbs the designation of *gati* and *upasarga* with regard to *anu* meaning *lakshana*

५४८। कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया। २। ३। ८५॥

एतेन योने द्वितीया स्यात्। जपमनु प्रार्थयत्। हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षिते वर्षप्रवृत्तिर्यथ। पठयन् हेनाविति द्वितीयाऽनेन बाध्यते। लक्षणेऽप्यभूतव्यापना सिद्धे पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548 The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a *karmaprayachaniya* (I 4 83)

As जपमनुप्रार्थयत् 'it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers' To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmaprayachaniya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sūtra II 3 23 S 568 even is debarred by the present sūtra, so far as अनु is concerned. This is because, though अनु would have been a *karmaprayachaniya* by I 4 90 S 552 it has been read again in I 4 84 S 547.

Note —Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when अनु would have been *karma-pravachaniya* even by force of sūtra 552 following, where also the word *lakshana* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmaprayachaniyas* should always govern the accusative case (II 3 8 S 548) even in expressing हेतु (II 3 23 S 568). Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 & the

present sutra, by the maxim of परस्व I 4 2 S 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu

So also शाकल्येन सहितामनु प्रावर्षत् = शाकल्येन सुकृता सहितामनुनिशम्य देव प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya" The force of a karmapravachaniya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood, and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example सहिता is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood

५४९ । तृतीयार्थे । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् अन्वेऽनुसक्तसङ्गः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । नद्या सह सवद्वेत्यर्थः ॥ चिम्बन्धनेक्त ॥

549 The word annu is karma-pravachaniya, when it has the force of the third case

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river"

The word अवसिता is derived from चिम्ब meaning 'to bind', with the past participial fix क्त ॥

५५० । हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीनेऽप्येत्यनु प्रावत् । अनु हरिं सुरा । हरिहोनाइत्यर्थः ॥

550 The word अनु is karma pravachaniya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to

As अनुहरिं सुरा 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note —The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior, to complete the sense. In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As अनुशाकदायन वैयाकरणा 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च अन्वे उपेत्यव्यय प्राक्सङ्गः स्यात् । अधिके सप्तमी वक्ष्यते । हीने, उप हरिं सुरा ॥

551 The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप हरिं दुर "The gods are inferior to Hari' In this sense उप governs the accusative case

When उप means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior, examples of this will be given hereafter

५५२ । लक्षणेभ्यभूताख्यानभागवीप्तास्तु प्रतिपर्यन्तव । १ । ४ । ६० ॥

एष्वर्थेषु विषयभूतेषु प्रत्याख्य उक्तसज्ञा स्यु । लक्षणे, वृक्ष प्रति पर्यन्तु वा विद्योतते विद्यु-
त् । इत्यभूताख्याने, भक्ता विष्णु प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । भाग लक्ष्मीहरि प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा । हरेर्भाग इत्यर्थ ।
वीप्ताया, वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रतिपर्यन्तु वा सिञ्चति । अत्रोपसर्गत्वभावात् पत्वम् । एषु किम् । परिबिञ्चति ॥

552 The words prati, pari and anu are kama pravachaniya when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally

As (1) वृक्ष प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते इत्यत्र 'the lightning is flashing in the direction of the tree' (2) भक्तो विष्णुम प्रति—परि-अनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मी 'Lakshmi fell to the lot of Hari' So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another" So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being upasargas, do not change the स of सिञ्चति to ष, as required by VIII 3 65 S 2270 Why in these senses only? Observe परिबिञ्चति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

भागवर्जे लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसज्ञा स्यात् । हरिमभि वतते । भक्तो हरिमभि । देवदेवमभिमिञ्चति ।
अभागे किम् । यदत्र ममाभिष्यात्तदीयताम् ॥

553 The word abhi is kama-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of' /

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head ३ ॥ As हरिमभि वतते भक्ता हरिमभि, देव देवमभि सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यदत्र ममाभिष्यात् तद् दीयताम् 'give that which falls here to my share' Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्य is changed into ष by S 2270

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थको । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

उक्तसहो स्त । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुत पर्यागच्छति । गतिसज्ञाबाधाङ्गतिर्गताविति
निर्यातो न ॥

554 The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachaniya when used as mere expletives

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति "whence has he come"? or कुत पर्यागच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words (See VIII 1 70 S 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सु पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् न । पूजाया किम् । सुसिक्तं किं तवाच । क्षेपोऽयम् ॥

555 The word सु is karma-pravachaniya in the sense of "respect," (when it means 'excellently')

As सुसिक्तं भवता, "excellently sprinkled by your honor" सु स्तुतं भवता "Well praised by your honor" By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII 3 65 S 2270)

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुसिक्तं किं तवाच "has this your place been well sprinkled to day" This is meant here as an irony

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अतिक्रमणे पूजाया चाति कमप्रवचनीयसज्ञ स्यात् । अतिदेवान् कृष्य ॥

556 The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma pravachaniya

As अतिदेवान्कृष्यः "Krishna is above all gods"

Note —The word अतिक्रमण्य means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last

५५७ । अपि पदार्थमभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

एषु ध्योत्यङ्गापिहक्तसज्ञ स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वात् न । सभावनाया लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवने कर्तृशैलभ्यप्रयुक्तं शैलभ्य ध्योत्यङ्गपिशब्दः स्यादित्यनेन संबध्यत । सर्पिष इति षष्ठां तु अपिशब्दबलेन गम्यमानस्य बिन्दोरवयवावयविभावसंबन्धे । इयमत्र ह्यपिशब्दस्य पदार्थध्वोक्तता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषो बिन्दुना योगो न स्वपिनेत्युक्तत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुत्याद्विष्णुम् ॥ सभावना शक्त्युत्कर्षमादिशतुमरयुक्तिः ॥ अपि स्तुतिः । अन्ववसर्गः कानचारानुज्ञा ॥ बिन्देवदत्तमपि श्रुत्यादुत्पलम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि सिञ्च अपि स्तुतिः सप्तम्ये ॥

557 The word अपि is a karmā-pravachanīya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person) or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful), or collection ('and')

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even" "if you like", "even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karmā-pravachanīya

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee" Here since अपि is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष् (VIII 3 87 S 2472)

There is Potential Mood with the force of सम्भावना in the above example. When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word अपि denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb स्यात्. The word सर्पिष in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सर्पिष, as a part is related to its whole. The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दु स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee". This is the only way in which the word अपि can denote an *object* (padārtha) namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even. The second case affix ordained by II 3 8 S 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पिष is not put in the accusative case. This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पिष is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दु understood, and not with the Karmā-pravachanīya अपि.

Secondly, when अपि has the force of sambhāvana, as अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् ॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised. The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterable, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank. It is needless to say that he can praise others. Here the word अपि expresses "possibility" itself, while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility. The word अपि being a Karmā-pravachanīya, the स is not changed to ष् by VIII 3 65 S 2270.

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् 'there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtṛā 'a measure' &c, has to be understood The word सभावन् means possibility, a supposition As, अपि सिञ्चन् मूलकसहस्र क्षणनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment' अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu" In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood अन्वसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes It is used with the Imperative mood As अपि सिञ्च 'you may sprinkle, if you like' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like' The word गद्गा means 'censure, contempt or reproof As विश्वेदेवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद् वृषलम् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cummulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिञ्च 'praise as well as sprinkle,'

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into व ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्यात् । मास कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मास शुडधाना । क्रोश कुटिला नदी । क्रोशमधीते । क्रोश गिरि । अत्यन्तसयोगे किञ्च । मासस्य द्विरधात् । क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्यत ॥

558 ' After a word denoting time, or length, the **atix** of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मास शुडधाना । क्रोश कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोश गिरि 'the hill through one full kos

The word अत्यन्तसयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity' ? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्यत ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kāraka.

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KARTĀ

OR

THE AGENT KĀRAKA

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियाया स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called *kartā* or agent

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्त पचति 'Devadatta, cooks' स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KĀRAKA

५६० । साधकतम करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रयातिद्धौ प्रकटोपकारक करणसज्ञ स्यात् । तमप्रमहण किम् । गङ्गाया घोष ॥

560 That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or *karana kāraka*.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other *kārakās*, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गाया घोष "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges" कूपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well"

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली ॥

प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ प्रकृत्या चारु । प्रायेण याज्ञिक । गोत्रेण गार्ग्य । समेनैति । विषमेत्येति । द्वित्रायेन धान्य क्रीणाति । सुखेन दु खेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561 In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed

As रामेण बाणेन हतो बाली 'Bāli was killed by Rāma by an arrow'

Vart —The following words take the 3rd case प्रकृति 'original,' प्राक् 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्वित्रायेन, पचक and माहस as प्रकृत्याचारु प्रायेण याज्ञिक, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्वित्रायेन धान्यम् क्रीणाति सुखेन दु खेन वा याती त्यादि &c

५६२ । दिव कर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिव साधकतम कारक कर्मसज्ञ स्याच्चास्करणसज्ञम् । अक्षैरक्षान्वा शीव्यति ॥

562 That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called *karma* (object), as well as *karana*, (instrument)

Note —The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च् in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this

As अक्षान् वीक्ष्यति or अक्षै वीक्ष्यति 'he plays the dice or with the dice'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गं कलप्राप्तिस्तस्या व्योस्याया कालाध्वनोरस्यस्तस्योऽपि तृतीया स्यात् । अह्ना क्रोशेन वाऽनुवाकौऽधीत । अपवर्गे किम् । मासमधीतो नायात् ॥

563 The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed

Thus, अह्ना क्रोशेनानुवाकौऽधीत 'he learnt the Anuvāka by going over a kos'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sūtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before' Thus सवस्वरेणानुवाकौऽधीत means 'Anuvāka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायात् 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvākā

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

सहाय्येन युक्तः अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता । एव साकसार्धसमयोगोऽपि । विनावि सयोगः तृतीया । वृद्धोऽयनेत्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥

564 When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the word in the third case is not the principal but the accompaniment of the principal thing

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साक, सार्धं सम् &c, as, पुत्रेण सार्धं 'with the son' So also when the word सह is understood as Pāṇini himself uses in I 2 65 S 931 वृद्धो युना &c

Note —Why do we say 'when not the principal' Observe, शिक्षेण सहोपाध्यायरत्ना

५६५ । येनाङ्गविकार । २ । ३ । २० ॥

येनाङ्गं विकृतेनाङ्गिना विकारो लक्ष्यत तनस्तृतीया स्यात् । अक्षणा कायः । अक्षिसवान्धिकाय-स्वावेष्टि इत्यर्थः । अङ्गविकारः किम् । अक्षि कायमस्य ॥

565 By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed

As, अङ्ग्या काण 'blind of one eye' पाद्वन खज 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्ड &c The word anga in this sūtra applies to the whole body. Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here. Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षिकाणमस्य "His eye is blind"

५६६ । इत्थभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

काचित्प्रकार प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापस । जटाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वाविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566 Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation

जटाभिस्तापस 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair'

Note —अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'you honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu. But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिना 'a student has kamandalu in his hand' Because he is in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark

Why do we say ittha bhūta? Observe वृक्ष प्रति विद्योतन ।

५६७ । सज्ञान्यतरस्या कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

सपूर्वस्य जानाने कमणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितर वा सजानीते ॥

567 After the verb sam-jũñ, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object

पित्रा or पितर सजानीते 'he knows his father'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वय तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादिराधारण निर्व्यापारसाधारण च हेतुत्वम् । कारणत्वं तु क्रियाभावविषयव्यपारिणयत च । इण्डेन घट । पुण्येन दृष्टा हरि । फलमपीह हेतु । अध्ययेन वसति । गम्यमानापि क्रिया कारकविभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । अल श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्य नास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रिया प्रति श्रमे कारणम् । शतेन शतेन वत्सान्पाययति पय । शतेन पारच्छिद्यत्यर्थः ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे वाण प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ सस्या सयच्छते काष्ठक । धनं तु भागार्थे सयच्छति ॥

568 When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix

विद्यया यज्ञ 'by learning there is produced fame' धनन कुलम् 'by wealth, family,' कन्यया शोक 'by daughter there is grief'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I 4 55 S 2575) which is "agent" Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण) or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration

The difference between *hetu* and *Karana* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*, while *karana* is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily This is expressed by the following verse —

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतु कारक नियतक्रियम् ।

कर्माश्रिते तु व्यापार निमित्त हेतुरित्येते ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a *hetu*, we have दण्डेन घट = दण्डहेतुकाघट "A pot made by the stick" Here the stick is used to make the potter's wheel revolve But it is not absolutely necessary The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of *hetu* — As an example of *guna* *hetu*, we have पुण्येन शौरव्यः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners" Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the *hetu* of which is *punya*, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also In short, *hetu* is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality, and which is not immediately connected with any *verb* The *karana* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टा हरि "Hari is seen through virtue" Here *punya* means the highest merit (*apûrva*) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c So it is not a *karana*, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing

The FRUIT ALSO is *hetu* in the sense of this sûtra As आश्वयनन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction"

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to *kâraka* inflection As अल श्रमण "no necessity of exertion" Here *Sramena* is in Instrumental *kâraka*, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्य नास्ति ॥ Here श्रम or exertion is *karana* or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert" So also शस्त्रेण शस्त्रेण वस्त्रान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds

Vārt —The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्य सयच्छत काशुक "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her" यच्छ replaces दा by VII 3 78 S 2440. But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भाषाय सयच्छति 'He gives to his wife.' See I 3 55 S 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas

In the above vārtika the words दाण प्र ण 'when the verb दा is employed' are redundant. Because, by I 3 55 S 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain circumstances

THE DATIVE KARAKA

५६९ । कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

569 The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradāna or recipient

Note :—Though the word कर्मणा in the sūtra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not 'every object of any verb'. The object must be of the verb दा to give, and this we infer from the word सम्प्रदान which has the root दा in it

Note —As दाशब्दायाय ना ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher" नायवकाच भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give', the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix

५७० । चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विप्राय ना ददाति । भनभिहित इत्येव । दानायो विप्र ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपिसम्प्रदानम् * ॥ पत्य शते ॥

कर्मण करणसज्ञा सम्प्रदानस्य च कर्मसज्ञा * ॥ पशुना रुद्र यजते । पशु रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थ ॥

570 In denoting the sampradāna-kāraṇa (I 4 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun

As विप्राय गा ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also See II 3 1 S 536 Therefore we have the form शनीयाविप्र also, where the affix अनीयर् is used with the force of sampradāna

Vārt —The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient As पश्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband'

Vārt —After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karana) and the recipient (Sampradāna) is called object (karma)

Thus पशुना रुद्र यजते or पशु रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थाना प्रीयमाण । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थाना धातूना प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थ सप्रदान स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्ति । अन्य कर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचि । हरानिष्टप्रीतेर्भक्ति कची । प्रीयमाण किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्ष पथि ॥

571 In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradāna

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word रुचि or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ A desire or longing caused by something else, is called रुचि As हरये रोचते भक्ति 'devotion pleases Hari' Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोक्ष पथि 'Devadatta likes sweet meat in the way' The word 'pāthi' is here in the 7th case

५७२ ॥ श्लाघलुङ्स्थाशर्पां ह्रीष्यमान । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषा प्रयोगे बोधयितुमष्ट सप्रदान स्यात् । गोपी स्मरात्कृष्णाय श्लाघत हृते तिष्ठते चापते वा । ह्रीष्यमान किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघत पथि ॥

572 In the case of verbs ślāgh 'to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthā 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradāna

The word ह्रीष्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform As गोपीस्मराम् कृष्णाय श्लाघते "Gopi praises Krishna," &c while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise So also with other verbs As कृष्णाय हुते "she hides from the co wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it) कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna" कृष्णाय क्षपते 'she reviles Krishna'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय भ्रातृपति पथि Here pathi is in the Locative case

५७३ । धारेरुत्तमर्ण । १ । ४ । ३५ ॥

धारयते प्रयोगे उत्तमर्ण उत्तमज्ञ स्यात् । भक्ताय धारयति मोक्ष हरि । उत्तमर्ण किम् । दत्ताय दत्त धारयति मोक्षे ॥

573 In the case of the verb dhâi 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampriadâna

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and कृण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्ष हरि "Hari owes salvation to His devotee"

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय दत्तधारयति पथि 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village' Here village is in the Locative case

५७४ । स्पृहेरीप्सित । १ । ४ । ३६ ॥

स्पृहयते प्रयोगे इष्ट सम्प्रदान स्यात् । पुष्पेभ्य स्पृहयति । इप्सित किम् पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति । इप्सितमात्रे इय सज्ञा । प्रकर्षविवक्षाया तु परस्वात्मनसज्ञा । पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

574 In the case of the verb sprih 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampriadâna

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churâdi class The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case As पुष्पेभ्य स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers'

Why do we say 'the thing desired' Observe पुष्पेभ्य वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampriadâna being confined to the object desired only

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sūtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति ॥

५७५ । कुत्रद्दुर्ह्यस्यार्थानां य प्रति क्रोप । १ । ४ । ३७ ॥

कुत्रार्थानां प्रयोगे य प्रति क्रोप स उत्तमज्ञ स्यात् । हस्ये कुप्यति । द्रुह्यति । ईर्ष्यति भास्यति । यं प्रति क्रोप किम् । भार्यानीर्ष्यति मैनामन्योऽप्राक्षीदिति । क्रोधामय । द्रोहोऽपकार । ईर्ष्याऽक्षया ।

असूया गुणेषु दायाविकरणम् । क्रुद्धादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विरोधया सामान्येन च प्रति कोप इति ॥

575 In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *diuh* 'to injure,' *irshya* 'to envy,' *asûyâ* 'to detect,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c, is directed is called *Sampriadâna*

As *हरये कृष्यति ब्रूयति, ईष्येति* or *असूयति* "he is angry upon, (*i e* with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with *Hari*" Here *Hari* is in the Dative case

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *irshya* jealousy, and *asûya* means to find out the faults of another The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative Thus *भार्यामिष्यति* 'he is jealous of his wife,' *s e*, does not wish her to be seen by others Here the word '*bhâryâ*' is in the accusative case The words *क्रुद्ध* &c, here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "च प्रति कोप" in the *sûtra*.

५७६ । क्रुद्धक्रुद्धोरुपसृष्टयो कर्मे । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

लोपसर्गयोरनयोर्ये प्रति कोपस्तत्कारक कर्मसज्ञ स्यात् । क्रूरमभिकृष्यति अभिब्रूयति ॥

576 But in the case of the verbs '*krudh*' and '*diuh*,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c, is directed is called *karma kâraka* or object

क्रूरमभिकृष्यति अभिब्रूयति When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism As *इवदत्ताय कृष्यति*

Note —This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative The word *upasnishta* means having an *upasarga* or preposition

५७७ । राघीक्षयोर्यस्य विप्रश्न । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयो कारक सप्रदान स्यात् । यदीयो विविध प्रश्न क्रियते । कृष्याय राध्यति ईक्षते वा । पृष्टो गर्ग शुभाशुभ पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थ

577 In the case of the verbs *îksh*, 'to propitiate,' and *îksh* 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradâna

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions, and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus कृष्णाय राध्याति ईक्षत गर्ग 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishna' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishna, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishna

Note —Another explanation of this sutra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्याति or ईक्षत वा युद्ध meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्ग्या भुव पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्या परस्य भूयोतर्थेण पूर्वस्य प्रवतनरूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता सप्रदान स्यात् । विप्राय गा प्रति भूयोति आभूयोति वा । विप्रेय मय देहीत प्रवर्तित प्रतिजानात इत्यर्थ ॥

578 In the case of the verb Śiu preceded by the prepositions prati and ân, and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradâna

As विप्राय गा प्रतिष्ठाति—आभूयोति "he promises a cow to a learned man"

Note —The compound verb प्रानश्च and आभश्च means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case

५७९ । अनुप्रतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्या गृणति कारक पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतमुक्तसज्ञ स्यात् । हावऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति । होता प्रथम शसति तन्मन्त्र्यु, प्रार्त्ताह्वयतीत्यर्थ ॥

579 In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna

The phrase pûvasya kartâ of the list is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे ऽनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति They encourage the Hotri : e, the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him

Note —The words अनुगर and प्रतिगर mean encouraging the invoker

५८० । परिक्रयणे सप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकाल भृत्या स्वीकरण परिक्रयण तस्मिन् साधकतम कारक सप्रदानसज्ञ वा स्यात् । शतेन दाताय वा परिकीत ॥ तादर्थ्य चतुर्थी वाच्या * ॥ हुक्तये हरि भजति ॥ कल्पि सपद्यमाने च * ॥ भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते सपद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उपातेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ दाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ हितयोगे च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580 In the case of huing on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb paṅkī, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Saṃpradāna

As दाताय परिकीत or शतेन परिकीत ॥

Note —This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time

Vart —The fourth case affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof', as हुक्तये हरि भजति 'he worships Hari for the purpose of getting emancipation'

Vart —The verb कल्प and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for result in, bring about, accomplish, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते सपद्यते जायते &c, 'devotion tends to produce knowledge'

Vart —The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as दाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ 'The reddish lightening portends wind'

Vart —The fourth case affix should be employed in connection with the word हित as ब्राह्मणायहित 'good for the Brahmanas'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिन । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

। क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपद यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुष्टुन कर्मणि चतुर्थी स्यात् । फलेभ्यो याति । फला-याहर्तु धार्तात्यर्थ । नमस्कुमा नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहपदुकूलयत्नमित्यर्थ । एव स्वयमुवे नमस्कृत्यत्याश्रयि ॥

581 The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karṇa) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthāni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there with another ver denoting action performed for the sake of the future action (kriyārthe III 3 10 S 3175)

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III 3 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case

Thus फलभ्यो याति = फलान्याहर्तुं याति 'he goes for fruits : e to bring fruits' This debars accusative case So also we have नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him" So also in स्वयम्भुव नमस्कृत्य &c

५८२ । तुमथाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनाच्चति सूत्रेण या विहितस्तदन्ताच्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टु यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582 The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III 3 11 S 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose)

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टु याति ॥

Note —The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नम स्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलवपङ्कयोगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । हरये नमः ॥ * उपपदविभक्ते कारकविभक्त्यर्थोऽयम् ॥ नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्नये स्वाहा । पिताभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याय्यवचनम् । तेन द्रव्येभ्यो ह्यारले प्रभु समर्थ शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभवाभ्यो यद्यपि साधु । तन्म प्रभवानि स एवा माननीयानि निर्देशान् । तेन प्रभुबुभूषुषुवनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषट्पिण्डाय । चकार पुनर्विधानर्थः । तेनाशीविषज्ञाया परामपि चतुर्थी चाशिषीति षष्ठी बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्येव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583 The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with words namah 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashat a term of oblation

As हरये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान् the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhâshâ'

Paribhâshâ—"A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, possesses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring the

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter "

Note —Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II 3 2 S 537' because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्कृति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नम ॥ उपपदविभक्तिः कारक विभक्तिर्बलीयसी The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is "that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence" Such as the dative case in हरये used in connection with नम ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नम ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger than Upapad-vibhakti

स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य, स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्य, अल मल्लो मल्लाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'svâhâ to Agni', 'svâdhâ to the Pitris', 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c, The word अल, includes its synonyms also, as प्रभु, शक्त &c, as इत्येभ्यो हरिरल, प्रभु, समर्थ, शक्त &c

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with प्रभु &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V 1 101 S 1765) स एषा मामणी (V 2 78 S 1878) Therefore this is valid —प्रभुबुधुमुवनत्रयस्य ॥ So also वषट्ङिन्द्राय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II 3 73 S 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively, as, स्वस्तिगाभ्या भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिष्वे मन्यते कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्वात्तिरस्कारे । न त्वा तुण मन्ये तुणाय वा । इयना निर्देशात्तानादिक्रयोगे न । न त्वा तुण मन्ये । अप्राणिष्वित्यपनीय नौकाकान्शुक्रभृगालवर्ज्येति वाच्यम् ॥ तेन न त्वा नावमन्त्र वा मन्ये इत्यप्राणित्वेऽपि चतुर्थी न । न त्वा तुणे मन्ये इत्यप्राणिष्वेऽपि भवत्येव ॥

584 In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown

Ex न त्वा तुण तुणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw' The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्य So also the sūtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana इवच्, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्, for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वा तुण मन्ये ॥

The words "which is not an animal" in the sūtra are useless

and should be removed. Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative —as न त्वा शुने मन्ये "I do not regard thee even as a dog" See the Vārtika given below

Vart —Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sūtra, the word अनावानिषु should be used. The following words belong to Nāvādī class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये never in the Dative —नौ 'ship,' काक 'crow,' भन्न 'food,' शुक्र 'parrot,' and भृगाल 'jackal'

Hence नाव and भन्न although inanimate are not put in the dative in नत्वा नावमन्नं मन्ये, नत्वा शुने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थी चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वनिश्चे गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तत्रेष्टायाय । ग्राम ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टाया किम् । मनसा हरिं व्रजति । अनध्वनीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्वाधिष्ठतेऽध्वन्येवाय निषेधः । बह्वृत्पन्थात्पन्था एवाक्रमितुमिष्यते तत्र चतुर्थी भवत्येव । उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585 In the case of roots implying motion the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case, in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, ग्राम or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way')

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road, so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

THE ABLATIVE KĀRAKA

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपायो विश्लेषस्तस्मिन्साध्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586 A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apādāna or ablation

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामाद्याति । धावतोऽश्वात्पतति । कारक किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादा
र्थानामुपसख्यानम् ॥ पापाञ्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्याति ॥

587 When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed

As, ग्रामाद्याति 'he comes from the village', धावताऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sūtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vartika —The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation Thus पापाञ्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin' धर्मात्प्रमाद्याति 'he deviates from the path of Virtue'

५८८ । भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतु । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां त्राणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपादानं स्यात् । चोराद् विभेति । चोरात् जायते । भयहेतु किम् । अरण्ये विभेति जायते वा ॥

588 In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case Thus चोरात् विभेति "he is afraid of the thief" चोरात् जायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief"

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये विभेति or जायते "he fears or protects in the forest"

५८९ । पराजेरसोढ । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजे प्रयोगेऽमहाऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । अध्ययनात्पराजयते । ग्लायतीत्यर्थः । असोढ किम् । शत्रून्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589 In the case of the verb parâjī, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition parâ has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable As अभ्ययनात् पराजयते 'he finds study unbearable'

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies"

५६० । वारणार्थानामीप्सित । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविधायो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गा वारयति । ईप्सितं किम् । यवेभ्यो गा वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590 In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apādāna

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vāraṇa or prevention As यवेभ्यो गा वारयति or निवतयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley"

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गा वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field"

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधानं सति यत्कर्तव्यस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति तदपादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निनीयते कृष्ण । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरान् दिदृक्षते । इच्छतिग्रहणं किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तो निनीयते ॥

591 When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna

Thus मातुर्निनीयते कृष्ण "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother, so that the mother may not find him out or see him"

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves" Here the term chaurān is in the accusative case

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen As देवदत्ताद्यज्ञदत्तो निनीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्सप्तः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । नटश्च गायामृणोति ॥

592 The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching

Note —The word आख्यातृ means “teacher,” and उपये न means acquiring knowledge in the regular way

Thus उपाध्यायादधीते “he learns from the preceptor”

Why do we say ‘when meaning to learn’? Observe नदस्य गायी शृणोत ‘he hears the song of the player,”

५९३।जनिकर्तु प्रकृति । १।४।३० ॥

जायमानस्य हेतुरपादान स्यात् । ब्रह्मण प्रजा प्रजायन्ते ॥

593 The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan “to be born,” is called Apâdâna

As ब्रह्मण प्रजा प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma’

Note —That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case

५९४।भुव प्रभव । १।४।३१ ॥

भवन भू । भूकर्तु प्रभवस्तथा । हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति । तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थ ॥

त्यक्तोपे कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादाम्प्रेक्षते । आसनात्प्रेक्षते । प्रासादमारुह्य आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराज्जिह्वेति । श्वशुर वीक्षयेत्यर्थः ।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्त्या निमित्तम् । कस्मात्स्व नद्या ॥

अतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्तादध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालात्सप्तमी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनाद्गमो योजनं योजने वा । कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मसि ॥

594 The source of the agent of the verb bhû, “to become,” is called Apâdâna

The phrase ‘of the agent’ (kartuh,) is understood here The word प्रभव means “the source or that from which anything arises” As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति “the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas”

The fifth case affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided, as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from a palace’

Part —And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते ‘he sees from the seat’ So also श्वशुराज् जिह्वेति = श्वशुर वीक्षति “He becomes shy at the sight of his father-in-law”

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kâraka inflection As कस्मात् स्व नद्याः ॥

Note —In questions, and answers, the fifth case affix is employed — कुतो नवान् ? पाटलीपुत्राद् ‘whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra.’

Vart —That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case —as, वनात् ग्रामो याजनं योजने वा “The village is one or two yojanas from the forest”

Vart —After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation. As कार्तिक्या अग्रहायणी मासे ‘Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika’ The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as माले ॥

Vart —In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative, as गवीधूमत् साकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यादिदितरर्ते दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाज्जाहियुक्त । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्थम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराहनात् । कृत कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टं शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन सम्पत्तिर्येककालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चेन्नात्पूर्वं फाल्गुन । अवश्यं वाच्ययोगे तु न । तस्य परमाशेडितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्व कायस्य । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वमपि पञ्चमत्वस्येति षष्ठी बाधितुं पृथक्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यन्वा ग्रामात् । आच्, दक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, दक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रं कार्तिक्या प्रवृत्ताति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रवृत्त्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवत्यप्रवृत्ति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरि । अपपरिवहिरिति समासविधानाज्जापकाद्वहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्वहि ॥

595 When a noun is joined with words meaning ‘other than’ or with ârât ‘near or remote’ or itara ‘different from’ or rite ‘without,’ or words indicative of the ‘directions’ (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu ‘to bend’ as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V 3 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed

The word अन्य in the sūtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i e all words meaning ‘other than’ इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sūtra. Its use in the sūtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच “low,” then the sūtra does not apply

As अन्यो, भिन्नो इतरो, कृष्णात् “different from Krishna,” अग्रहद् वनात् “remote from or near to the forest” (The word ârât meaning ‘near or remote’ would have taken the sixth case-affix by sūtra 611, but this enjoins 5th case affix) कृत कृष्णात् ‘excepting Krishna’ पूर्वो ग्रामात् ‘east of the village’ The word दिक् ‘direction’ includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else. Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैवात्

पूर्व फाल्गुन, "The month Phalguna is anterior to Chaitra" Here the direction denoting word पूर्व governs the Ablative But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sūtra तस्य पर आशङ्कितः VIII 1 2 S 83 Here पर does it not govern the ablative, and the sūtra is not तस्मात् पर &c Thus पूर्व कायस्य, here पूर्व does not govern the ablative

The words like प्राक् &c, formed from the verb अञ्च are also दिक्शब्द, their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case affix ordained by the sūtra 609 does not come after them उत्तरे ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूवा ग्रामात् वसन्त 'the spring is prior to summer' With अञ्चु we have प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आश्च we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with अहि we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village'

In commenting on the sūtra II 3 28 S 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्या प्रभृति, which shows that प्रभृति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case Here प्रभृति means आरभ्य ॥ Thus भवात् प्रभृति आरभ्या वा वेद्यो हरि "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards"

The word बहिष् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II 1 12 S 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिष् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case" This rule of samāsa implies that बहिष् governs fifth case as ग्रामाद् बहिष् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim ज्ञापकसिद्धिर्न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभोबहि and not करात् ॥

— o —

The three particles अप, पर and आङ् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachaniya. The next two sūtras describe when they are Karmapravachaniya

५९६ । अपपरी वर्जने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतो वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयो स्त ॥

596 The words apa and pari are karmapravachaniya, when meaning 'exclusion'

Note —The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of' As अपविर्गतेभ्यो वृष्टो देव "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigaita So also परि विगतभ्यो वृष्टा देव ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II 3 10) When not having these senses, they are not karmapravachaniya As नादा परिषिञ्चति ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly" Here it is an upasaṅga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into ष ॥

५९७ । आङ् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आङ् मर्यादायादुक्तसङ्ग स्यात् । वचनग्रहणादभिविधावाप ॥

597 The word ān "as far as", is kaima-piava chaniya when it expresses limit (e g when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant As आपादलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देव "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pātaliputra" आपादलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देव "it rained as far as (including) Pātaliputra," आङ्गुलम् अथ पाणिने ॥ आसक्ताद्व्यात्, आ मथुराया when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit inclusive (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sūtra would have been better if it had been the same as II 1 13 S 667 आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्यो ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभि । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एते कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरे परिहरे ससार । परित्र वजने । लक्षणाया तु हरिपरि । आमुक्ते ससार, । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598 The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the karmapravachaniya apa, ān or pari

अप or परि हरे ससार "The samsāra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I 4 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here वृक्ष परि विद्योतेते विद्युत् (I 4 90 S 552), or हरि परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c mentioned in I 4 90 S 552

So also आमुक्त ससार = मुक्ति मर्यादशुक्त "the samsāra has its sway up to mukti, but not with it or beyond it" आसकलाद् ब्रह्म "Brahma is in every thing" Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रति प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयो । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

एतयोरर्थया प्रतिरुक्तसङ्ग स्यात् ॥

599 The word prati is kaima-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for')

Note —That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अथ कर्मप्रवक्ष्यनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्न कृष्णाख्याति । तिलेभ्य प्रतिपद्यच्छति माषान् ॥

600 The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachanīya प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I 4 92)

As प्रद्युम्न कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna" तिलेभ्य प्रतिपद्यच्छति माषान् "he exchanges māsāḥ for the sesamum"

६०१ । अकर्तृयुगे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जित यदयं हेतुभूत नत पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शताह्वय । अकर्तरि किय् । शतेन बन्धित ॥

601 A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartṛi or agent, takes the fifth case-affix

As शताह्वय 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धित, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison', here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषाशुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

शुणे हेतावच्छीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याज्जाड्येन वा बद्ध । शुणे किय् । धनेन कुलम् लक्षित्वा किय् । बुद्ध्या मुक्त । विभाषेति जोगविभाषाशुणे स्त्रिया च कियत् । भूमावसिनाम् । नास्ति चोदोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602 The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्ध 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute?' Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender?' Observe बुद्ध्या मुक्त 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill'

This sūtra may be divided into two distinct sūtras, e g विभाषा and शुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules —

1 The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing whether material or attributive, whether feminine or masculine This rule is of limited scope

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative As
 धूमावग्निमात् "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery"
 नास्ति घटः कालाब्धे "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived"

2 The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्या ग्रहणं सङ्गच्छयार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् राम वा । एव विना नाना ॥

603 When joined with the words *prithak* 'without,' *vinâ* 'without' and *nânâ* 'without' the third case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second)

As रामाद्गामेण राम वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Râma'

Note —This sūtra may be divided into two parts —(1) पृथग् विना नानाभि (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read *dvitiya* into the aphorism.

विना वात् विना वर्षे विद्युत्प्रपतन विना ।

विना हस्ति कृतान्धोषात् केनेनो पालितौ हुनौ ॥

The word *anyatasyām* in the sūtra is for the sake of "collecting"— i.e. it includes the *dvitiya* as well as *pañchamī vibhaktis* In the *Ashtādhyāyī*, the arrangement of the sūtras are 1 अपादान पञ्चमी, 2 अन्यादादितरत् &c 3-तत्तथ &c 4 एवपा द्वितीया, 5 पृथग् विना &c

Now in case the third case affix is not employed, then the second case affix *alone* would be employed, because *dvitiya* is used immediately in the preceding sūtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come But fifth is necessary (not optional), and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible Hence we say that the word *anyatarasyāma* of the sūtra must mean "aggregation or collection" Thus by frog leap we draw in the *anuvṛtti* of *pañchamī* from sūtra II 3 28, S 587 while we draw in *dvitiya* from the sūtra immediately preceding the present नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the *Amarakosha* दिहद् नाना च वर्जने (*avyaya varga* verse 3) as in नाना नारी निष्कला लोकयाया ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only Therefore not here दिहण देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽद्वयवचनेभ्य करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्त । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा युक्त । द्वये तु स्तोकेन विषेय इत ॥

604 When expressing an instrument-kāraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kṛichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i.e. they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives)

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा युक्त and अल्पान्युक्त or अल्पेनयुक्त &c, 'he got off easily &c" But स्तोकेन विषेय इत, अल्पेन मधुना मत्त &c 'killed by a little poison' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याद्याल्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे विधिरयम् । मानस्य दूर दूरात् दूरेण वा । भन्तिकम् भन्तिकात् भन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूर पन्था ॥

605 After the words having the sense of dūra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third

As दूर दूराद् दूरेण वा मानस्य and भन्तिकात्, भन्तिकेन or भन्तिक मानस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prātipadika singification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvṛitti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also Therefore the proper case affix is employed here as दूर पन्था ॥

THE GENITIVE

६०६ । षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्त स्वस्वामिभावादिसन्ध शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञ पुरुष । कर्माक्षिनामपि सन्धमात्रविवक्षाया षष्ठेऽपि । सता गतम् । सर्पिषो जानीते । मात स्मरति । एधो दक्षयोपस्कुरुते । भजे शोभोत्तरणयो । फलानां तृप्त ॥

606 The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c

different from that of a word related to a verb (kāraka), and from that of a Nominal stem (Pratipadika)

As, राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man' पशुः पादः 'beasts foot' पितुः पुत्रः 'father's son'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kārakas like karma (Accusative) &c is intended to be expressed As सत्तं गतम् = सत्पुरुषः सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good i.e. the going relating to the good" So also सर्पिषा जानीते "He knows about ghee" i.e. every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental = सर्पिः सम्बन्धिं प्रवर्तनम् ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पिः सम्बन्धिं ज्ञानम् ॥

So also मातुः स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother" एधादकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614) "Fuel does good to water i.e. purifies it Or heats it" The word edhodaka is either a samāhāra compound of एधाश्च उक्कच or एधासिच दक्कच ॥ The word दक्क is an abbreviated form of उदक्क ॥

So also भजे शम्भोश्चरणयोः 'I worship the feet of Shambhu and फलानां हृष्टः "satisfied with fruits"

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ व्योत्येषष्ठी स्यात् । अत्रत्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607 The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word

As अत्रत्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food' this ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case

६०८ । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ व्योत्ये तृतीया स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेता ॥

निमित्तपयाध्यायान्ते सर्वासा प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ निमित्तं वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कस्य निमित्ताद्यस्यादि । एव किं कारणं को हेतुः । क प्रयाजनमित्यादि । प्रायग्रहणावसवनास प्रथमाद्वितीये न स्तः । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हेति सेव्यः । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608 After a saivanāman (I 1 27 S 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed as well as the third

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' कस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Var —When the words निमित्ते or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed, as किं निमित्त or केन निमित्त or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kârana and hetu किं कारण का हेतु किं प्रयोजन &c Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word form hetu (I 1 68 S 25) but its synonyms also, as किं प्रयोजन or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c, वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second case-affixes do not come after non sarvanama words As, ज्ञानेन; निमित्तेन हरि सेव्य or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c

✓ ६०६ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । दिक्शब्देति पञ्चम्या अपवाद । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणत पुर पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् ॥

609 The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V 3 28 S 1978)

The affix अतस्तुच् is ordained by V 3 28 S 1978

It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V 3 27 S 1974

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणत उत्तरत पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्ठात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village'

✓ ६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनबन्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एनपेति योगविभागात्षष्ठ्यपि । दक्षिणेन ग्राम ग्रामस्य वा । एवमुत्तरेण ॥

610 With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V 3 35 S 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth

As दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhâ, we get the sixth case affix also

✓ ६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थे षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतेद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात्पञ्चमी च । दूर निकट ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611 When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dûra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वन दूर बिप्रकृष्ट, भान्तिक, अभ्यास, निकट समीप वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village'

✓ ६१२ । ज्ञोऽविदर्धस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

जानातिरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612 Of the verb ज्ञा jñā, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix

As सर्पिषोज्ञानम् ॥

Note —The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in,' or it may denote 'false knowledge', as, सर्पिषि रक्तमतिहतो वा ॥ Compare I 3 54

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्र जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice

✓ ६१३ । अधीगर्थदयेशाकर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषा कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातु स्मरणम् । सर्पिषो दयनम् । ईशान वा ॥

613 Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of īśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix

As मातु स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother' सर्पिषो दय न ॥ ईशान वा he gives clarified butter,' नाय गात्राणामीदे he can not rule his limbs.

Note —But not so here मातुरुणे स्मरति because युञ्ज here is not the object The word शेष is also understood here So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case So that मातर स्मरति is also allowed

✓ ६१४ । कृञ् प्रतियङ्गे । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृञ् कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्याद्युगाधाने एधो दकस्योपस्करणम् ॥

614 The object of the verb कृ takes the sixth case affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I 3 32)

As एधोदकस्योपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice) (By VI 1 139, S 2552 स is inserted)

Note —When प्रतियङ्ग is not meant, the second case affix is employed as कद करोति ॥

The word शेष is also understood here So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामञ्जरे । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकतृकाणां ज्वरिर्वजितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरितानां व्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वर । चौरसत्तापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसबन्धिं ज्वरादि कर्मित्यर्थः ॥

615 The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb jvalaya 'to be feverish' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i e., when the subject is an Abstract noun)

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यामयति भानय ॥

Vartika —It should be rather stated "with the exception of ज्वरस्य ०१ सत्तापस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कुलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks' So also not here चौर ज्वरयति ज्वर 'the fever burns the thief' So also when the verb सत्ताप is used, चौर सत्तापयति सत्ताप ॥

The word सप is also understood here Thus चौर रुजात् रोग ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथ । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथत्वे शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सपिषी नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । नाथवकनाथनम् । तत्सबन्धिनी यावन्नेत्यर्थः ॥

616 Of the verb nāth when meaning 'to bless', the object takes the sixth case-affix

As सपिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe नाथवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case

✓ ६१७ । जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्योज्जासनम् । निग्रौ सहतौ विपर्यस्तौ व्यस्तौ वा । चौरस्य निप्रहणनम् प्राणिहननम् । निहननम् प्रहणनं वा । नट असस्वन्दने चुरादि । चौरस्योज्जासनम् चौरस्य क्राथनम् । वृषलस्य पेषणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानापेषणम् ॥

617 The object of the verbs jāsi 'to strike' 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि 'and' प्र jointly, severally or in any order, nāt to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'piśh,' when they mean, 'to injure,' takes the sixth case-affix

चौरस्याज्जातनम्, निप्रहणन, निहनन, प्रहणन, प्रणिहणन, उनाटयति, काययति, विनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief'

The root नद् belonging to the Churādi class No 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvādi हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order. The root कृय takes in the causative vriddhi irregularly. This verb is Bhvādi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭādi, and is called there a निन् verb, all निन् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix शिप् (IV 4 92). Thus क्राय is an irregularity.

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानोपपणम् 'the pounding of the barley'

Note —The word शेष is also understood here as चौरद्वज्जातयति. Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौर हिनस्ति चौर विहन्ति ॥

६१८। व्यवहृणो समर्थयो । २। ३। ५७ ॥

येषे कर्माणि पट्टी स्यात् । श्रुते क्रयविक्रयव्यवहार धानयोस्तुल्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहारं पणनं वा समर्थयोः किम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618 The object of the verbs vyavahri and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambhug,' takes the sixth case-affix

As शतस्य व्यवहारं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb पाय take the affix आच् ? It takes आच् when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c. Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं praising the Brāhmaṇa. The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते he stakes a hundred

६१९। दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २। ३। ५८ ॥

श्रुतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिव कर्माणि पट्टी स्यात् । शतस्य शिष्यति । शतस्य किम् । ब्राह्मण शिष्यति । स्तौतात्यर्थः ॥

619 The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking' takes the sixth case-affix.

As शतस्य शिष्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मण शिष्यति 'he praises the Brāhmaṇa,

(kāla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kṛtvasuch (V 4 17) 'so many times'

As पञ्चकृत्वाऽहोभोजनम् 'eating five times a day' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative' As द्विरहोभोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वस्तु' ? Observe आहो शेते 'he sleeps in the day'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहानि युक्तम् Nor when the time is not meant, as द्वि काल्यापात्र्या युक्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels' So also when location is not meant as द्विरहो युक्ते

Why is शेव understood here ? Observe द्विरहोभोजनम्

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृत्योमे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृति । जगत कर्ता कृष्ण ॥ युयुकर्म्मणि वेत्यते
* ॥ नेताऽश्वस्य सुन्नस्य सुन्न वा । कृति किम् । तद्विजे मा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कट् ॥

623 The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛt affix (III 1 93), the anuvṛtti of शेवे ceases

As कृष्णस्य कृति "the doing of Krishna"

जगत कर्ताकृष्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world,"

But not in शस्त्रेणनेत्ता 'cutting with weapon' Where it is neither agent nor object

Ishti —According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अश्वस्य सुन्नस्य सुन्नवा ।

Why do we say 'kṛt' ? Not so when a Taddhita affix is employed as कृतपूर्वीकट् In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective

Note —Why do we say कृत् ? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with kṛt, while in connection with a conjugated verb (विङ्) the sixth case is debarred by II 3 69 S 627 Observe कृतपूर्वी कट् ।

Here the object कृत् is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita

६२४ । उभयप्राप्तौ कर्माणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभया प्राप्तौयस्मिन्कृति तच्च कर्मण्येव पठी स्यात् । आश्वर्यो गवां रोहोऽगापेन ॥
स्त्रीप्रत्यययोरकारयोर्नाथ नियम ॥

भदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगत ॥ रोषे विभाषा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विभिन्ना जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा । केचिद्विशेषेण विभाषामिच्छन्ति । राक्षसानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624 When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent)

Note —“ When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental As आश्वर्यो गवां रोहोऽगापालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd ” (Keil horn)

आश्वर्यो गवांरोहोऽगापेन ' the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder '

Vart —‘ When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sūtra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in अक or झ (III 3 111 and III 3 102 भदिका विभिस्ता वा रुद्रस्य जगत “ The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra ” Here in भदिका we have अक, and in विभिस्ता we have झ

Vārtika —There is option in the remaining affixes According to some when affixes are feminine other than अक or झ as, विभिन्ना जगत कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा ‘ the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful ’ Some hold the option of this vārtika as unrestricted by any such condition , as राक्षसानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा “ the dissertation on words by the āchārya ” Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine

✓ ६२५ । एतस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य कृत्स्य कोणे पठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्याऽपवादः । एतान् नतो बुद्धि पूर्वजितौ

625 The past participle ending in क when used in the sense of the present tense, (III 2 187 and 188) is used with the genitive

This sūtra debars sūtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishthā affixes This is an exception to that sūtra

As राज्ञा पूजित 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञानतो ब्रूजोवा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

कस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेवानासित शयित गत भुक्त वा ॥

626 The past participle in क is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III 4 76)

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthā contained in II 3 69 S 627 As इदमेवानासितम् 'this is their seat' इदमेवा शयितगत भुक्तम् 'this is their sleeping'

६२७ । न लोकादय्यनिष्ठाखलर्थतृणाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषा प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लोकेषा । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरि । उ । हरिं दिदृक्षु । भक्तकरि-
ण्युवा । उक । दैत्यान् घातुको हरि ॥ कमरानिषेध * ॥ लक्ष्म्या कायुको हरि । अव्ययम् । जगत् सृष्ट्वा ।
सुख कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना हता दैत्या । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णु । खलर्था । ईषत्कर प्रपञ्चो हरिणा ।
तृणिति प्रत्याहार शत्रुघ्नान्वाविति नृगव्यावारभ्यातृनो नकारात् । घानन् । सोम पवमान । घानन् । भा-
स्वान मण्डयमान । घातृ । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लाकान् ॥ द्विष घातुर्वा* ॥ घुरस्य घुर वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽ-
यं कारकपञ्चया प्रतिषेध ॥ षष्ठे षष्ठी तु स्यादेव । ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णु ॥

627 The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क and कवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object This sūtra debars Genitive which would have come by II 3 65 The word लोक is formed by ल + उ + उक = ल + ऊक = लाक

1 The word ल means the substitutes of लः, the Present Participles in क्त, घानन् (III 2 124 S 3100), कानच् (III 2 106 S 3094) कृत् (III 2 107

S 3095) कि and किम् (III 2 172 S 3151) Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टि हरि ॥
भोजन पचन् पचमान, वेचान् or वेचिवाद्, अपि सोमन्, हरिर्गा ॥

2 The affix इ is enjoined by III 2 168 S 3148, as, हरिं विदुः "desirous of seeing Hari" The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुश्च (III 2 136) is the governing term, as, कन्धामलकरिष्णु ॥

3 The affix षक् is ordained by (III 2 154 S 3134 as वेद्यान् यादुको हरि ॥

Vart —But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कादुक् in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्या कादुको हरि ।

4 Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, जगत् सृष्ट्वा सुखं कर्तुम् ॥

Vart —This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by सोऽन् (III 4 16 S 3443) and कऽन् (III 4 17 S 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्वोदेतोराधेय, पुरा हूरस्व विष्णो विष्णिश्च (I 1 40)

5 Nishṭhā : e, क and क्त्वत्, as विष्णुना हता वेत्या । वेत्यान् हतवान् विष्णु ॥

6 The words formed by खलर्घ्य affixes (III 3 126 S 3305), as, ईषत्कणे प्रपञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता

7 The तुन् in the aphorism is a pratyāhāra, formed by taking the तु of दात् (III 2 124 S 3100) and the final न् of तन् (III 2 135 S 3115), meaning the affixes दानन् (III 2 128 S 3108) As सोम पचमान ॥ चान्वा (III 2 129 S 3109) आत्मानं नन्दयमान ॥ दात् (III 2 130 S 3110), मधीयन् and तन् (III. 2 135 S 3115) कर्ता लोकात् ॥

Vart —Optionally so, when the root ह्रिश् takes the affix दात्, as, दुर or दूरस्व ह्रिषत् ॥ The rule of this sūtra is a prohibition of kāraka Shashṭhi and not of Shesha Shashṭhi That sixth-case affix will be employed As आग्रजस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्थ जिष्णु ॥

६२८ । अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्षयोर्यो । २ । ३ । ७० ॥

भविष्यत्त्वकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्षार्थेनञ् भोगे षष्ठी न स्वन् । सत् पालकोऽवतपसी । ब्रज गामी । दात रायी ॥

628 The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इक् denoting 'futurity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ष्कुल, बुष्ट &c, denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness The affix इक् such as णिनि (III 3 3 and 170 S 3171, S 3311), denotes both Thus सत् पालकोऽवतपसी "He takes birth to protect the good" भोजन भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat rice' So also with इक्, as, ब्रज गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' दात रायी 'he owes hundred'

६२६ । कृत्यनां कर्तरि वा । २ । ३ । ७१ ॥

ह्री वा स्यात् । मया नम वा सेव्यो हरि । कर्तयति किम् । गेयो मानवक साम्नाम् । भव्यगेयेति कर्तरि बाह्यानाम्नामिहित कर्म । अत्र योगो विभज्यत ॥

629 The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kritya)

By II 3 65, S 623 primary nouns, (krī-*formed*), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object. The present sūtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles. Thus मया नम वा सेव्यो हरि

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed, the Genitive is compulsory. As गेयो मानवक साम्नाम् ॥

Here by III 4. 68 S 2894, the kritya word गेय can denote the agent also, and is not necessarily confined to the object, like other kritya formed words (III 4. 70 S 2833). Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि मानवकेन सामानि ॥

Var —The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कष्टव्या ग्राम साक्षा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या व्रज गाव कुप्येन

According to Patanjali the present sūtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhāga. As

६२६ क ॥ कृत्यानाम् ॥

अभयमासाविति नेति आहुवर्तते । तेन नेतव्या व्रज गाव कुप्येन । ततः

629 A When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object

Here the words ⁷अभयमासौ of II 3 66 S 624 and न of II. 3 69 S 627 must be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या व्रज गाव कुप्येन ॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word व्रज ॥

६२९ ख ॥ कर्तरि वा ॥

अन्तोऽय ॥

629 B When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the *kritya* affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent

As नेव माणवक साक्षात् ॥

Patanjali —Why have we used the word “kartarī” in the sūtra? So that the affix may not come in the object No, this cannot be the reason for the *kritya*-affixes are employed in denoting bhāva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartā (agent) (See III 4 70 S 2833) Thus being governed by the *kritya*, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case affix To this Kātyāyana gives the following answer —

Vārtika —The word ‘Kartarī’ is used in the sūtra, because the *kritya* words of the sūtra III 4 68 S 2894 (नृस, मध्य, गेय &c,) express agent also (are used in Active construction), and their object being not expressly taught, those *kritya* words do not govern any object directly As गेयो माणवक सखा ।

The object of the Passive Participles मध्य &c, not being taught, the “agent” of the *kritya* words is taken here

How do you say “the object of the Participles bhavya &c, is not taught by the *kritya* affixes,” for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? भाकदव्या यान साखा The verb कृष् governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word kartarī in the sūtra

If this be so, we shall divide the sūtra into two First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above

✓ ६३० । तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थयोगे तृतीया वा स्वात्मने पठ्यी । तुल्य सदस समो वा कृत्यस्य कृष्णेन वा । अतुलोपमाभ्यां किञ्च । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630 The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning ‘like to, or resemblance’, excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्यो सदस समो वा कृत्यस्य or कृष्णेन Why do we say “excepting तुला and उपमा,” Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note —Though the anuvritti of वा was understood in this sūtra from the previous sūtra, yet the repetition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra. The word च in II 3 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sūtra, but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sūtra, then the word च would have attracted the word वृत्तिरिति instead, which is not desired.

६३१ । चतुर्थी चाशिव्यायुष्यमद्रमद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितै । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थेयैगे चतुर्थी वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्य चिरजीवित कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयान् । एव मद्र मद्र कुशल निरामय सुख श्च अर्थे प्रयोजन हित पथ्य वा भूयान् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यान(स्त्वर्थार्थमहणम् । मद्रमद्रयोः पर्यायत्वादन्यतरो न पठनीय ॥

631 The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words āyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good'

The च in the sūtra makes the employment of Dative optional in the alternative we have Genitive

Note —In the sūtra आयुष्य &c, include their synonyms also

Thus आयुष्य चिरजीवित कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्र, मद्र, कुशल, निरामय, सुख, श्च, अर्थो, प्रयोजन, हित पथ्य कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयान् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्य देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta' Here there is no option allowed, and the Genitive case is only employed



६३२ । आधारोऽधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४५ ॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधार कारकमधिकरणसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

632 That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikarana or the Location

That in which the action is supported or located is called ādhāra. As कटे आस्ये 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्यात्स्या रचति 'he cooks in the pot' The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात् । चक्राद्गुणान्तिकार्येभ्य । औपश्लेषिको वैषयिकोऽभिव्यापकश्चेत्याधार
विधा । कटे आस्ते । स्यात्स्या पचति । मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति । सर्वस्मिन्नात्मास्ति । वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा ॥ दूरा-
न्तिकार्येभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽत्रविभक्तयः फलितः ॥

क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसङ्गमम् * ॥ अधीति व्याकरणे । अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्योति
कर्तरिणि ॥

✓साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च * ॥ साधु कृष्णो मातरि । असाधुर्मातुले ॥

✓निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे * ॥ निमित्तमिह फलम् । योगः सयोगसमवायात्मकः ॥

चर्मणि द्वीपिन इन्ति इन्त्योर्हन्ति कुञ्चरम् ।

केरोषु चमरी इदित् सीम्नि पुष्कलको इत ॥ १ ॥

हेतौ नृतीयाऽत्र प्राप्ता सन्निवारणार्थमिवम् । सीमाऽण्डकोषः । पुष्कलको गन्धद्वयः ।

योगविशेषे किम् । वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति ॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near'

The location is of three sorts —

- 1 Location of contact
- 2 Location of object
- 3 Location of pervasion

As कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्यात्स्या पचति 'he cooks in the pot' योक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति "He desires Liberation" सर्वस्मिन्नात्माऽस्ति अन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh See II 3 35 S 605

Vart — Words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object — as अधीति व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then is added इनि by See V 2 88 S 1888

Var — The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown, as साधु कृष्णो मातरि 'Kṛishna is well behaved towards his mother' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill behaved towards his uncle'

Vart — The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done The nimitta here means "fruit", yoga means samyoga and samavāya As in the above verse —

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chari cow for her hair, and the musk deer for its musk'

Here the third case affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu" The present vārtika prevents that The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle" The word पुष्कलक means musk deer According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीमि पुष्कलकोदरः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary"

Why do we say in this vārtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy"

✓ ६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तरं लक्ष्यते ततः सप्तमी स्यात् । गोषु दुग्धमानासु गतः ॥ अर्हाणां कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सखु तरखु असन्त आसन् । असखु तिष्ठखु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति । सखु तिष्ठखु असन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति । असखु तरखु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634 By the action (bhāva) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix

This is Locative Absolute गोषु दुग्धमानासु गत 'the cows being milked he went away' दुग्धात्वागत 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु द्रव्यमानेषु गत, द्रव्यत्वागत

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe बो जगाम स भुक्ते Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness बो भुक्ते स देवदत्त

Vārtika —In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted As सखु तरखु असन्त आसन् "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting" &c

✓ ६३५ । षष्ठी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनादराधिष्ठे भावसंज्ञायां षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तः । इति इतो वा प्राप्ताजीम् । इदन्त पुत्रादिकमना- इत्यस्यस्तवानित्यर्थः ॥

635 The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated

This is Genitive Absolute रुदन् रुदन्ति वा प्रात्राजीत् 'in spite of his weeping he went away' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c, रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनाहत्य सन्यस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a San yāsi,"

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतैः सप्तभिर्योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्त । षष्ठ्यामेव प्राप्ताया पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थं वचनम् । गवा गोषु वा स्वामी । गवा गोषु वा प्रसूत । गवा एवानुभवितुं जात इत्यर्थः ॥

636 The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svāmin 'master,' īśvar 'lord,' adhipati 'ruler,' dāyāda 'an hen,' sākshin 'witness,' pratibhū 'a surety' and prasūta 'be gotten'

Thus गवा गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows' So also गवा गोषु वा प्रसूत "born for the cows : & to help the cows"

Note —These words naturally would have governed the Genitive, the present sūtra ordains Locative as well

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्या योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्त्वात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारितः । आयुक्तः कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवाया किम् । आयुक्तो गोः शकटे । ईषद्युक्त इत्यर्थः ॥

637 In conjunction with the words āyukta 'engaged' and kuśala 'skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word

A. आयुक्तः कुशला वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा 'deeply absorbed in worship of Hari'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning 'deeply absorbed' the construction is different. Observe आयुक्तो गोः शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart' Here the seventh case affix only is employed

✓ ६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातिगुणक्रियासत्ताभिः समुदायदिकदशस्य वृथकरणं निर्धारणं यतस्तन् षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्त । गुणा

नृषु वा ब्राह्मण्य श्रेष्ठ । गवा गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा । गच्छता गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्र । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्र पटु ॥

638 The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class)

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II 2 10)

As नृषा नृषु वा ब्राह्मण्य श्रेष्ठ "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men"

As गवा गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा 'among cows the black one gives much milk' गच्छता गच्छन्तु वा धावन् शीघ्र "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest" छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्र पटु 'Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful"

६३० । पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागा विभक्तम् । निर्धारमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुरा पाटलिपुत्रकञ्च आढ्यतरा ॥

639 The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुरा पाटलिपुत्रकञ्च आढ्यतरा 'Mathuras are more rich than Pataliputra'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रते । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्या योने सप्तमी स्यादर्चाया न तु प्रते प्रयोगे । मातरि साधुनिपुणो वा । अर्चाया किम् । निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्य । इह तत्त्वकथने तात्पर्यम् । अप्रत्याक्षिभिरिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ साधुनिपुणो वा मातर मतिपर्यनु वा ॥

640 In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good, and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed, provided that the word prati is not used

Thus, मातरि साधु or निपुण 'good behaved towards his mother'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted? Observe, साधुर्भूस्वोराज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king' Here it is a bare statement of a fact

Ārtika —The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि अनु &c, as साधुनिपुणावा मातर प्रति पर्यनुवा ॥

✓ ६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्या तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्या बोने तृतीया स्याद्यास्तप्तर्मा । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिया हरौ वा ॥

641 In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sūtra

As प्रसित उत्सुको हरिणा हरौ वा

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्तज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमाना तृतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽधिकरणे । मूलेनावहयेर्द्वौ अवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले अवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये शनि ॥

642 When an affix denoting the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV 2 4), the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided

Thus 'मूलेनावहयेर्द्वौ अवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or अवणे

Note —पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमस्मीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV 2 4 and IV 2 5 So also मघाभि पल्लोदन मघास्तु पल्लोदनम् But not so here वैचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchāla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये शनि Here there is no elision

But why not in मघापुष्य, मघाकृत्तिका Because they do not denote location, which is understood It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case affix in the alternative

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्तिद्वयमध्ये यौ कालाध्यानौ ताभ्यामते स्त । अद्य भुक्त्वाऽयं ब्रह्मे ब्रह्माद्या भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृ-शक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं काल । इहस्थोऽयं क्रीडो क्रीडाद्या लक्ष्य विध्येत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं देश ॥ अधिक-शब्देन योगे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविध्येते । तदस्मिन्नाधिकामिति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूत्रनिर्देशात् । लोके लोका-द्वाधिका इति ॥

643 A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between to kâiakas)

Thus अद्य भुङ्क्ताय द्वे or द्वाद्वाभोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating So also इहस्योऽय कोशात् कोशेवा लक्ष विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one ko' Here ko or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location The rule I 3 10 does not apply here

Isht —According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and the seventh case affixes This is inferred from the Jñâpaka of sūtras V 2 45 S 1846, and II, 3 9 S 645 where Pāṇini uses the forms अस्मिन्नाधिक and अस्मादधिक ॥ Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरि ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

स्वस्वामिभावसंबन्धेऽधि कर्मप्रवचनीयसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

644 The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of 'lord' ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord")

Note —The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master The word adhi governs a Locative case Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed as अधि ब्रह्मदत्त पञ्चाला or अधि पञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्त Brahmadatta rules over Panchalas

६४५ । यस्मादधिक यस्य चेश्वरवचन तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्त सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपदार्थे हरेशुणा । परार्थादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वस्वामिभ्या पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिशुवि राम । अधिरामे भू । सप्तमी सौख्यैरिति समासपक्षे तु रामाधीना । अपदक्षेस्वादिना न ॥

645 Where a word is governed by a karmapravachaniya in the sense of 'more than' (I 4 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed

As उपपदार्थे हरेशुणा 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions'

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently As अधि भुवि राम or अधि रामेभू "Rāma is lord of the world" By II 1 40 S 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically क्) is added to the stem अधि by V 4 7 S 207

६४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अधि करोतौ प्राक्सज्ञो वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यद्वन्न मामाधकरिष्यति । विनियोज्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनियान्तराश्वरत्वं गम्यते । अगतिस्त्वान्तिङि आहान्तवतीति निघातो न ॥

946 The word *adhi* is optionally *karmaprayachaniya* when the verb *kṛi* follows

A५ यद्वन्न मामाधि करिष्यति Here *adhikarishyati* means "directs, controls &c' Here the word *अधि* may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by VIII 1 71 S 3978 otherwise not

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII

THE AVYAYĪ BHĀVA COMPOUNDS

SECTION I

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS

६४७। समर्थ पदविधिः । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसम्बन्धी यो विधि स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्यः ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixes out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are connected

Note —This is a paribhāṣhā or interpreting aphorism. Wherever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words. A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि ॥ The word विधि is formed by adding वि to the root धाञ्, that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows —(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words, (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes, (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (परोक्षवद्भावः) ॥

The word समर्थ means capable, and is of two sorts vyapekṣhā and ekarthī bhāva. When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called ekarthībhāva Sāmarthyam, while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense, is called vyapekṣha samarthyam —Thus राजपुरुष a single compound word is an example of the first, while राज्ञ पुरुष of the second. In this second case राज्ञ may be connected with other words also, as राज्ञ पुरुषाश्वाश्च “the king’s man and horse” But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज्ञ ॥

Thus it will be taught in sūtra 24 ‘a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words अश्रित, अतर्पित &c and forms tatpuruṣha compound,’ as, कष्ट अश्रित = कष्टाश्रित ‘who has had recourse to pain’ But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding, as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्ट, अितो विष्णुमित्रा गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house Here the words कष्ट and अित though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पश्य 'a complete word' in the sūtra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि : a rules relating to letters

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable Thus sūtra VI 1 77 declares 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyahara इक् there is one denoted by the pratyahara यण, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyāhara अच् immediately follows,' as, वधि + अक्षान = वध्यक्षान ॥ This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु वध्यक्षान स्व शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्र हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Deradatta Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI 1 76)

६४८ । प्राक्कडारात्समास । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कडारा कर्मधारय इत्यत प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648 From this point up to the aphorism kada-rākarmadhāīaye (II 2 38 S 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samāsa or compound

Thus it will be stated 'like indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto' Here the word समास must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense

✓ ६४९ । सह सुपा । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्त समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येष्टातिद्वयार्थास्काति-पयतिङन्तोत्तरपक्षेऽय समास । सच छन्दस्येव । पर्यभूषयत् । अनुव्यञ्जयत् ॥

649 The words 'saha supā' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aporisms

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sūtra 2, so that it consists of three words viz, सुप्, सह, सुपा ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aporisms, as the contingency of each sūtra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sūtras that follow

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sūtra would have stood thus सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb. The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sūtra into two separate and simple sūtras, namely —

649 A सह (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sūtra 2, समस्येत from sūtra 3, and समर्थेन from sūtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यचलन्, अनुग्राहयन् पर्यभूयन् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samāsa. This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature. The words being samāsa, the udātta accent is on the final

649 B सुपा (सह सुप् समस्येत) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word" The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds, as, पुनरुत्स्यूत वासा इव पुनर्निष्ठतो स्य. This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed. Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रानिपदिकयो । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरेवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वं चरति निर्वेशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपात पूर्व भूतो भूतपूर्व ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ० ॥ जीभूतस्येव ॥

650 'There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form

In the sūtra भूतपूर्वं चरत् (VI 3 53 S 1999), the word भूतपूर्वं is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member पूर्व भूत = भूतपूर्वं and not पूर्वभूत, though both nouns are in the nominative case, and there is no express sūtra of Pāṇini which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this. Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pāṇini is to the contrary

Vartika —There is no elision of the case affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like'

Thus जीमूतस्थेव ॥ This samāsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb. As पुत्रीयति (III 1 8, S 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own" A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude form (I 2 46 S 179), as कष्टभित्त 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुष 'king's man' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case affix is elided कष्टभित्तः = कष्टभित्त &c

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक' ? Because when it gets any other name such as भङ्ग &c, the case-affix is not elided. Thus वृक्ष, लक्ष ॥

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SECTION II

AVYĀYĪBHĀVA

६५१ । अव्ययीभावः । २ । १ । ५ ॥

भाषिकारोऽयम् ॥

651 From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayībhāva samāsa or adverbial compound

Note — This is also an adhikāra aphorism like the last

६५२ । अव्यय विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिवृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्प्राप्तप्रतिशब्दप्राप्तुर्भा-
वपश्चाद्यन्तानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसंपत्तिताकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति योगो विभज्यते । अव्यय समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः ॥

652 An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva,

The words *सुप्* and *सुवा* are understood in this sūtra. The words *वचन* should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases. The examples of this sūtra will be found under 658.

This sūtra should also be divided into two, namely, the word *अव्यय* should form a sūtra by itself.

652 A अव्यय ॥

In Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense.

Thus the two words *अप* and *दिशम्* may be compounded, when meaning *दिशयोर्मध्ये* ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind, the actual compound is shown in sūtra 657.

✓ ६५३ । प्रथमानिर्विष्ट समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशब्दे प्रथमानिर्विष्टव्युपसर्जनसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

653 In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

Note —This defines or rather describes the *Upasarjana*. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called *Upasarjanam*.

Thus sūtra II 1 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तमाप्तापन्ने) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word *द्वितीया* is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means, "An accusative (*द्वितीया*) is compounded with the words *श्रित*, *अश्रित*, *पतित*, *गत*, *अत्यस्त*, *माप्त* and *आपन्न* and forms *Tat-purusha*." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds the word having the accusative case will be called *Upasarjana*. Thus *कट्ट + श्रित = कट्टश्रित* ॥ Here the word *कट्ट* being *Upasarjana*, stands first in the compound, by Rule II 2 30 S 654 *व्युपसर्जनपूर्वम्*, (In a compound the *Upasarjana* should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental Dative Ablative, Genitive and Locative *Tat-purusha* the words standing in those cases will be *Upasarjana*. Thus *सकुलालण्ड*, *वृषदाह*, *वृकभक्षम्*, *राजपुरुष*, *नाशयौण्ड* ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called *प्रधान* or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जन पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जन प्राक्प्रयोज्यम् ॥

654 The upasajana (I 2 43 S 653) is to be placed first in a compound

Note —The word समासे is understood here The upasajana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samāsa, must stand first

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विभक्ते यन्नियतविभक्तिक तदुपसर्जनसज्ञ स्यात् ननु तस्य पूर्वनिपात ॥

655 A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound

Note —A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasajana, but does not necessarily stand first

That which has one fixed case termination is called *eka vibhakti*, i. e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samāsa i. e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix, apūrva-nipāte, such a word will be an upasajana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II 2 30 S 654) which requires an upasajana to stand first in a compound

Thus the prepositions नि &c, when meaning across &c, are compounded with another word in the ablative case Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated As निष्क्रान्त + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बि ॥ निष्क्रान्त + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिन्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्वाणसि ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasajana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज + कुमारी = राजकुमारी, राज + कुमारीन् = राजकुमार्य, राज + कुमार्यो = राजकुमार्यो ॥

Had it been an upasajana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I 2 48 S 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II 2 30 S 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनि ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तः स तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अव्ययीभावश्चेत्यव्ययत्वम् ॥

656 A short vowel is the substitute of that prātipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix, when regarded as upasarjana

The word upasarjana has been defined in sūtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगु 'possessed of a brindled cow' This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi or possessive compound. So also छत्रलगु 'a spotted cow'. Similarly in those prātipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus त्रि + कौशाम्बी = त्रिकौशाम्बि ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसि ॥

Other examples are — भति + खट्वा = भतिखट्वा 'without a bedstead' अतिनाल 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'

If such a word is not an upasarjana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter'. Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मी 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' ततिश्री ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावाद्तोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्या । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अव्ययीभावोऽपि नास्ति किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमी विना अनादेशः । द्वितीयोऽव्ययः त्वपदिशः द्वितीयोऽव्ययः त्वपदिशः द्वितीयोऽव्ययः त्वपदिशः ॥

657 There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayībhāva compound that ends in आ, अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sūtra 1. 4. 82 instead of luk elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ, as दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरदादि class, takes the samāsānta ङ् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिशम् is विदिक् which is, however, feminine It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ' ? Because after an Avyayibhāva compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अन् substitution, but there is total elision of the case affixes, as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case affix is not elided after Avyayibhāva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution, as उपकुम्भादानम् ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अवन्ताद्व्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमभावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशेन । अपदिशम् । अपदिशे । बहुलमहणात्सुमद्रहुलमसगङ्गमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमभावः ।

विभक्तित्वादिरेवमर्थः । विभक्त्ययादिषु वर्तमानमव्यय सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । विभक्तौ तावत् । हरी इत्यधिहरिः । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र द्योतकोऽधि । हरि ङि अधि इत्यलौकिक विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽव्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यास्तप्तमी ॥

658 The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhāva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम्, Ins अपदिशेन or अपदिशम्, Dat, Abl, and Gen अपदिशम्, Loc अपादशे or अपदिशम् ॥

Vārti —The अम् substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhāva compound denotes prosperity (II 1 6 S 652) or a compound of rivers (II 1 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II 1 19 S 673), as सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras', सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas', similarly हल्लनङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारङ्गाजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vārtika

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The meaning of sūtra II 1 6 S 652 is now being given "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhāva "

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case affix The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sūtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुवन्त can be compounded with a सुप्. Some explain अधिहरि as हरे अधिक्त्वम्.

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sūtra

६५६ । अव्ययीभावश्च । २ । ४ । १८

अथ नपुसक स्यात् ॥ इहो नपुसके प्रतिपदिकस्य ॥ गोपायतीति वा पातीति वा गोपा , तस्मिन्नित्यधिगोपम् । समीपे । कृष्णस्य समीपदुपकृष्णम् । समया मामम्, निरुपा लङ्गात् । आराहनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभावः । अभित परित अव्ययानिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात् । मन्त्राणा सङ्घट्टिः शुभद्रम् । यवनाना व्युद्धिर्द्वयवनम् । विगता कृद्धिर्द्वि । मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम् । हिमव्यात्यर्धोऽतिहिमम् । अत्यगो ध्वसः । निद्राऽसप्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम् । हरिश्चन्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि । विष्णो पश्चादनुविष्णु । पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नाथ समासः । तत पश्चात्तस्यते ध्वस्ते इति भाव्यप्रयोगात् । योग्यतावीप्सापक्षार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि यथार्था । अनुरूपम् । रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थः । अर्थमर्थे प्रति प्रत्यर्थम् । प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्साया कर्मप्रवचनयिसज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भे वाक्यमपि । शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य यथाशक्ति । हरे सादृश्य सहृदि । वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य स । ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणेत्यनुज्येष्ठम् । चक्रेण युगपदिति विभेदः ॥

659 An Avyayibhāva compound is also neuter gender

Thus, अधिहरि ॥

Note —But for this rule, an Avyayibhāva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound, or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already

A crude form is shortened by the rule S 318, therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि+गोपा=अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम् ॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (गुप् 'to protect,') or from पा to protect' with the noun गो, as गपाति=गोपा "protector of cows"

The word गोपा when derived from गुप् रङ्गणे is thus formed गुप्+आप् (III 1 28 S 2303)=गोपाय ॥ Now add to this root क्तिप् thus गोपाय+क्तिप्=गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI 4 43 S 2308 and the य् is elided by VI 1 66 S 873) गोपा "protector". The second गोपे (गपा पति) is an upapada compound

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c of S 652 —

(2) समीपवचन, as कृष्णस्य समीप=उपकृष्णम्, 'near to Krishna' But समवायमानम्, निकषा लङ्गात्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayibhāva Because the vārtika अभिन्न परित &c (S 544) the words समवा and निकषा gove Accusative case If there were compounding, there would have been a necessity of that vārtika Similarly by sūtra अव्यारात् &c S 595, आ governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding

3 समृद्धिवचन,—As सुमद्र 'well or prosperous with the Madras' सुमगध 'well with the Magadhas'

4 व्यृद्धिवचन,—As दुर्गवादिक् 'ill with the Gavadikas,' दुर्ववन 'ill with the Yavanas' The word vyridhi means विगता क्कृद्धि "want of prosperit adversity"

5 अभाववचन,—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies,' निर्मक्षकम् 'free from mosquitoes'

6 अत्ययवचन,—As 'निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure"

7 असम्प्रतिवचन,—As अतितैसूकम् 'past (not now) the time of weariness quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i e time to awake

8 वाङ्मयादुर्भाववचन,—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णव इतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari')

9 पश्चाद्वचन,—As विष्णो पश्चात्=अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu" The word पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded, as Patanjali uses it separately in सत् पश्चात् सत्यते see Mahābhāṣya on I 1 57 S 50 and II 2 24

10 यथार्थवचन,—The meaning of the word यथा is four fold, viz correspondence, 2 severalty or succession, 3 the not passing beyond something, 4 and likeness, thus (1) अनुकूपम् 'in a corresponding, becoming or suitable manner' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each several object of signification' The word प्रति is a karmapravachant also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compounding but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) यथाशक्ति according to one's ability' (4) सहृ 'like Hari.' Here सह is changed to स, See also example 13 further on.

11 आनुपूर्व्यवचन,—As अनुक्येण प्रविशन्तु भवन्त 'let your honors enter in the order of seniority'

12 यौगपद्यवचन,—As सचक्र धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्र is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stage applies the next sūtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् is changed to स ॥

६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य स स्वाव्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाङ्गम् । सहस्र सयथा ससालि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुन साहस्यग्रहणं गुणभूतेऽपि साहस्ये यथा स्वादित्यवमर्थम् । सचाणा सपत्ति सक्षत्रम् । ऋद्धेराधिक्यं ससृद्धिः । अनुकूप आत्मभाव सपत्तिरिति भेदः । वृणमन्त्रपरित्यज्य सतृणमन्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थः । नत्यत्र वृणमन्त्रे सात्यर्थम् । भन्ते । अग्निमन्त्रपर्यन्तमधीते साग्निः ॥

660 स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayībhāva, when the second member is not a word denoting time

Thus सचक्रधेहि, but सहपूर्वाङ्गम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II 1 5)

13 साहस्यवचन,—As ससालि 'like a friend' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहृदि, the repetition of साहस्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sādrishya is secondary even

14. सपत्तिवचन,—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought' The difference between ससृद्धि and सम्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self"

15 साकल्यवचन,—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' : i.e. the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमन्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything

16 भन्तवचन,—As साग्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (: i.e. the whole Veda)

६६१ । यथाऽसाहस्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असाहस्ये एव यथाशब्दः समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा शस्त्रिण्या इह । इरेवमानस्य यथाशब्दो धोतयति । तेन साहस्य इति वा यथाङ्गं इति वा प्राप्तं निविध्यते ॥

661 The indeclinable word yathā, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayībhāva Samāsa

Thus यथावृक्षम् ब्राह्मणानामानन्त्यस्य "invite every old Brāhmana.". So also यथाश्लाघकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated As यथाशस्त्रिण्या इह 'As is Harī

so is Hara ' Here यथा denotes comparison with Hari Thus the compounding under cl (10) when यथा means तादृश्य or under cl (14) having the same meaning is prohibited here by

✓ ६६२ । यावद्वधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

यावन्त श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽच्युतप्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम् ॥

662 The indeclinable word yāvat, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation As, यावद्वन्त्र ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brāhmanas only and not more as there are pots' : e, if there are five pots then invite five Brahmanas, if six pots, then invite six Brāmansa' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामा, "Bowing the head down so many times as there are the verses," : e saluting the God with every verse

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावदन्त तावद् भुक्तम् 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' : e I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिनामाप्रार्थे । २ । १ । ६ ॥

शाकस्य लेपा शाकमिति । नात्रार्थे किम् । वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् ॥

663 A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayibhāva

The word नात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little, 'a wee bit,' as, शाकमिति 'a little,' सुप्प्रति 'a little of soup'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of every tree' Here it is not compounded

Note —Though the word सुप् was, by anuvṛitti from sūtra II 1 2, S 3656 understood in this sūtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvṛitti of the word अन्वय which began with sūtra II 1 6 S 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sūtras

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I 2 43 S 653) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II 2 30 S 654)

६६४ । अक्षशलाकासंख्या परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

धृतव्यवहारे पराजये एनाय समास । भस्त्रेण विपरीत वृत्त अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664 The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' śalākā 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and sankhyā 'numeral' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound so formed is called Avyayibhāva

Note —This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling. Thus there is a game called panchukā, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces. When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downward, then the thrower wins the game. But when the fall is otherwise, he loses.

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling. Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of ivory pieces', so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over'.

६६५ । विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतस्मान्मर्थेनैव दाक्षीनाना नित्यसमासत्वम् । सुप्सुपोति तु न नित्यसमास । अभ्ययनित्याविसमास विधानाज्ज्ञापकात् ॥

665 The word vibhāṣhā or option governs all the succeeding sūtras

This is an adhikāra sūtra. All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional. The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded. But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this, for by the jñāpaka of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not *vibhāṣhā*. There is, however, an exception with regard to सुप्सुपा compounding. It is not *nitya*, because of the jñāpaka of the sūtra II 1 6 S 652, for सुपा would have covered the case of avyayas also, but the enunciation of a separate rule about avyayas, indicates that the previous rule सुप्सुपा is an *anitya* rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence. Compounds like सुमङ्ग, यथावृत्त, अक्षपरि &c mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis.

Note —The compounds taught previous to this sūtra, like the technical terms दि, घृ, न &c, would be necessarily *nitya* because no दा is read in those sūtras. But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present sūtra "option

ally" Q If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a *niṭya*, as that has also been taught anterior to this sūtra ? Ans Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II 1 6 S 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not *niṭya*, because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c

६६६ । अपपरिवहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु ससार । अपविष्णो । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666 The words *apa*, *pari*, *bahih* and indeclinables ending in *añchu* may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be *Avyayībhāva*

As अपविष्णु ससार or अप विष्णो ससार "The saṁsāra is outside or away from Vishnu" So also, परिविगर्तम् or परिविगर्तेभ्य 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्मानम् or बहिर्मानात् 'outside the village' प्राग् मानम् or प्राग् मानात् 'east of the village'

Words formed from the verb अङ् 'to go,' are उत्तरम् 'north' प्राग् 'east,' &c

From this sūtra we learn by inference (*jñāpaka*) that the word बहि also governs the ablative case (see II 3 29 S 595) But this is not universal, as we see in कस्मै करभोबहि, here 't governs the sixth case

६६७ । अङ्मर्यादाभिर्विभ्यो । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽन्यथीभाव । आशुक्ति ससार । आशुक्ते । आबालेभ्य ॥

667 The word अङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayībhāva*.

As, आपाटलिपुत्र or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देव 'it rained up to Pātaliṣputra' आकुमार or आकुमारभ्यो यथा पाणिने the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the boys' So also आशुक्ति ससार or आशुक्ते ससार, आबाल हरिभक्ति or आबालेभ्य ॥

६६८ । लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्यद्योतकाभिप्रती चिह्नवाचिना सह प्राग्वत् । अभ्यग्नि शलभा पतन्ति । अभिप्रति प्रत्याग्नि अभिप्रति ॥

668 The words *abhi* and *piati* when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction, and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhâva*

The word *lakshana* means a sign, goal See also I 4 84 and 90 S 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word As अग्निं or अग्निमानि शलाभा पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire' So also प्रत्याग्रे or आग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it

✓ ६६६ । अनुयत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

य पदार्थं समया द्योत्यते तेन लक्ष्यभूतेनाहु समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभाव । अनुवनमशनिर्गत । वनस्य समीप गत इत्यर्थ ॥

669 The word *anu* 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is *Avyayibhâva*

✓ As, अनुवनमशनिर्गत 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest'

Note —Though this compounding was valid even by sūtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also it is repeated here in order to show that an *Avyayibhâva* compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others

✓ ६७० । यस्य चायाम् । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य वैध्यमनुना द्योत्यते तेन लक्ष्यभूतेनाहु समस्यते । अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी । गङ्गाया अनु गङ्गावैध्यसदृशवैध्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थ ॥

670 The word *anu* 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called *Avyayibhâva*

✓ As, अनुगङ्ग वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुवदुन मथुरा Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो द्वास्त्रिंशाले स तिष्ठद्गुर्द्वेदनकाल । आयातीगवम् । इह शब्दा
वेद्य पुनर्ज्ञावविरह समासान्तश्च निपात्यते ॥

671 And the words *tisṭhādgu*, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c are *Avyayībhāva* compounds

The words *तिष्ठद्गु* &c are all irregularly formed *Avyayībhāva* compounds Most of these words are epithets of various times The force of च in the sūtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the *Avyayībhāva* compound and nothing else They are as follow —

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still, i. e. the milking time" वहद्गु, आयातागवम् In आयातीगवम् there is the absence of the Present Participial affix शतृ and in आयाति (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the samāsāntaaffix अ ॥ All these are irregularities खलेयवम् खलेबुसम् खलेबुसम्, लुनयवम्, लुयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, सहृतयवम्, सह्रियमाणयवम्, सहृतबुसम्, सह्रियमाणबुसम्, समभूनि समपदाति, सुषमम् विषमम्, दुष्पमम्, निष्पमम्, अपरसमम्, आयातीसमम्, प्राहणम्, प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रहक्षिणम्, अपरक्षिणम्, सप्रति, असप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इष्ट कर्मव्यतिहारे V 4 127 e g कचाकाच ॥

✓ ६७२ । पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एदन्तत्वं चानयोर्निपात्यते । पक्षे षष्ठ्यतिरुहः । पारेगङ्गादानय । गङ्गापारात् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गाया पारात् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672 The words *pâra* 'across,' and *madhya* 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms *pâre* and *madhye*, and the compound so formed is *Avyayībhāva*

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds The present sūtra ordains *Avyayībhāva* instead The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative As, *पारेगङ्गादानय* or *गङ्गापारात्* 'bring across the Ganges' *मध्येगङ्गात्* or *गङ्गामध्यात्* 'middle of the Ganges'

Of course according to the option allowed by sūtra II 1 11 S 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase, as *गङ्गाया पारात्* or *गङ्गाया मध्यात्*

✓ ६७३ । सख्यो वश्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वश्य । तद्वाचिना सह सख्या वा सामर्थ्ये । दो
शुनी वश्यो द्विभुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिभुनि । विद्यातद्वत्तामभेदविद्यया त्रिभुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति
भारद्वाजम् ॥

673 A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva

The word वश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge. A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वश 'family'. One born in or belonging to such a वश is called a वश्य or descendant.

As द्विभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyākaraṇa which has two sages as its principal expounders viz, Pāṇini and Patanjali'. So त्रिभुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives viz, Pāṇini, Patanjali and Sākatāyana or Kātyāyana'.

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case as द्विभुनि or त्रिभुनि व्याकरणम्.

So also when the relationship is by birth as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhāradwājas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu.

✓ ६७४ । नदीभिश्च । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभि सह सख्या प्राग्वत् ॥ समाहारे चायमिष्यते * ॥ सप्तगङ्गम् । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674 A numeral (sankhyā) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayībhāva denoting an aggregate.

Ishtu —According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार), as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुन 'at the meeting of the two Yamunās'. See II 4 1, 17.

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च सङ्गायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमान सुबन्त नदीभि सह नित्य समर्थते सङ्गायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकारेऽपि वाक्येन सङ्गानवगमादिह नित्यसमास ॥ अन्यसप्तगङ्ग नाम देश । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound and is an appellative, the compound so formed being an Avyayībhāva.

The anuvritti of the word sankhyā does not extend to this sūtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samāsa rule for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed. As, उन्मत्तगङ्गा 'the country called Unmatta Gangam' So also लोहितगङ्गा, कृष्णगङ्गा, शनैर्गङ्गा II 4 18

६७६ । समासान्ता । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

676 The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense

Note — This is an adhikāra or regulating sūtra.

६७७ । अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरदादिभ्यश्च स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरद् समीपपुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाशम् । अनसम् । मनस् । उपानह् । दिव् । हिमवत् । अनडुह् । दिव् । दृश् । विश । चेतस् । अतुर् । स्यद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । अरायाजरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्ण ॥ यस्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अक्ष्ण परमाति विग्रहे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । परोक्षे लिङिति निपासनात्परस्मैकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शस्त्राद्याचि । समक्षम् । अव्यक्षम् ॥

677 The affix tach comes after the words śaīat &c, when forming an Avyayībhāva compound

. Thus शरद् समीपम् = उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम् प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरदादि class which end in a ह्रस्व consonant add invariably (नित्य) the tach, in spite of V 4 111 S 682 The anuvritti of avyayībhāva extends upto V 4 113 S 832

1 शरद्, 2 विपाश, 3 अनस, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह्, 6 अनडुह्, 7 दिव्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 हिरक् *, 10 दिव् °, 11 सद् *, 12 दिव्, 13 दृश्, 14 विश, 15 अतुर्, 16 स्यद् *, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत् *, 20 अराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्यो ऽक्ष्ण (as प्रत्यक्ष, परोक्ष, समक्ष, and अव्यक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 पथिन्, 23 सहश् ॥

20 The word अरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound As उपजरसम् ॥

21 The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षी ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI 4 148 S 811) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also अक्ष्ण परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Panini himself in III 2 115 S 2171 The form परोक्षा in परोक्षाक्रिय &c takes the affix अच् by V 2 127 S 1933 so also समक्षम् and अव्यक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अनञ्च । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् स्यात् ॥

678 The affix tach comes after an Avyayibhāva compound ending in अन्, as the final of the compound

Thus उप + राजन् + दृच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which the अन् of राजन् should be elided

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य नस्य देर्लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते । उपराजन् । अभ्यात्मन् ॥

679, Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a Taddhita affix

Thus उपराजन्, अभ्यात्मन् ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अनन्त यच्छ्रीब तदन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मन् or उपचर्म ॥

680 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avyayibhāva compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is अन्

Note—The word अन् is understood here also. The word 'Neuter' qualifies the second or last term of the compound. This allows option, where as the previous sūtra had made it compulsory

Thus उपचर्मन् or उपचर्म ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्यामहायणीभ्य । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा दृच् स्यात् । उपनवम् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपामहायणम् । उपामहायणि ॥

681 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avyayibhāva ending in nadi, purnamâst, and âgrahâyanî

Thus नद्या समीपम् = उपनवम् or उपनदि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपामहायणम् or उपामहायणि ॥

६८२ । झय । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

अनन्ताद्व्ययीभावादृच्वा । उपसमिधम् । उपसमिद् ॥

682 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avyayibhāva compound ending in a letter of jhay class (a mute letter)

Thus उपसन्निधम्, or उपसन्निह् ॥

Note —The ऋश् here means the pratyāhara ऋश् i e all the Mute consonants.

६८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिर्यन्तादव्ययीभावाद्वा स्यात् । सेनकमहणं पूजार्थम् । उपगिरिम् । उपगिरि ॥

683 The affix tach comes after an Avyayibhāva compound ending in 'gui', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujārtha), for the anuvṛtti of the word अव्ययत्वरस्यात् "optionally" was understood here already

Here end the Avyayibhāva compounds.

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS

६८४ । तत्पुरुष । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहे ॥

684 From this aphorism as far as aphorism II 2 23, S 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sūtras

Form this sūtra as far as the sūtra II 2 23 S 829 relating to Bahuvrīhi compounds, the word Tat purusha should be read into each sūtra

Note :—The Karmadhāraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसज्ञा स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । सख्यापूर्वो द्विगुश्चेति पठित्वा अकारबलेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य सुवचनत्वात् । समासान्तं प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685 And the kind of compound called Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha

This sūtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sūtra II 1 52 S 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dwigu as well as Tatpurusha. The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samāsānta may be added, as पञ्चराजम् ॥

Note —The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V 4 68 160 S 676 &c should apply to Dwigu also. Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sūtra as sūtra II 1 52 S 730 already defines Dwigu. Thus पञ्चराजम् V, 4 91 S 768 fem पञ्चराजि (IV I 15, 21 S 470), an aggregate of 5 princes. According to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as ङ् is not part of राज but of the whole compound

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नै । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्त श्रितादिप्रकृतिके सुबन्तै सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । कृष्ण श्रित कृष्णश्रित
दुःखमतीतो दुःखातीतः ॥ गम्यासीनामुपसंख्यानम् ० ॥ माम गमी मामगमी । भन्न बुभुक्षु भन्नबुभुक्षु ॥

686 A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atīta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prāpta 'who has obtained,' and āpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्ण + श्रित = कृष्णश्रित 'who has had recourse to Krishna' So also दुःख + भतीत = दुःखातीत 'who has passed over sorrow'

Varī — The words गमी, गामी &c should also be included As मामगमी, भन्न बुभुक्षु = भन्नबुभुक्षु ॥

६८७ । स्वयं केन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न संबध्यते अयोग्यत्वात् । स्वयंकृतस्यापत्य स्वायकृतिः ॥

687 The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

The anuvṛtti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place, though, however, it is understood in the next sūtra Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case affix As स्वयं कृतस्यापत्य = स्वाय कृतिः ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिक द्वितीयान्त क्तान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्वायात् । खट्वाकरो आत्म निन्दयमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688 The word *khatvā* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha

As खट्वाकरो or खट्वाप्कृतः (literally lying on a bed), silly, stupid, going wrong or astray

Note —The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements. This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds.—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant As खट्वासारुह 'lying on a bed'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts —a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e. the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmachâris were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris. A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वासारुह 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action

६८६ । सामि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689 The indeclinable word sâmi meaning 'half' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As सामिकृतम् 'half done'

Note —The word सामि being an avyaya, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case. Therefore, the anuvṛtti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism

६९० । काला । २ । १ । २८ ॥

कालेभ्येव । अनत्यन्तसयोगार्थं वचनम् । मासप्रमितं प्रतिपद्यन् । मास परिच्छेदुमारब्धवानि-
त्यर्थः ।

690 The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha

As मासप्रमितचन्द्रमा 'the new moon, (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month)

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism. The word काला does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sūtra I 1 68, S 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काला इत्येव । अकालान्तार्थं वचनम् । मुहूर्तं सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम् ॥

691 Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i e, duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

The word काल is understood in this aphorism, but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्' ॥

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection'

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure'

— o —

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम् । तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतसुखवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राग्बत् । शङ्कुलया खण्डं शङ्कुलाखण्डं । धान्येनार्थं धान्यार्थं । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्षया काय ॥

692 A word ending with the 3rd case-affix is optionally compounded with what denotes quality, the quality being that which is instrumentally caused by the thing signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha

As शङ्कुलयाखण्डं = शङ्कुलाखण्डं 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थं 'wealth acquired by grain' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sūtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided. It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case? Observe अक्षया काय 'blind of one eye' Here अक्षया in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding

Note —The words सुख, सुपा are understood here and the whole of this sūtra is an epithet of those words. A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थ, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case

६६३ । पूर्वसहस्रसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णै । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमेतै प्राग्बन् । मासपूर्व । मातृसदृश । पितृसम । ऊनार्यै । मासोन कार्षापणम् । मासविकलम् । बाकलह । आचारनिपुण । गुडमिश्र । आचारश्लक्ष्ण । मिश्रग्रहणे सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । मिश्र चानुपसर्गस्तथावित्यत्रानुपसर्गग्रहणात् । गुडमिश्रा धाना ॥ अवरस्यापसख्यानम् * ॥ मासेनावरा मासावर ॥

693 A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pūva 'prior, sadṛśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' tinārtha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and ślakshna 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

From this sutra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c, govern the instrumental case

As, मासेन पूर्व = मासपूर्व 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृश 'like the mother,' पितृसम 'similar to the father,' मासोनम् कार्षापण मासविकल 'a Karshāpana coin less by a māshā' बाकलह 'bandying words' आचार निपुण 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' गुडमिश्र 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्ण 'polished in behaviour'

Var —The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga. This we infer from VI 2 154 S 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact" This shows that it takes upasarga also. Thus we have गुडमिश्रा धाना ॥

Var —The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावर 'later than a month'

६६४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ।

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्बन् । हरिणा जातो हरिणा । नखैर्भिन्नो नखाभिन्नः ॥ कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपदस्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखाभिर्भिन्न । कर्तृकरणे इति क्तिप् । निखाभिर्भिन्न । हेतावेवा तृतीया । बहुलग्रहणं सर्वोपसर्गमिच्छायायम् । तेन वाक्येन दुनवानित्यादौ न । कृत्वा क्तिप् । काष्ठे पचतितराम् ॥

694 A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes the agent or the instrument (II 3 18) is compounded diversely with what ends with a kṛt

affix, and the compound so formed is called Tatpuru-
sha

As अहिनाहत = अहिनत 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्न 'divided by the
nails' परशुच्छिन्न 'cut by the axe,' हरिणाघात = हरिघात ॥

Vart — The word कृन् here includes not only simple kridantas, but
words preceded by a Gati or a kārakā even As not only नखभिन्न but नखनिर्भिन्न
also

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument* ?
Observe निष्ठाभिहवित 'dwelt with alms' Here the force of the 3rd case is that
of हेतु mentioned in sūtra II 3 21 S 566 and not that of II 3 18' S 561

The word बहुल shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules
and conditions Observe हविण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle' परशुनाछनवान्
'cutting with the axe' Here there is no compounding But there is com-
pounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुल —
as, पादहारक and गले चोपक Why do we say with a kridanta? See काष्ठे पचति
तराम् where पचतितराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun

Paribhasha — "A kṛit affix denotes, whenever it is employed in
Grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has
been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix, but moreover, should a Gati,
or a noun such as denotes a case relation have been prefixed to that word-
form then the kṛit affix must denote the same word form together with the
Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it"

६९५ । कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

स्तुतिनिष्फलकर्मण्यवादवचनमधिकार्थवचनं तत्र कर्तरि करणे च कृत्या कृत्ये प्राग्बन् । वात
च्छेद्यं तुणम् । काकपेया नदी ॥

695 A word ending with the third case-affix when
it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded op-
tionally with a word ending in a *kṛtya* affix, when an *exaggera-
ted statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and
the compound is 'Tat-puruṣa

As वातच्छेद्यं तुण 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind) It
is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse, denoting weakness

So also काकपेयानदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak,
into it and drink while sitting on the bank In this sense it is praise It
may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow
may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink)

६९६ । अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम् । २ । १ । ३४ ॥

सत्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं सूत्रायान्तमन्नं प्राप्नोति । दध्ना भावनो दध्योदन । इदंान्तभूतोपसेकक्रिया-
द्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

696 A word ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *condiment*, is optionally compounded with a word ending in a case affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन, as दध्योदन = दध्ना उपसिक्तं योदन 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood

६९७ । भक्ष्येण मिश्रिकरणम् । २ । १ । ३५ ॥

गुडेन धाना गुडधाना । मिश्रयक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम् ॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient*, is compounded with a word meaning *actuals* and the compound is Tatpurusha

As गुडधाना bailey prepared with jaggery ,

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य, its refinement is called मिश्रिकरणम् ॥

Note —The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood

THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८ । चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितै । २ । १ । ३६ ॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत्तद्वाचिनाऽर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राप्नोति । तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव-
एव गृह्यते । बलिहितमर्थेणाज्ञापकात् । शूपाय शरं शूपशरं । नेह । रन्धनाय स्थाली । भक्ष्यासादवस्तु-
षष्ठीसमासा ॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासो विशिष्टलिङ्गता चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ द्विजायाय द्विजाय सुपः ।
द्विजार्था बवाशू । द्विजार्थं पयः । भूतबलि । गोहितम् । गासुखम् । गोरक्षितम् ॥

698 A word ending with the 4th case-affix is compounded with what denotes that which is for the purpose of what ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

'pleasure' and *rakshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sūtra and the whole sūtra qualifies these words

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended. This we infer from the jñāpaka of the words *balī* and *rakshita* used in this sūtra. As दूपाय दारु = दूपदारु 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake) But not so here रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking' So also or अवहननायोदुखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing' The words like अश्वपात &c are Genitive compounds

From this sūtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of' The word तदर्थार्थ is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to' See VI 2 44 S 3777 For accent see VI 2 45 S 3779

Part —With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies, as, द्विजार्थं दूष "soup for the twice born" ब्राह्मणार्थम् पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans,' and द्विजाया दवायू 'gruel for the twice-born' So also भुत बलि 'a sacrifice for bhūtas' महाराजबलि 'a sacrifice for the great Raja' गौहित 'what is good for cows' गोमुख 'what is pleasant for cows' गौक्षित 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass)

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THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६६९ । वृकचमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोरादयश्चोराभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभाभिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीत । वृकभीति । वृकभी ॥

* 699 A word ending with the 5th case-affix is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note —The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sūtra qualifies it

As चोरादयश्चोराभयम् = चोराभय 'fear from thieves'

Part —So also with the words भीत, भीति and भी as वृकभीत, वृकभीति, वृकभी ॥

Note —This sūtra is an expansion of sūtra II 1 §2 S 694 and an exposition of the word बहल there. So that we may have the following compounds also ग्रामनिर्गतः 'gone out of the village' अश्वमं जुयुष्म ॥

७०० । अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पश । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहाल्प पञ्चम्यन्त समस्यते स तत्पुरुष । ह्रस्वापेन । कल्पनापोढ । चक्रमुक्त । स्वर्गपतित । तरङ्गापत्रस्त । अल्पश किम् । प्रासादात्पतित ॥

700 A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *pat ta* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in a gradual manner, and the compound is called Tat-puruṣha

As, ह्रस्वापेन 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढ 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्त "freed from the wheel" स्वर्गपतित 'fallen from heaven' तरङ्गापत्रस्त 'afraid of the waves' This is an expansion of II 1 32 S 694

Why do we use the word अल्पश 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds. Not every ablative word can be so compounded. Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case — प्रासादात् पतित, 'fallen from the mansion' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि केन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्त । अल्पान्मुक्त । अन्तिकादागत । अभ्याशादागत । दूरादागत । विप्रकृष्टादागतः कृच्छ्रादागत । पञ्चम्या स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701 Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dūra* 'far,' and also the word *kṛichchhṛa* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded with what ends in *ka*, and the compound is Tat-puruṣha

As स्तोकान् मुक्त 'loosed from a little distance' अल्पान्मुक्त ॥

So also अन्तिकादागत 'come from near' अभ्याशादागत 'come from near' दूरादागत 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागत 'come from a distance' कृच्छ्रादागत 'come with difficulty' कृच्छ्रात् लब्ध 'obtained with difficulty'

By rule VI 3 2 § 959 the case affix is not elided in compounds of this kind

THE GENITIVE TATPURUṢHA

७०२ । षष्ठी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

एक प्रथमो राजपुरुष ॥

702 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As राज पुरुषो-राजपुरुष 'the king's man'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभिः पशुयन्त समस्यते । तुजकाभ्यां कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवाऽयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजक । देवपूजक ॥
 गुणात्तरेण सरलोपशेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सरबन्त यद्गुणवाचि तेन सह समासस्तरूपत्ययलोपश्च । न
 निधारय इति पूरणगुणति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवाऽयम् । सर्वेषां श्वेततर सर्वश्वत । सर्वेषां महत्तर ।
 सर्वमहान् ॥ कृद्योगो च पशौ समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य ब्रध्न इध्मब्रध्न ॥

703 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yājaka* 'sacrificer' &c, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As ब्राह्मणयाजक 'a Brāhmana's sacrificer'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II 2 15 S 309 in the case of याजक &c, hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition

(याजकादि)

- 1 याजक ॥ 2 पूजक ॥ 3 परिचारक ॥ 4 परिवेषक ॥ 5 परिवेषक ॥
 6 ज्ञापक or ज्ञातक ॥ 7 अभ्यापक ॥ 8 उत्साहक or उत्सादक ॥ 9 उद्धर्तक ॥
 10 होतृ ॥ 11 भर्तृ ॥ 12 रथगणक ॥ 13 पत्तिगणक ॥ 14 पोतृ ॥ 15 हतृ ॥
 16 वक्तृ ॥

Vart —A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word As ब्राह्मणवर्ण 'Brāhmana caste' चन्दनगन्ध 'sandal scent' कपिस्थिरसः 'the wood apple juice'

Vart —So also with an adjective in the comparative degree, and सर the sign of comparison is elided Thus सर्वेषां श्वेततर = सर्वश्वेत 'the whitest of all' सर्वेषां महत्तर = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all' This 'vārtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sutra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification Thus सर्वशुक्ल गो 'a cow whitest among all'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix, that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word Rule II 3 65 S 623 states the conditions when a kṛit formed word governs the genitive case Thus इध्मप्रब्रध्न 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so ? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded. Such as the genitive cases ordained by II 3 38, 51, 52. In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Panini, other than II 3 50 S 606 is a 'pratipada-vidhāna' genitive, and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition, see Vārtika under II 2 10 S 704

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे वा षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । नृणा द्विज श्रेष्ठ ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ० ॥ सर्वेषां ज्ञानम् ॥

704 A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhāraṇa)

As नृणा द्विज श्रेष्ठ 'The twice born is the best amongst men

Note — With this sūtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case. The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhāraṇa'. This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sūtra II 3 41 S 638

Vart — A word taking a genitive case by force of any rule other than sūtra II 3 50 S 606 is never compounded. Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samāsa. Thus the following words are never compounded सर्वेषां ज्ञानम् मधुना ज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसद्व्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूरणाद्यर्थे सदादिभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्यते । पूरणे । सता षट् ।

गुणे । काकस्य काण्ड्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लः । यदा प्रकरणादिना वृत्ता इति विशेष्य ज्ञात तदेकशुद्धाहरणम् । अनित्याऽयं गुणेन निषेधः । तद्विशेष्य सज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्देशात् । तेनार्थगौरव शुद्धिमान्यमित्याह सिद्धम् ।

सुहितायास्तृप्यर्था । कलानां सुहित । तृतीयासमासस्तु स्वादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुवाया वा । किंकर इत्यर्थः ।

अव्ययम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोत्तरसाहचर्यात्कृद्व्ययनेन शृङ्गले । तेन तदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितम् ।

तव्य । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तज्जता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तस्यैकस्य सर्वस्य । विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलमहोपासम् । गोर्धेनोरित्यादिषु षोडश्रुवन्तीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे अरितार्थानां परत्वाद्वाधक षष्ठीसमासः प्राप्तः सोऽप्यनेन वार्यते ॥

705 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III 2 127 S 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix tavya, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i e, when they are in apposition)

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सत्ताषष्ठ 'sixth amongst the goods', (2) काकस्य काल्पयम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्ला 'The Brahmana has white teeth' This illustration is to be given when by context the word वन्ता is understood

The prohibition about guṇa-compounding, is however not universal for we find Pāṇini himself making such a compound in the following sūtra तद्विशेष्य सज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I 2 53 S 1295 Here the word सज्ञाप्रमाणत्वं is a guṇa-compound, the word प्रमाणत्वं being guṇa So the compounds अर्थनोर्वचं, बुद्धिपान्दर्यम् are valid

(3) The word सुहित means तृप्त or satisfied फलानां सुहित 'satisfied of fruits,' फलानां तृप्त The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited As फलेन तृप्त = फलतृप्त ॥ The difference is in accent It is adyudātta, while a genitive compound would have been final udātta

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brāhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाण 'the servant of a Brāhmana'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brāhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य हुत्वा ॥

The word avyaya in the sūtra means the Kṛidanta, 'Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable' This we infer from the fact that the word avyaya here is associated with Kṛidanta words both before and behind Namely सन् is a Kṛit affix and तस्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अव्यय which is in the middle, must refer also to a kṛit formed Indeclinable Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kṛidanta, as तस्य उपरि = तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradatta, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तस्यन् having the indicative त् (III 1 96) there is compounding, as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्य 'the Brāhmana's duty' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty' The difference is in accent (VI 1 185 S 3729

(7) राज पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pāṭaliputraka' पाणिने सूत्रकारस्य of the sūtra composer Pāṇini' So also तत्त्विकस्य सर्वस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनि । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sūtra II 1 57 S 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sūtra, 'the difference between that sūtra and the present is as to the position of the words. In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded, not so in the other, there the quality stands first

In the case of तव्यन् the compounding takes place. The difference is in accent तव्यन् is final svarita as it has an indicative न् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तव्यन्, and कर्तव्यम् by तव्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदुत्तरप्रकृतिस्वर but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udātta would have remained in the middle

In the phrase गोर्धेनो, the गो is a jāti word, and धेनु is read in sūtra II 1 65 S 744, and so there ought to be compounding is it so? Now the compounding is ordained by II 1 65 S 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sūtra is set aside by the subsequent sūtra II 2 8 S 702, which specifically applies to genitive cases. Therefore गोर्धेनो should be compounded by II 2 8 S 702. But this sūtra itself is set aside by the present sūtra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धेनो either by II 2 8 S 702, or II 1 65 S 744. In fact, II 1 65 S 744 fixes its scope in all other cases than the sixth, while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sūtra II 2 8 S 702, which itself is limited by the present sūtra

७०६ । केन च पूजायाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः कस्तद्वन्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । राजपूजित इत्यादौ तु भूते क्त्वात्तेन सह वृत्तायासमासः ॥

706 A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding'

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sūtra III 2 188 S 3089. The present sūtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा and pūjā itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding'

As राज्ञा मत — बुद्ध — पूजित 'the king wishes, understands or respects'

But in राजपूजित "honored by the king" the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिना च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

क्तेन षष्ठी न सप्तम्यते । इदमेवमासित गत भुक्त्वा वा ॥

707 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened

As इदमेवा मासित गत भुक्त्वा 'here they have sat, gone or eaten'

Note — When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots : e, that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III 4 76 S 3087)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीति या षष्ठी सा न सप्तम्यते । आश्वर्यो गवा रोहोऽगोपेन ॥

708 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II 3 66 S 624

As आश्वर्यो गवा रोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder'

Note — The anuvriti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism. The word karma qualifies shashti. Sutra II 3 66 S 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed : e, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by krita affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent

७०९ । तृजकाभ्या कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कर्तर्यतृजकाभ्या षष्ठ्या न समास । अया मष्टा । वज्रस्य भर्ता । मोहनस्य पाचक । कर्तरि किम् । इक्ष्वा भक्ष्यामिधुमक्षिका । पत्न्यभर्तेशब्दस्य तु याजकादित्वात्समास । भूभर्ता । कथं तर्हि यदाना निर्माद्विभुषनविधातुश्च कलह इति । शय्यषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयट ॥

-709 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent

As अपा सदा the creator of waters वज्रस्य भर्ता 'the holder of thunder bolt'

Note —The word 'kṛtari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka. The affix कृच् is taught in sūtra III 1 133; and the affix अक is not a single affix, all affixes that have an element क are अक, such as कृञ् or कुञ् or कुन् (sūtra VII 1 1)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of वाजक (II 2 9 S 703) ought to be compounded. The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder'. Thus भूभर्ता "the lord of world". How do you explain the compound विधुवनविधातु in the sentence सदानानिर्नातुस् विधुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds". According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashthi and it is not a pratipada vidhāna shashthi.

The above are examples of words formed by कृच्. Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक, thus अन्नस्य पाचक 'the cooker of rice'.

Why do we say 'when it denotes agent'? Observe इक्ष्मणिकं मे धारयसि

७१०। कर्तरि च् । २। २। १६॥

कर्तरि षष्ठ्या अकेन न समासः । भवतः शायिका । नेह कृञ्कृतवर्तते । तद्योगे-कर्तुरभिहितत्वेन कर्तृषष्ठ्या अभावान् ॥

710 A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent.

As भवतः शायिका 'your honors' repose.'

The word 'kṛtari' qualifies the Genitive case. The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II 3 65 S 623. The anuvṛtti of कृच् is not to be read into this sūtra. Because a षष्ठ्य formed word always denotes an agent and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent. Thus सदा is a word formed with कृच् affix. It means "creator," and in अपा सदा हरि the agent हरि can never take the Genitive case in connection with सदा denoting the agent. But with अक (कृच् III 3 111 S 3288) we have सजिका where हरि can take the Genitive case, as हरेः सजिका "Hari's turn of creating."

७११ । नित्य क्रीडाजीविकयो । ३ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयारथयोरकन नित्य षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभाञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । सञ्ज्ञायामिति भवेत् षडुल् । जीविकायाम् । इन्तलेखक । तत्र क्रीडाया विकल्पे जाविकाया नृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीति निबेध प्राप्त वचनम् ॥

711 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood, and the compound is Tat-puusha

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभाञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka (lasorā vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed' Here षडुल् denotes mere action by III 3 109 S 3286 and forms a Name As an example of livelihood we have इन्तलेखक "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth" मखलखक 'a nail painter by profession'

Note —This is a Nitya-samāsa incapable of analysis The anuvriti of the word 'na' which began with II 2 10 S 704 does not extend further The affix कृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood the only examples possible are of 'aka'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood' Observe भोदनस्य भोजक

उद्दालक पुष्पाणा भञ्जिका " Here neither the षडुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणा is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sūtras can not apply Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sūtra II 2 8 S 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual optional compounding, the present sūtra is ordained which makes the compounding compulsory Similarly इन्तलेखक ॥ In this the aka भक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sūtra, therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sūtra-kāra has made this present sūtra, and so the compounding by this is invariable In other words, the present sūtra sets aside the option of II 2 8 S 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भञ्जिका, and the prohibition of II 2 15 S 709 in the case of इन्तलेखक ।

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरण । ३ । २ । १ ॥

भवयविना सह पूर्वस्य समस्यन्ते एकत्वसख्याविशिष्टबेदययी । षष्ठीसमासापवादः । पूर्वे कायस्य पूर्वकाय । अपरकाय ॥

एकदेशिनाः किम् । पूर्व नामे कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वद्वयाभायाम् ।

सर्वोऽप्येकेशाद्धा समस्यते सख्याविसायेति ज्ञापकान् । मध्याह्ने । सायाह्ने । काचत्त सर्वोऽप्येकेश कालेन समस्यते न त्वद्वैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापत्तित्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्रे । उपारता पश्चिम रात्रौ चरा इत्यादि । सद्भनित्याहुः ॥

712 The words *pūrva* 'front,' *apara* 'near,' *adhara* 'lower,' and *uttara* 'upper,' are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity, and the compound is *Tat-puruṣha*

Note —The word *ekādhikarāṇa* 'the unity of substance' is the attribute of or qualifies the word '*ekadesin*' This debars the Genitive *Tat-puruṣha* compound ordained by II 2 9 S 702 which would have placed the words '*pūrva*' &c last in the compound whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I 2 43 and II 2 30), they take the precedence

This is an *apavāda* or exception to Genitive compounding under II 2 8 S 702 Thus पूर्व + कायस्य = पूर्वकाय 'the front of the body', अपरकाय 'the back of the body',

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe पूर्व नाम कायस्य ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe पूर्वद्व्यङ्गानाम् 'the fore most of the pupils' because here the substratum (*adhikarāṇa*) is not unity (*eka*) But the compounds like मध्याह्ने noon, सायाह्ने 'evening' are correct, because the word '*ahna*' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from *sūtra* VI 3 110 S 238

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the *jñāpaka* of *sūtra* VI 3 110 S 238 is not confined to अहन् only but applies to all words denoting *time* as the *jñāpaka* is general, and not merely limited to a particular word As a result we get compounds like मध्य रात्रे and पश्चिमरात्रे in the examples given in the text above

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समाशवाच्यर्थशब्दा नित्यं क्लीबे स प्राग्वत् ॥ एकविभक्त्यावशद्यन्तवचनम् * ॥ एकदेशिसमास-विषयतोऽयमुपसर्जनसंज्ञामिषेध । तेन पञ्चलङ्की इत्यादि निरुद्धाति अथ विप्लव्या अर्धविप्लवी । क्लीबे किम् । सामर्थ्यं । द्वयेक्य एव । अर्धे विप्लवीनाम् ॥

713 The word अर्धं when it signifies 'exactly equal parts : e halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha

Vdt — A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one. This is an exception to sūtra I 2 44 S 655. Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana. This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिसमास that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general. Therefore in पचाना खट्वाना समाहार = पचखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by गोचिबो &c I 2 48 S 656. The result of which is that the compound gets ह्रीक ॥

But in अर्धं पिप्पल्या = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vārtika applies to it, because it is ekadesī, and so we have no shortening.

The word अर्ध is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and इकाधिकरण are understood here. This sūtra also debars II 2 9, as अर्धपिप्पल्या = अर्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper', अर्धः काशातकी 'a half of the Kośātakī.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्धं 'half the village' नगरार्धं 'half the city'.

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here. Thus in the sentence अर्धं पशोर्वैवस्वस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta', we cannot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta'.

The word 'ekādḥikarāṇa' must also be taken here. So we cannot compound अर्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers'.

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याप्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राग्वद्वा । द्वितीय भिन्नाया द्वितीयभिन्ना । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीय भिन्नाया भिक्षुकस्य । अन्यतरस्याप्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणशुणोति निषेध बाधित्वा षष्ठे षष्ठीसमासः । । भिन्नाद्वितीयम् ॥

714 The word dvitīya, 'second,' tṛtīya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity The compound so formed is called Tat-puruṣa

Note — This also debars II 2 9 By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II 2 9 S 703 also applies The prohibition contained in II 2 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here, for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here

As द्वितीयभिक्षाया = द्वितीयभक्षा 'second begging' When we apply sūtra II 2 9 S 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीय

Why do we say "which signifies a thing that has parts?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sūtra, of the phrases द्वितीय भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" read in this sūtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahāvibhāsa of sūtra II 1 11 S 665), we infer that the sūtra II 2 11 S 705 is set aside in the case of these words and so we can form usual compounds also under sūtra II 2 8 S 702 For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II 2 11 S 705 Thus we have द्वितीय भिक्षाया = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II 2 8 S 702 and by the present sūtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms

७१५ । प्राप्तपन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाश्रितेति समाम । प्राप्तो जीविका प्राप्तजीविक । जीविकाप्राप्त । आपन्नजीविक । जीविकापन्न । इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया अ इति क्त्वा भकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविका प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्त-जीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715 The words prāpta 'obtained,' and āpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-puruṣa compound

The anuvṛtti of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekādhikarāna' does not exist here This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II 1 24 S 686 Thus we have प्राप्तजीविक (प्राप्तो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्त 'obtained his livelihood' So also आपन्नजीविक or जीविकापन्न

In this sūtra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीया + य, and the sūtra ordains a substitution also, in case of feminine gender Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sūtra

should be translated thus —“ The words प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound, and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine” Thus जीविका प्राप्ता स्त्री = प्राप्ताजीविका Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sūtra would have shortened this Similarly आपन्नाजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sūtra II 1 24 S 686, then we have जीविका प्राप्ता स्त्री = जाविकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । काला परिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेदवाचिना लुब्धेन सह काला समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजात । ब्रह्म जात । द्वयोर्द्वौ समाहारो ब्रह्म । ब्रह्मा जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगो सिद्ध्य बहूना तत्पुरुषस्यापसंख्यानम् * ॥ द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य स ब्रह्मजात । अह्नोऽह्नात् वक्ष्यमाणोऽह्नि विग्रहः । पूर्व न तु न सख्यावे समाहार इति निबन्धः ॥

716 Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha

This is also a kind of genitive compound As मासो जातस्य = मासजात 'month old' (born a month ago) So also सवस्त्रजात a year old and ब्रह्मजात 'two days old' This is a compound of two words ब्रह्म and जात, as ब्रह्मा जातस्य यस्य = ब्रह्मजात ॥ The word ब्रह्म itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वारद्वौ समाहार = ब्रह्म ॥ Thus द्वि + अहन् + टच् (V 4 91 S 788) = द्वि + अह् + अ (अन् is elided by VI 4 145 S 789) ब्रह्म ॥ Now this ब्रह्म is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य स, then the form will be ब्रह्मजात, and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously To obviate this difficulty we have the following

Vartika —Enumeration should be made of a Tat purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured So we can compound द्वे अहनी जातस्य into ब्रह्मजात ॥ The अहन् is changed to अहु by V 4 88 S 790 But in the first case, we form a Samāhara compound, and so V 4 89 S 793 applies, and we have no अहु substitution

THE LOCATIVE TATPURUṢHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डे । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्त शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वद्वा । अक्षेषु शौण्ड अक्षशौण्ड । अधिशब्दोऽत्र पठ्यते । अष्टयुक्त-
एषादिति ख । ईश्वराधीन ॥

717 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words śaunda 'skilled' &c and the com-
pound is Tat-puruṣa

Note —The word शौण्डे in the sūtra being in the plural number indicates
a class of words beginning with śaunda

As अक्षेषु शौण्ड = अक्षशौण्ड 'skilled in dice' A word ending with
अधि will take the affix ख (ईन by V 4 7 S 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुष compound Thus ईश्वराधीन

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words —1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त 3 कितव,
4 व्याड 5 प्रवीण, 6 सवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पट्ट, (or अधिपट्ट)
10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 अपल, 13 निपुण, 14 सव्याड' 15 भन्ध, and 16 समीर

७१८ । सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्त प्राग्वत् । साकाश्यसिद्ध । आतपशुष्क । स्यालीपक्व । चक्रबन्ध ॥

718 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is com-
pounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,'
pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting
compound is Tat-puruṣa

As, साकाश्यसिद्ध 'perfect in sânkâśya' आतपशुष्क 'dried in the sun'
स्यालीपक्व 'cooked in pot' चक्रबन्ध 'bound on the wheel'

७१९ । ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्त समस्यते निन्वायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष । तीर्थकाक
इत्यर्थः ॥

719 A word ending with the 7th case affix is com-
pounded with the word dhvâṅksha, 'a crow,' (and with
synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied, and the re-
sulting compound is Tat-puruṣa

As, तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' : e, a very greedy
person, as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाक or a तीर्थवायस

Note —When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding as तीर्थेष्वासास्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place'

७२० । कृत्यैर्ऋणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्त कृत्यप्रत्ययान्ते सह प्राग्वशावश्यके । मासदेयम् ऋणम् । पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम ॥

720 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kṛtya-affix (a fut pass Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied

Note —This compound is confined to the words formed by the kṛtya affix ऋण् and not to every kṛtya formed word

As, मासदेय 'a debt repayable within a month' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI 3 14 S 972 Otherwise we have मासदेय ॥

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt Therefore we get compounds in the following case also — पूर्वाह्णे गेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning'

७२१ । सज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्त सुपा प्राग्वत् सज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन सज्ञान्गमाम्नित्वसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलका । वने कशेरुका । हलन्तात्सप्तम्या इत्यल्लुक् ॥

721 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called Tat-purusha samâsa

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound, for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence

As, अरण्ये तिलका 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil, any thing which does not answer to one's expectation So also वने कशेरुका 'anything found unexpectedly'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sūtra

VI 3 9 S 966 The 7th case affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative

७२२ । केनाहोरात्रावायवा । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अहो रात्रिवायवा सप्तम्यन्ता क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वार्द्धकृतम् । अपररात्रकृतम् । अवयव-
ग्रहणं किम् । आह्नि इदम् ॥

722 The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As, पूर्वार्द्धकृतम् 'done in the morning' अपररात्रकृत 'done in the last part of the night'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe
अह्नि इदम् 'seen in day'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेत्येतत्सप्तम्यन्त क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723 The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V 3 10S 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there'

Note —By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sūtra II 1 25 S 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्त क्तान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्तायम् । अवतप्ते नकुलस्थित त एतत् ॥

724 A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थित त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground', (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man)
आपलम् ॥

Note —The 7th case affix is not elided in the case of this sūtra also See sūtra VI 3 14

७२५ । पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते क्षेपे । पात्रेसमिता । भोजनसमये एव सगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेशूर । गेहेनर्ही । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । अकाराऽवधारणार्थः । तन्नेवा सनासान्तरे घटकतया प्रवेशो न । परमा पत्रेसमिता ॥

725 The words like pātre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c, are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied

Note —All these are irregular compounds. Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त्), they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also. Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udātta on the beginning, because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called 'युक्तारोप्यादि Class' treated of in sūtra VI 2 81

Thus the following is the list of the words —पात्रेसमिता, 2 पात्रेसमिता 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time)) 3 उदुम्बरमशक, 4 उदुम्बरकृमि, 5 उदुम्बरकृमि, 6 कूपकच्छप, 7 अश्वदकच्छप, 8 कूपमण्डूक, 9 कुम्भमण्डूक, 10 उदुपानमण्डूक, 11 नगरकाक, 12 नगरवायस, 13 नातरिपुरुष, 14 पिण्डेशूर, 15 पितरिशूर, 16 गेहेशूर, 17 गेहेनर्ही, 18 गहेक्ष्वेदी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गहेव्याड, 21 गेहेनर्ही, 22 गेहेनर्ही, 23 गेहेनर्ही, 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गेहेतृ, 26 आखनिकवकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूर, 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्ष्वेदी, 30 गोष्ठेपट्ट, 31 गोष्ठेपाण्डित, 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भ, 33 कर्णेडिरिदिता, 34 कर्णेचुरचुर ॥ The force of च in the sūtra is to restrict it to these very words. Therefore, we cannot compound परमा पात्रेसमिता, and it cannot form part of another compound

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवला सम्यग्नाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषण विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थे सूत्रम् । एकशब्दस्य विक्सख्ये सज्ञायामिति नियमसाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं ज्ञात पश्चादनुज्ञातं ज्ञातानुज्ञातम् । एकनाथ । सव्याप्तिका । जरत्त्रेयाधिका । पुराणमीमांसका । नवपाठका । केवलवैयाकरणा ॥

726 A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pūrvakāla), and the words eka 'one,' saiva 'all,' janat 'old,' purāna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha

Note —These compounds could have been formed by the rule II 1 57 S 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound. In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sūtra II 1 50 S 727

The phrase **सुप सुपा** is understood here, the whole sūtra qualifying it

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (**सनानाधिकरणं**) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sūtra the word-form **pūrva kāla** is not to be taken (I 1 68 S 25) but its significates, while of the rest एक as the very word form is to be taken. A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it

As, **जानातुलिप्त** 'bathed and perfumed' **कुण्डसमीकृतम्** 'ploughed and levelled' **दग्धप्ररूढम्** 'burnt and healed' **एकनाय** 'having one master' **एकभिक्षा** 'begging once in a day' **सवयाज्ञिका** "all the members of a sacrifice" **सर्वमनुष्या** 'all men' **जरद्वस्ती** 'old elephant' **जरन्वयायिका** 'old logician' **जरवृत्ति** 'old occupation' **पुराणमीमांसका** 'old Mīmāṃsakas' **पुराणावसयम्** 'an old habitation' So **नवपाठका** "New students" **नवावसयम्** ॥ **केवल वैशाकरणाः** "Only grammarians"

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe **एकस्याः चादी** 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhāraya Compounds (I 2 42)

७२७ । विक्सख्ये सज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

सनानाधिकरणेनेत्यापादपरिसमासेरधिकार । सज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूचय । पूर्वेषुकाम सती । सप्तम्यर्थ । नेह । उत्तरा वृत्ता । पञ्च ब्राह्मण्या ॥

727 The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (**sankhyā**) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative, and it is a **Tat purusha**

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every-one of these sūtras up to the end of the chapter. This sūtra makes a **niyama**, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a **Name** and **Tat-purusha**

As, पूर्वेषुकानशमी 'the town of Ishukâmasamī in the east' सप्तर्षय 'the seven sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तरा वृक्षा 'northern trees,' and पञ्च ब्राह्मणा 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative See IV 2 107

७२८ । तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च । २ । १ । ५१ ॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परत समाहारे च वाच्ये विकसख्ये प्राग्वह्य । पूर्वस्था शालाया भवः पूर्वशाल । समास कृत दिक्पूर्वपदावसज्ञाया अ इति अ ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुवङ्गाव * ॥ आपरशाल । पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ कृत प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुष । तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उवाच । पूर्वशालामिय । विश्वु समाहारो नास्त्यनभिधानात् । सख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे । यण्णा नातृणामपत्यं यण्मातुर । पञ्च गावा धन यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहाववात्तरतत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे प्राप्ति ॥ इन्द्रतत्पुरुषयो उत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम् * ॥

728 In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix. Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्था शालाया भव 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV 2 107 S 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita affix अ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word, we have — पूर्व + शाला + अ (IV 2 107 S 1328) = पूर्वशाल (VII 2 117 S 1075 and VI 4 148 S 311) 'who is in the eastern hall'

Vart — The sarvnamāns become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita. The vrittis are of five kinds, Krit, Taddhita, Samāsa, Ekshesha and Sanādyanta. Here two Vrittis only are to be taken. Similarly आपरशाल ॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade). As, पूर्व शालामिय or अपरशालामिय 'loving the eastern or western hall'. These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements

If we make a Bahuvrīhi compound of the three words *पुत्रा शाला प्रिया यस्य*, where the word *प्रिया* is the uttarapada then the first two words (*पुत्रा शाला*) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशाली ॥ Here the *औ* of *शाला* is udatta by VI 1 223 S 3734, and this udatta will be retained in the Bahuvrīhi also, As पूर्वशालीप्रिय ॥ Had the *शाला* and *प्रिया* been compounded first, and then the compound *शालाप्रिय* further compounded with *पुत्र* as a Bahuvrīhi, then by VI 2 1 S 3735, पूर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूर्वशालाप्रिय ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix, as *षाण्मातुर* "a son of six mothers," a name of Kārtikeya Here the Taddhita affix *अण* is added by IV 1 115 S 1118 In compounding *पञ्चगावधन यस्य* as a Bahuvrīhi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II 1 11 S 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vārtika applies —

Vart —The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words Therefore *पञ्च* and *गाव* must be necessarily compounded first as a samāhāra, there being no option possible here, and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrīhi with *धन* ॥ The compound of *पञ्च + गो* gets the affix *टच्* by the following —

७२९ । गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

* गोन्तात्तत्पुरुषाङ्च् स्यात्, समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधन ॥

729 The affix *tach* comes after *गो* standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound

Thus *पञ्च + गो + टच् = पञ्चगव* ॥ *पञ्चगवधन* ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows'

Note —Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, *पञ्चभिर्गोभि* क्रीत = *पञ्चगु* ॥ (Here the affix *टक्* V 1 37 S 1702 is elided by V 1 28 S 1693 and hence the samasanta affix *टच्* is not added) So also *इक्षु* ॥

Why do we say when there is elision? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samāsānta affix as पचगो गोभ्य आ गन् = पचगो + टच् + रुव्य (the tach is added by this sutra, and the taddhita रुव्य to denote तत् आगत by IV 3 81 S 1461) = पचगारुव्यम्, पचगौमयम्, or दशगवरुव्यम्, दशगवमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पचगवधन ॥ But if the option of II 1 11 S 665 be applied, and पच + गो be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samāsānta टच्, and the Bahuvrīhi will be पचगोधन ॥ This is on the view that the vārtika above given is not to be applied. Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृष च च मिथे अस्य = वाग्दृषदमिय ॥ So also छत्रोपानहमिय ॥ Here वाक् and दृषद् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samāsānta टच् by V 4 106 S 930

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THE DVIGU COMPOUND

७३० । सख्यापूर्वो द्विगु । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थेऽथोक्त सख्यापूर्वो द्विगु स्यात् ॥

730 In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound

The word taddhitārtha of sutra II 1 51 S 728 is understood here also. This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral. The examples of it will be given below.

They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditārtha dvigu, as दशकपाल, "an offering prepared in ten cups formed by the affix अण् of IV 2 16 which is elided by IV 1 88 S 1217 1080 (2) upapada dvigu, as, पचनावमिय, and (3) samāhara dvigu, as, पचपत्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by IV 1 21

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विवचनं समाहार एकवत्त्वात् । स नपुंसकमिति नपुंसकत्वम् । पञ्चानां गवां समाहार पञ्चगवम् ॥

731 The compound Dvigu (II 1 52 S 730) is singular in number

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say it expresses the sense of unity. The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity

This is confined to Samāhāra Dvigu : e, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense This Samāhāra Dvigu is always Neuter by II 4. 17 S 821 As, पञ्चगव 'an aggregate of five cows, (IV 1 21)

Why do we say " a Samāhāra Dvigu is singular " ? When it is a laddhitātha Dvigu it is not singular As पञ्चसु कपलितु सत्कुना = पञ्चकपाला , similarly पञ्चभि गोभि क्रीता' = पञ्चगव पदा ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनै । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्स्यमानानि कुत्सनै सह प्राग्वत् । वैयाकरणखसूचि । मीमांसकदुर्दृष्ट ॥

732 Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha

As वैयाकरणखसूचि " A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (ख) when asked any question " So also मीमांसकदुर्दृष्ट " an evil conducted mimānsaka," From √दुल उत्क्षेपे with the prefix दुर् and the Unādi कृद् ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितव 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices '

No compound can be formed under this aphorism if both the words are not used in an opprobrious signification as such Therefore, it is not in the following case कुत्सितोब्राह्मणा 'the bad Brāhmana ' &c

७३३ । पापाणके कुत्सितै । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रापवाद । पापनापित । अणककुलाल ॥

733 The case inflected words pāpa 'sin,' and apaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) by the last sūtra, they would have stood as second members in the compound, the present sūtra, however, is so framed with regard to sūtra I 2 43 S 653 and II 2 30, S 654 that they will stand as first As पापनापित or अणकनापित 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणक-कुलाल 'a contemptible potter'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनै । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

यस इव श्यामो घनश्याम । इह पूर्वपर तत्सदृशे लक्षणिकमिति सूचयितु लौकिकविग्रहे इवशब्द प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूचय ॥

734 Case inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamāna, and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common'. Thus घनश्याम कृष्ण 'cloud black Kṛṣṇa' (Kṛṣṇa black as a cloud). Here श्याम is a quality common to Kṛṣṇa and cloud therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुसुमश्वेनी 'lily-white,' हसगद्गदा 'Swan sounding,' न्यग्रोध पारिमडल 'globular as Nyagrodha tree'. For accent see VI 2 2

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattā' or फला इव तन्दुला 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहका 'clouds like mountains'

In analysing the above compound घनश्याम we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्याम, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word. This sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamāna word should stand *first*

७३५। उपमित व्याघ्रादिभि सामान्याप्रयोगे। २। १। ५६॥

उपमेय व्याघ्रादिभि सह प्राग्वत्साधारणधर्मस्याप्रयोगे सति। विशेष्यस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूत्रम्। पुरुषव्याघ्र। नृसोम। व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगण। सामान्याप्रयोगे किम्। पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव घूर॥

735 A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyāghra 'tiger,' &c, the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha, provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed

This is a modification of last sūtra 734 by which the substantive (upamāna) would have stood first, by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first. As पुरुषोऽय व्याघ्र इव = पुरुषव्याघ्र 'a person tiger' (in strength)

The words व्याघ्र &c are आकृतिगण : i.e., this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, a

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*

In the last sūtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality. In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य बचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence — पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूर 'a man strong as a tiger'. Similarly सुखपद्मम्, सुखकमलम्, कराकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The following is the list of such words —

1 व्याघ्र = A tiger 2 सिंह = A lion 3 कर्कट = A bear 4 वृषभ = A bull 5 चन्दन = Sandal 6 वृक = A wolf 7 वृष = A bull 8 वराह = A boar, hog 9 हस्तिन् = An elephant 10 तद् = A tree. 11 कुञ्जर = An elephant 12 हृद् = A kind of deer 13 पृषत = The spotted antelope 14 पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower 15 पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa 16 कितव = A rogue, cheat

भक्तितगणोऽम्

1 सुखपद्मम् }
2 सुखकमलम् } A lotus-like face

3 कराकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand 4 पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

७३६ । विशेषण विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदक सामानाधिकरणेन भेदेन बहुलं प्राप्नुवत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलमहणात्कविनि-
त्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । कृष्णिन् । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736 A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पल 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पल 'a red lotus'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely', it is meant that in some cases it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्प 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामोजामदग्न्य 'Rama called also Jāmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jāmadagni) गर्ह्येन कात्तरीयं—and in some cases it is optional नीलमुत्पल or नीलोत्पल ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षक सर्प 'the Takshaka snake' Why do we say 'qualified' Observe लोहितस्तक्षक 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयकरण । अपराध्यापक ॥ अपरस्यार्थे पञ्चभावी वक्तव्य * ॥
अपरप्रासादार्थे पञ्चाव । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परत्वाद्देन समासे वीरैक इति हि
स्यात् । बहुलग्रहणाद्भव्यति ॥

737 The case-inflected words pūva 'prior,' aparast, 'other,' piathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost samāna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vira 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

This sūtra is also a niyama rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound Thus पूर्ववैयाकरण ॥ अपराध्यापक ॥

Vart—The word पञ्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्थ ॥ As अपर+अर्थ=पञ्चाव ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीर where vira stands not first, for II 1 49 S 726 with regard to eka is superseded by the present sūtra with regard to vira, and the compound ought to be वीरैक ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II 1 57 S 736

७३८ । श्रेण्यादय कृतादिभि । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यान्विष्य चर्यवचन कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अश्रेणय श्रेणय कृता श्रेणीकृता ॥

738 The case-inflected words śreṇī class' &c, are compounded with words kṛta 'made' &c, which are in agreement (same case), with them, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

Vart—The words श्रेणि &c, for the purposes of this sūtra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च्वि (chvi) Thus अश्रेणय श्रेणय कृता = श्रेणिकृता 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before)

Note—The class of words called कृतादि are akṛtī gaṇa and cannot be known a priori This Samāsa is also an invariable Samāsa by reason of sūtra II 2 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्वि) are called gaṇi (1 4 61)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called śreṇī or guild The samāsa is nitya श्रेणीकृतम् The lengthening here is by VII 4 26 S 2120

७३६ । क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् । २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेनानञ् क्तान्त समस्यते । कृतं च तदकृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवश्रीना
सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्थोपसङ्ख्यानम् ॥ शाकपार्थिव शाकपार्थिव । देवब्राह्मण ॥

739 A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with t' same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distinguished from the former, by having the augment nañ, and the compound is Tat-puusha

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' : e partly done and partly not done

Note —The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by लुट् and लृट् augments

As अशित + अनशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लितम् ॥

Vari —The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds As शाकपार्थिव = शाकपार्थिव 'the king beloved by the people of his era' : e an era making king So also देवब्राह्मण = देवपूजको ब्राह्मण "A Brâhmana who worships any deva"

७३७ । सन्महत्परमोत्कृष्टा पूज्यमाने । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सहैय । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत् आकार । महावयाकरण । पूज्यमाने किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौ । पङ्कादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740 The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishta 'excellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect, and the compound is Tat-puusha

As सहैय 'a good physician The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुष 'a great man,' परमपुरुष the highest person, उत्तमपुरुष 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुष the excellent person'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect? Observe उत्कृष्टो गौ कर्षमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out"

७३८ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरै पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोवृन्दारक ॥ व्याघ्रादेकनिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थं वचनम् ॥

741 A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛindāra-ka 'eminent,' nāga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant,' and the compound is Tat-purusha

As गोवृन्दारक 'an excellent bull or cow' The Vyāghrādī class (II 1 56 S 735) being an Akṛitigana, the forms like go-vṛindāraka could well have been obtained under that sūtra, the making of it a separate sūtra is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II 1 56 S 735

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे । २ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कतरकठ । कतमकलाप । गात्र च चरये सहति जातिस्त्वम् ॥

742 The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which 'or who, of many,' when used in asking questions about the jāti (IV 1 63 S 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As कतरकठ and कतमकलाप 'which of the two is katha, and which of these kālāpa?' Here Gotra and charana, are jāti, as defined previously in IV 1 63 S 518

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिग्रह in the aphorism, since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions, (see V 3 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word कतम has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jāti, as कतये भवतो देवदत्त 'which of you two, Sirs is Devadatta' and कतमा भवता देवदत्त 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta' Here there is no questioning about jāti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding (Accent VI 2. 57)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुस्मितो राजा किराजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743 The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As कि राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects' किं सखा योऽभिदुहति 'he is a bad friend who hates' किं गो यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry'

The affix टच् (V 4 91 S 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराज, महाराज &c, by force of Rule V 4 70 S 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा = किं राज 'whose king,' किंसख ॥ Or को राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोदायुवतिल्लोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशाविहङ्गकयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रिया-
आपकचूर्तेर्जाति । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744 A case-inflected word denoting a jātī, is compounded with the words potā 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvatī, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grīṣhtī 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milk-cow,' e a cow which has calved recently," vasā 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayānī 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brāhmaṇa,' adhyāpaka 'a teacher,' and dhūrta 'a cunning fellow', and the resulting compound is called Tat-puruṣha

For examples see under sūtra 746

७४५ । तत्पुरुष समानाधिकरण कर्मधारय । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745 A Tat-puruṣha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or Appositional Determinative compound

Note — "Karmadhāraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat puruṣha) In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black beetle, sky blue." (Max Müller)

The compounds like नीलोत्पल 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c are examples of karmadhāraya compounds "The component words if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samānādhikaraya), whereas in other Tat-puruṣhas, the preceding word is governed by the last"

A° परमराज्यम्, is a karmadhāraya compound meaning 'the best Government'. Had it not been a karmadhāraya compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable **रा** by rule VI 2 130, S 3864 (the word राज्यम् has *udatta* on the first syllable in Tat-puruṣa compounds, except in karmadhāraya.)

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI 3 42 S 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadhāraya) by the next sūtra —

Note — Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-puruṣa compound it won't be karmadhāraya. As पाचिका + भार्या = पाचिकभार्या ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook'. This is an example of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign.

७४६ । पुवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746 The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhāraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारय जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुस्कात्पर ऊङ्भावो यस्मिन्तथाभूत पूर्व पुवत् । पूरणीप्रियविश्वप्राप्त पुपङ्गावोऽनेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्णचतुर्दशी । महाप्रिया । तथा कोपरादे प्रतिषिद्ध पुपङ्गाव कर्मधारयसौ प्रतिप्रसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । दत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौम्यभार्या । शुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एव पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोटा । पोटा स्त्रीपुसलक्षणा । इभयुवति । अग्निस्तोक । उदम्बित्कतिपयम् । गृष्टि सकृत्प्रसूता, गोगृष्टि । धेनुर्नवप्रसूतिका गोपु । वशा वध्या, गोवशा । वेहन् गर्भघातिनी, गोवेहन् । बक्यणी तरुणवन्ता, गोवक्यणी । कठप्रवन्ता । कठश्रेष्ठिय । कठाध्यापक । कठधूर्त ॥

This sūtra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sūtras (VI 3 40 S 841 &c) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI 3 37 S 838) Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI 3 38 S 839 Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पञ्चमवृन्दारिका, पञ्चमजातीया, पञ्चमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI 3 39 S 840 सौम्यवृन्दारिका, सौम्यजातीया, सौम्यदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI 3 40, S 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI 3, 41, S 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine. The feminine should not end in ऊ, as ब्रह्मवन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sūtra ordains masculinisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sūtras VI 3 34 S. 831 &c (e g if the second word is an ordinal, द्विष, &c) Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती चासौनवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI 3 34 so also कृष्णचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महाप्रिया ॥

Similarly VI 3 37 S 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form" The present sūtra is an exception to this prohibition also Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI 3 38 S 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral" The present sūtra makes an exception to this also As दत्तभार्या, पञ्चभार्या and not दत्तभार्या & पञ्चमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 39 S 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vriddhi of the first syllable" The present sūtra is an exception to this also As कौत्तभार्या and not कौत्तीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 40 S 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine" This sūtra makes exception to this also As कुक्कुक्षभार्या and not कुक्कुक्षीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 41 S 842 says "a feminine word expressing jāti does not become masculine" This sūtra makes exception to it also As आङ्गणभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words आतीय and देशीय ॥ As, पाचकजातीय and पाचकदेशीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sūtra II 1 65 S 744

As इमपोदा 'a young female elephant' पोदा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c इमयुवति 'a female elephant' So अग्निस्तोक 'a little fire' उदम्बित् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk' गोमृदि, गोधेनु गावेहत, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Katha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brāhmana who has mastered the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठ्यापक 'a teacher of the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्त प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brāhmana well versed in the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda'

७४७ । प्रशसावचनैश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एते सह जातिः प्राग्वत् । गोमतल्लिका । गोमथार्थिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गवोद्ध । गोतल्लज । प्रशस्ता गौरित्यर्थः । मत्तल्लिकादयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यलिङ्गा । जाति किम् । कुमारी मत्तल्लिका ॥

747 A case-inflected word, denoting a jāti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha

The words denoting praise should be rūḍhi (रूढ़ी) words like मत्तल्लिका &c, which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow,' गोमत्तल्लिका 'an excellent cow' गामचर्चिका 'an excellent cow' गवोद्भू and गोतल्लज्ज ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c, which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शुचि, वृद्ध &c, are not to be taken here In गो + उद्भू there is अवह् by VI 1 123

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मत्तल्लिका 'an excellent virgin' Here there is no compounding "मत्तल्लिका, मचर्चिका, प्रकाण्ड उद्भू तल्लज्ज are praise denoting words" (Amarakosha)

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूचय् । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलति युवखलति । युवति खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामव जरतीधर्मोपलम्भेन तद्वृत्तिपात्तामानाधिकरणम् ॥

748 The word yuvā 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case), and the compound is Tat-puru-sha

The sūtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound

Note —The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender'

As, युवा + खलति = युवखलति ॥ So also युवति खलती = युवखलती in the feminine 'bald in youth' So युवपलित fem युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिन fem, युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरन् fem युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old)

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्योष्णम् । तल्यम्भत । सहम्भत । अजात्या किम् । भोज्य भोजन । प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्यादिभिरप्यसमासोऽपि न ॥

749 Words ending with a kṛtya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jāti, being in the same case with them, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेत 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेत 'equally white'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jāti'? Observe भोज्य भान् 'eatable rice' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun Hence there is no compounding even under II 1 57 S 736

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह सम्बन्धः । कृष्णसारङ्गः ॥

750 A case-inflected word denoting colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

As कृष्णसारङ्ग 'spotted antelope'

७५१ । कडारा कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडाराद्य शब्दा कर्मधारये वा पूर्व प्रयोक्तव्याः । कडारजैमिनि । जैमिनिकडारः ॥

The words kadārah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhāraya

Thus कडारजैमिनि or जैमिनिकडार Kadārajaiminī or Jaiminikadārah, 'The tawny Jaimini' So also गङ्गुलशाण्डिल्य or शाण्डिल्यगङ्गुलः ॥

७५२ । कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादयः स्त्रीलिङ्गा पश्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव स्तूपक बोध्यम् ॥

752 The word kumāra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanā 'an ascetic,' &c, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic"

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender, with the words which appear as masculine, e g सन्ध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पादस

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender' In fact, this is the sūtra from which we infer the existence (jñāpaka) of the above paribhāshā of लिङ्गविशिष्ट &c

श्रमणादिः ।

1 श्रमणा = Labouring, toiling 2 प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile 3 कुलदा = An unchaste woman 4 गर्भिणी = A pregnant female 5 सापसी = A hermit, "devotee 6 दासी = A female servant 7 बन्धकी = An unchaste woman 8 अध्यापक = A teacher 9 अभिरूपक = Handsome 10 पण्डित = Learned, wise 11 मृदु = Soft 12 कुशल = Right, proper, good 13 चपल = Shaking, trembling 14 निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पादजातिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राप्तवत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पादजतिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753 A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word gaubhinī, and the compound is Tat-puruṣa

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat'

Part —It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds So not here —कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kālākṣhī or Svastimatī'

Note —Why do we say 'quadrupeds?' Observe ज्ञाह्वणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यसकाद्यश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यसका मयूरव्यसक । व्यसको धूर्त । उवक्चावाक्च उद्यावचम् । निश्चित च प्रचित च निश्चप्रचम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य * स अकिञ्चन ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभय । अस्यो राजा राजान्तर । चिदेव चिन्मात्रम् ॥

आख्यानमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्य * ॥ अश्रीत पिबतत्येव सतत यत्राभिधीयते सा अश्रीतपिबता । पचतश्चज्जता । खादतमादता ॥

एहीडावयोऽन्यपदार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि तवेहिडम् । एहिपचम् । उज्जर कोष्ठादुत्सृज वेहीति यस्या क्रियाया सा उदरोत्सृजा । उज्जमार्धमा । असातत्याधनिह पाठ ॥

अहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तार चाभिधीयते । * ॥ जहीत्येत्कर्म्मणा बहुल समस्यते आभीक्ष्ण्ये भव्ये समासेन चैककर्त्ताभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ जहिजोड । जहिस्तम्ब ॥

754 And the words mayūra-vyamsakā 'cunning like a peacock,' &c, are Tat-puruṣa compounds

These are irregularly formed Tat purusha compounds. The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction. For though the compound like मयूरव्यसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यसक ॥ So also उदक् चावाचम् = उद्यावचम् । निश्चित च प्रचित च = निश्चप्रचितम् । नास्ति किञ्चन यस्य = अस्ति किञ्चन ॥

The following is the list of such compounds —

मयूरव्यसकादयः ॥

1 मयूरव्यसक ॥ 2 छात्र व्यसक ॥ 3 कम्बाजमुण्ड ॥ 4 यवनमुण्ड ॥ 5 हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas 6 पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य ॥ 7 लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य ॥ 8 पुनर्वसि ॥

GANĀ SŪTRA एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1 एहीड वर्तते ॥ 2 एहियव वर्तते ॥ 3 एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4 अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5 प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6 एहिस्वागता ॥ 7 अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8 एहिद्वितीया ॥ 9 अपेहिद्वितीया ॥ 10 प्रेहिद्वितीया ॥ 11 एहिकदा ॥ 12 अपेहिकदा or अपोहिकदा ॥ 13 प्रेहिकदा or प्रोहिकदा ॥ 14 आहरकरदा ॥ 15 प्रहिकर्दना ॥ 16 प्रोहिकर्दना ॥ 17 विधमचूडा ॥ उद्धमचूडा ॥ 18 उद्धरचूडा ॥ 19 आहरवेला ॥ 20 आहरवसना ॥ 21 (आहरसेना) ॥ 22 आहरवनिता ॥ 23 (आहरवित्ता) ॥ 24 कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25 उद्धरोत्सृजा ॥ 26 उद्धरावसृजा ॥ 27 उद्धभविधमा ॥ 28 उत्पन्नविपचा or विपचा ॥ 29 उत्पन्ननिपत्ता ॥ 30 उद्यावचम् ॥ 31 उद्यानीचम् ॥ 32 आद्योपचम् ॥ 33 आद्यपराचम् ॥ 34 नखप्रचम् ॥ 35 निक्षप्रचम् ॥ 36 अकिञ्चन ॥ 37 आत्वाकालक ॥ 38 पीत्वास्थरक ॥ 39 भुक्तवास्तुहित ॥ 40 प्रोक्षपापीयान् ॥ 41 उत्पत्त्यपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42 निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43 निषण्णशयाना ॥ 44 अपेहिप्रचसा ॥ 45 एहिविचसा ॥ 46 इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47 इहद्वितीयो ॥

G S अहिर्कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1 अहिर्जोड ॥ 2 अहिर्जोडम् ॥ 3 अहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4 (अहिस्तम्ब) ॥ 5 उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or उज्जम् ॥

G S आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातसे ॥

1 अभीतापिबता ॥ 2 पञ्चभृज्जना ॥ 3 खादतमोदता ॥ 4 खादतवमसा ॥ 5 खादताचमता ॥ 6 आहरनिवपा ॥ 7 आहरनिष्क्रिया ॥ 8 आवपनिष्क्रिया ॥ 9 उत्पन्नविपचा ॥ 10. भिन्धिलक्षणा ॥ 11 कन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12 पञ्चलक्षणा ॥ 13 पञ्चमकूटा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

- 1 अकुतोऽभव ॥ 2 कान्दिष्णक ॥ 3 कन्दिशीक ॥ 4 आहोपुरुषिका ॥
 5 अहमहमिका ॥ 6 यदृच्छा ॥ 7 एहिरेवाहिरा ॥ 8 जन्मजावमृजा ॥ 9 ब्रह्मान्तरम् ॥
 10 अक्षयकार्यम् ॥

Gana-sūtra —A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant
 As अशीतविबता “ the place where constantly is heard the cry “ eat ye”, “ drink ye”—a feast where people are called to eat and drink Similarly पचतश्चज्जना “ cook roast”—a kitchen खातमोदता ॥

Gana-sūtra —The compounds एहीड &c are formed when they refer to some other object Thus एहीड is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीड are used So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उद्धरोत्सृजा meaning “ उद्धरकाष्ठाह उत्सृजदेहि ” इति यस्या क्रियाया ॥ So also उद्धमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote “ constant action ”

Gana sūtra —The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent As जहिजोड “ He who constantly repeats jahi-joḍa ” Similarly जहिस्तम् ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोभव, another kingship is राजान्तरम्, that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषदकुता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गल ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755 The word īṣhat ‘a little,’ is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix, and the compound is Tatpurusha

Vart —It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कङ्कः ‘a somewhat proud’ ईषत्पिङ्गल ‘a little brownish’ ईषद्विकट ‘a little hideous’ ईषदुन्नत ‘a little raised’ ईषत् पीतम् ‘a little yellow’ ईषद्वल्ग्व ‘a little red’

Note —Why do we say ‘with words expressing qualities’? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्य, “there is no compounding here

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

756 The negative word *nañ* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha

As ब्राह्मण = अब्राह्मण 'who is not a Brāhmaṇa,' (though a man) The *न्* of *न* is elided by VI 3 73 which is given below

७५७ । नलोपो नञ् । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नमो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ॥

757 The *न्* of the Negative particle *नञ्*, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound

Thus अब्राह्मणः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a *न्* is inserted after *अ* by the following —

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुप्तनकारान्नञ् उत्तरपदस्याजादेर्नडागमः स्यात् । अनञ्च । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहाय्यं विकल्प्यते । रत्नोद्धारमलङ्घनसंदेशः प्रयोजनमिति अनुसृत्यामसहितमिति च भाष्यवातिकप्रयोगात् । तस्मानुपलब्धिरविवादोऽविज्ञमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नमो नलोपस्तिष्ठति क्षेपे * ॥ अपचसि त्व आत्म ॥ नैकधेयादौ तु नञ्भावेन सह सुप्सुपोति समासः ॥

758 After the above *न्*-elided *नञ्* (1 e after *अ*) is added the augment *नुद्*, to a word beginning with a vowel

Thus अनञ्च 'an animal which is not a horse' Why do we use *तस्मात्* "after such a *नञ्*" ? Otherwise *नुद्* would have been the augment of *नञ्* and not of the subsequent word, for the sūtra would have read thus *नुडचि* ॥ Adding *नुद्* to *नञ्* or rather to *अ*, we have *अन्* (granting that *नुद्* is not to be added *before* *अ* but *after* it, against I 1, 46) Now *अन्* + *अज* will be *अनञ्ज* and not *अनज* for VIII 3 32 S 134 will cause the doubling of the final *न* of *अन्* ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, *नुद्* is ordained with the second member and not with regard to *अ* or *नञ्* ॥

When the force of *नञ्* is that of "absence," i.e. it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayī bhāva. For in an Avyayībhāva, the sense of the first term is prominent, in a Tatpurusha the sense of the second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahābhāṣya, we find the compound असन्देशः in the sentence रत्नोद्धारमलङ्घनसन्देशो प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar, similarly असहित in अनुसृत्यामसहित a vārtika. On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धिः, अविवादः, अविज्ञम् &c

Part —The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि त्वे जाह्न 'thou cookest very badly O knave'

In the expression नैकधा &c 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II 1 4 S 649

७५६ । नभ्राणनपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पादिति शत्रन्त । वेदा इत्यनुन्त । न सत्या भसत्या न भसत्या नासत्या । न मुञ्चतीति नमुचि । न कुलस्य नकुलम् । न खस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुसकम् स्त्री पुसयो पुसकभावे निपातनात् । न चरतीति नचरम् । स्त्रीयते चरेतर्वा चरमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्र । क्रमेर्ङ । न अकमस्मिन्निति नाक ॥

759 The Negative particle remains unchanged in नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या (dual), नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र and नाक ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sūtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative । नभ्राजते = नभ्राद् "a dark cloud," formed by क्तिप् and नञ् composition न पाति = नपात् "a grand son" Formed by णत् affix न वेसि = नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सस्य साधवः = सत्या, न सत्या = भसत्या, न भसत्या = नासत्या 'Ashvins' न मुञ्चति = न मुचि "a demon slain by Indra" formed by क्तिप् इन् affix (Unadi) नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुल ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुसकम् ॥ नचरते स्त्रीयते वा = नचरम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ङ affix न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणित्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगा अगा पर्वता । अप्राणित्विति किम् । अगो वृषल शीतेन । नित्यं क्रीडित्येता नित्यमित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760 The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in नग, when it does not mean a living animate being

Thus नग or अगा 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move' The affix ङ is added to नञ् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being Observe अगो वृषल शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here See II 1 17, S 711

In the next sūtra, the word *mutya* should be read as understood Its anuvṛtti comes from II 2 17 S 711

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादय । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन निव्य समस्यन्ते । कुलित पुरुष कुपुरुष । गतिश्चेत्पुनर्नमाने ॥

761 The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the 'particles' called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction, and the resulting compound is Tatpuru-
rusha

The word ku means 'badness or sin', as, कुपुरुष 'a sinful man', (2) Gati (I 4 60 S 23) as, उररीकृत 'having asserted', (I 4 61) यद्वरीकरोति ॥

Note —So also with the words प्र &c, when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati', as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुष 'a bad man', so also दु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुष 'honorable man', अतिपुरुष 'excellent man', आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गल 'brownish'

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्ण or कदुष्णम्, कवोष्णम् 'tepid' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आबद्धम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिचिच्चाचश्च । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायागे गतिसज्ञा स्यु । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पदपदाकृत्य ॥ कारिका
शाङ्ख्योपसंख्यानम् ° । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762 The words uri, assent, &c, and those that end with chvi (V 4 50), and those that end with dāch (V 4 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, कृ or अस्) are called Gati

In this sūtra the word gati is understood from I 4. 60 S 23

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, सू or अस् (V 4 50 and 57 S 2117 and 2128), uri &c, being read along with chvi and dāch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati

The word ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread'— Aङ् ऊरीकृत्य (II 2. 18 S. 761 and VII 1 37 S 3332)

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white."

So also the words ending in डाच् as पदपदाकृत्य "having made the sound pat."

Vārtika —The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति.

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kārīkā means "action"

७६३ । अनुकरणा चानेति परम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खादकृत्य । अनितिपर किम् । खाडिति कृत्वा निरखीवत् ॥

763 A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti

Note —The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrīhi compound, अन् इति परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it'

As खादकृत्य "having made the sound khāt" खादकृतम् (VI 2 49 S. 3783), अन्खादकरोति (VIII 2 71)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडिति कृत्वा निरखीवत्

७६४ । आदरनादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764 The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II 2 18 and VII 1 37 S 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम् or असत्कृतम् (VI 2, 49 S 3783)

Note —Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्ड गत ॥

७६५ । भूषणोऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अल कृत्वौदन गत । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थ । अनुकरणमित्यादि त्रिसूत्री स्वभावात्कृन्विषया ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament'

As अलकृत्य (II 2 18, VII 1 37 S 761 and 3332) Why do we say 'when अल means ornament'? Observe अल कृत्वौदन गत 'he goes having eaten enough'

This sūtra, with the two sūtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein

Note —The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings — prohibition, competent, enough and ornament' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हृत्य । मध्ये हृत्येत्यर्थः । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हृत्वा गतः । इतः परिगृह्य गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766 The word antaḥ is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb

As अन्तर्हृत्य गृहगत "he went away having abandoned home"

Note —The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely 'rejecting,' 'abandoning'

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हृत्वा शूचिका इवेनोगत "the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse"

७६७ । कणेमनसी अस्माप्रतीचाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति । मनोहृत्य । कणेशब्दः सत्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मनः शब्दोऽन्वयेव ॥

767 The words kane and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation'

The word अस्माप्रतीचात means 'satisfaction of desire' As कणेहृत्य पयः पिबति "he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied" So also मनोहृत्य पयः पिबति That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (अस्मा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहृत्वागत "he went away with food or mind satisfied" Here the word कण means the small particles of rice The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes 'eager desire' So also मनः ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768 The word purah "in front of," when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and अद् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have
पू पुरौ, पुर कृत्वा काण्डगत

Note —The pronoun पूर्वं 'front' with the affix अस्ति forms पुरम्, and by I 1
38 S 448 it becomes an Avyaya (See V 3 39 pur being substituted for pūrva)
The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II 2 18 S 761 (2)
accent by VI 2 49 S 3783 (3) to change the ष into स् by VIII 3 40 S 154

७६६ । अस्त च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तमव्यय गतिसज्ञ स्थातुं । अस्तगत्य ॥

769 And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,'
is called gati, when in composition with a verb

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I 1 39 S 449),
and means 'not visible' As अस्तगत्य सादिता पुनरुद्देति '(the sun) having
set, rises again', अस्तगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished' अस्त गच्छति,
When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्त काण्डम् 'the arrow has been
thrown'

७७० । अचक्ष गत्यर्थवद्भ्यु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अचक्षगत्य । अचक्षोद्य । अभिमुख्य गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्यय किम् ।
अलमच्छ गच्छति ॥

770 The indeclinable word achchha, meaning
'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in
composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb
'vad' to speak

The word अचक्ष is an indeclinable and has the force of the word आनि
As अचक्षगत्य, and अचक्षोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya,? Observe अलमच्छ
गच्छति

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अद् कृत्य अद् कृतम् । पर प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम् । अद् कृत्वा । अद् कुरु ॥

771 The word adas 'that' is called gati, when
in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to
another

As अद् कृत्य, अद् कृतम् ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we
have, अद् कृत्वा, अद् कुरु

Note —The word upadesa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa. That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun.

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ । १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ ॥

772 The word *tiras* when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called *gati*, when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ

Note —Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो ह्रस्वास्थितः, standing apart.

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिर कृत् । तिरस्कृत् । तिर कृत्वा ॥

773 The word *tiras* meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called *gati*, when the verb *kṛi* follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिर कृत् or तिरस्कृत् (VIII 3 42 S 156) तिर कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII 3 42 S 156).

Note —The change of *visarga* into *स* is optional VIII 3 42 S 156. When not meaning disappearance, we have तिर कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick.'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्त । उपाजेकृत् । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजेकृत् । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधारेत्यर्थः ॥

774 The words *upāje* and *anvāje* both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called *gati* when used along with the verb *kṛi*.

As उपाजे कृत् or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support' अन्वाजे कृत् or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥ च्छब्दार्थ इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत् । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लभ्यकृत् ।

775 The words sākshāt, 'in the presence of' &c, are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri

Vart —In the words साक्षात् &c the force of the affix च्चि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा, लवणकृत्य or लवणकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before" The च्चि in लवण &c is an anomaly or nipātana

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसि मनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अभ्युपगम्येत्यर्थ । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्यर्थ । अत्याधानद्वयपक्षेऽप्यत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणि शेते ॥

776 The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind' are optionally gati, when the verb kri follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा That is "having so determined in his mind" When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणि शेते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचन ध्यायति 'he ponders having placed the word in his mind'

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृञि वा गतिसज्ञा, स्फुरन्त्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाच निवर्त्येत्यर्थ ॥

777 And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kri follows, the sense not being of 'placing'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा, पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा "Having controlled the speech"

Note —But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिन पदे कृत्वा शिर शेते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant'

७७८ । हस्ते पाणौ पयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृञि । उपयमन विवाह । स्वाकारमात्रमित्यन्ये । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778 The word haste 'in the hand,' pânau 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called *gaṭi* when used with the verb *kṛi*, in the sense of 'marriage'

As पाणौ कृत्य Or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married'

Note — But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापण गत 'he went out having taken in his hand a *karshâpana* (a coin)

The word उपयमन् means 'marriage' According to others it means "merely acceptance"

७७९ । प्राध्वबन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यवयवम् । प्राध्वकृत्य । बन्धनेनाहुकूल कृत्वेत्यर्थः । प्रार्थनार्थिना स्वाहुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्व कृत्वा ॥

779 The indeclinable word *piādhvam*, followed by the verb *kṛi*, is always called *gaṭi*, when used in the sense of "binding"

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *म्* and means 'favourably suitably' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gaṭi* as, *प्राध्वकृत्य* "having bound properly and so made agreeable" But when not meaning to bind, we have — *प्राध्व कृत्वा* "having made agreeable, by prayer &c"

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविदामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदमिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्ये किम् । जीविका कृत्वा ।

प्रादिग्रहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुष । भव वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्य ॥ प्राचार्य ॥

अस्याद्य क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो मालामतिमाल ॥

अवादय कुशाद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवकुट कोकिलया अवकोकिल ॥

पर्यादयो गलानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या* ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययन ॥

निरादय क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या* ॥ निष्क्रान्त कौशाम्या निष्कौशाम्बि ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयाना प्रतिषेध* ॥ वृक्ष प्राप्ति ॥

780 The words *jīvikā* and *upanishad*, followed by the verb *kṛi*, are called *gaṭi*, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* "having made it, as if it was a means of living", *उपनिषत्कृत्य*—"having made it like an *upanishad*" Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe *जीविका कृत्वा* "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas, we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c by II 2 18 S 761 The प्र &c, as used in these examples are not gati. Thus सुपुरुष ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb. We give the following vârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samasa —

Vart —The word प्र &c, when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case affix. Thus प्राचार्य 'a former teacher' so also प्रपितामह 'who precedes the grand-father : e a great-grand father" प्रमातामह ॥

Vart —The words अति &c, when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the second case affix. As अतित्रान्त खट्वाग्रे = अतिखट्वा (I 2 44 and 48 S 655 and 656) 'without a bedstead,' अतिमाल 'exceeding the necklace in beauty' So also अभिमुख (= अभिगतो मुख), उद्गेल, प्रस्वस ॥

Vart —The words अव &c when the thing denoted is 'cried out' &c, are compounded with what ends with third case affix, as अवक्रुष्ट कोकिलया = अव कोकिल 'what is announced by the cuckoo' : e, the Spang. So also परिवीर्यम् (= परिवीर्यो वीर्यम्), सवर्ण (सवर्णो वर्णम्)

Vart —The words परि &c, when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c, are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix, as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = परिग्लान 'weary of study' अलङ्कृष्वारि 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden),

Vart —The words निर &c, when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c, are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निस्कौशाम्बि 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi', So also निर्वाणसिः ॥ So also उत्क्रान्तः कुलात् (= उत्क्रान्तः कुलात्) and निरङ्गुलम् (निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart —A word enters into composition with इव 'like', and there is no elision of the case affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागव्याविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीद्व 'like two garments'

Vart —Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c, when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya', as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युन् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree' साधु देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother'

UPAPADA-SAMÂSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED

७८१ । तत्रोपपद सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ६२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते पदे कमणीत्यादौ वाच्यत्वेन स्थित कुम्भानि तद्वाचक पदमुपपदसज्ञ स्यात्तास्मिन्न सत्येव वक्ष्यमाण प्रत्यय ॥

Here (in this Third Book of Pāṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III 2 1 S 2913 कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case, therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद (Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + अण् = कुम्भकार 'a potter', here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada)

७८२ । उपपदमातिङ् । २ । २ । १६ ॥

उपपद सुबन्त समर्थेन निव्य समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चाय समास । कुम्भ करोतीति कुम्भकार । इह कुम्भ अस् कार इत्यलौकिक प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भून् । माङि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माङ् उपपदम् । अतिङ्ग्रहणं ज्ञापयति सुपेत्येतन्नेहानुवर्तत इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्या-
तिङ्ग्रहणं तन्नापकृत्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकर्कोपपदात् कृङ्गि सह समासवचन प्रा-
क्चतुष्टयेतिरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । अश्वत्थीती । कच्छपी ॥

782 An upapada or attendant word (III 1 92 S 781), which ends with a case-affix (III 4 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha

Thus कुम्भकार 'one who makes pots,' नगरकार 'one who makes cities' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ + अस् (genitive) + कार 'the maker of pot' for krit words govern Genitive This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भून् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III 3 175 S 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भून् ॥

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant, since the anuvṛtti of the words सुप् सुप्ता is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुप्ता should not be read into this and the aphorism II 2 18 S 761. The following Paribhāṣha also arises from this sūtra

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृत्ति सह समासबन्धनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते ॥

“It should be stated that Gatis, Kāraṅkas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter”

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sūtras III 2 18 and 19 S 2932 with case inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kāraṅkas also. Thus व्याप्ति ॥ The word व्याप्ति is formed by the affix क added under III 1 136 S 2898 as qualified by the vārtika under III 1 137 S 2899. The compounding of वि + व्याप्ति + गति is a Gati samāsa, for वि and व्याप्ति are Gati with regard to the verb गति ॥ Had this compounding taken place after गति had become a noun गति and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till गति had taken the feminine affix दाप् also, and it would not have taken डीप् ॥ Because the word गति by itself does not denote any jāti. So the feminine गति will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jāti डीप् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद alone in the above Paribhāṣhā, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when व्याप्ति is compounded with the noun गति, we get व्याप्तगति, then for the compounding of व्याप्तगति with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the गति when preceded by व्याप्ति, the word व्याप्ति may be treated as an upapada (and not gati), but the word वि cannot be treated as an upapada by any rule. So the word gati is properly used in the above Paribhāṣhā.

So also अश्वक्रीडती ‘a female bought in exchange for a horse,’ is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीडते सा = अश्वक्रीडती, add डीप् (IV 1 50 S 506) and we have अश्वक्रीडती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix दाप् had been added to क्रीडते previous to its composition with अश्वेन the form would have been अश्वक्रीडिता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case डीप् could not have been added by IV 1 50.

This word अश्वक्रीडती is an example of kāraṅka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृत्त &c, (II 1. 32 S. 694),

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III 2, 4 S 2916, by Yoga-vibhāga Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken दाप् and not ङिप्, similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधानं यदुपपदं तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुक्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुष्टुम् । काल समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति किम् । अमे भोजम् । अमे भुक्त्वा । विभाषामे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाण्युलौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783 When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल् and खमुङ्)

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule As स्वादुक्कार भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet' So also लवणकार 'having seasoned' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III 4 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating' Here the avyaya ends in ङम् of the affix तुष्टुम् added by rule III 3 167 S 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time')

The force of the word "only" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada, so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas Thus sūtra III 4 24, S 3345 declares "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अमे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas" Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained, but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा Therefore in अमेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अमेभोजम् is not the only form we can have, for, अमेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृत्यान्यन्तरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपपदं तृतीयायामित्यादीन् उपपदान्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपपदं भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपपदम् ॥

784 An upapada ending with a third case-affix, (III 4 47 S. 3368 &c,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tatpurusha

The term अम् is understood here The upapadas ending with a third case affix &c, are given in sūtra III 4 47 S 3368 and the sūtras that follow As मूलकोपदश्च भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपदश्च भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish

Note —For upapadas ending with other cases, see sūtra III 4 52 &c S 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya vidhāna with the अम्, so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III 4 59 S 3381 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well Thus vibhāsha may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhāsha It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed, and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्युपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्ये क्त्व उच्ये क्त्वा । अव्यये ययाभि प्रेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयाप्रभृतीनीति किम् । अल क्त्वा । खलु क्त्वा ॥

785 An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvā, and the compound is Tat-puusha

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide Thus we have उच्ये क्त्व or उच्ये क्त्वा Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sūtra III 4 59 S 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्, other wise not, See VII 1 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c ? अल क्त्वा, or खलु क्त्वा Where there is no composition

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुले सख्याव्ययादे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

सख्याव्ययादेरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य अङ्गुलम् शर । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786 The affix ach comes after a Tatpuusha compound ending in the word anguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it

*Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणस्य = अङ्गुलम् शर ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it as निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो = निरङ्गुलम्, अङ्गुलम् ॥

Note —This compounding takes place by II 1 51 This is a TaddhitaArtha compound, the taddhita affix माचच् being elided by the Vartika प्रमाणे द्वौ द्विगोर्निस्त्वम्

"there is always the elision of the affix सञ्च denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed" See V 2 37 Vart)

७८७ । अहसर्वैकदेशसख्यातपुण्याञ्च रात्रे । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एभ्यो रात्रेः स्याद्यास्तस्यान्यथादे । अहर्मेहण इन्द्रार्थम् । अहञ्च रात्रिभाहोरात्र । सर्वा रात्रि सर्वरात्र । पूर्वं रात्रे पूर्वरात्र । सख्यातरात्र । पुण्यारात्र । द्वयो रात्र्यो समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिर्नतिरात्र ॥

787 The affix अञ्च comes after the word rātri, when preceded by ahan, or saiva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or sankhyāta or punya, when the compound is Tatpurusha, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word rātri

The anuvṛtti of सख्यान्वयादे is drawn in to this sūtra by force of the word च "and" of the sūtra The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound, as अहञ्च रात्रिञ्च = अहोरात्र "day and night" So also सर्वरात्र, पूर्वरात्र 'the first part of night' These are formed by II 2 1 S 712 So also सख्याता रात्रि = सख्यातरात्र ॥ This compound is formed by II 1 57 S 736 So also पुण्यारात्रि = पुण्यरात्र ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable as, द्वयो रात्र्यो समाहार = द्विरात्र, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिम् = अतिरात्र ॥

७८८ । राजाहसखिभ्यष्टञ्च । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषाङ्गञ्च स्यात् । परमराज । अतिराजी । कृष्णसख ॥

788 The affix tach is added to the words rājan, ahan, and sakhi, when standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound

Thus परमराज, अतिराजी, कृष्णस्य सखा = कृष्णसख, ॥

Note —Why not so here मन्त्राणा राज्ञी = मन्त्रराज्ञी instead of मन्त्रराजी ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि महणम्), the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also To this we reply, that the construction of the sūtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into आ in compounding with अहन्, i e राजा + अहन्, and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Paribhāṣhā is anitya, not of universal application, and so we have मद्राज्ञी ॥ See also the next sūtra

७८९ । अह्नोऽहोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽह्नि लोप स्यान्नान्यत्र । उक्तमाह । द्वे अहनी भूतो ब्राह्मीन क्रतु । तद्धितार्थेद्विषु । तमधीष्टइत्यादि कारे द्विगोर्वेत्यनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यह सवत्सराद्येति ख । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वात्नेह । मद्राज्ञा राज्ञी मद्राज्ञी ॥

789 The अन् of अहन् is elided only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus उक्तमाह (V 4 91 S 794 with टच्) ॥ द्वे अहनी मधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = ब्राह्मीन क्रतु (with ख V 1 87 S 1751)

Vart — ख is added to अहन् in the sense of तस्य समूह , when referring to a sacrifice अह्ना समूह क्रतु = अहीन (IV 2 42)

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elided by the last aphorism also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sūtra makes a restrictive rule अहन् does not lose its final अन् before any other Taddhita affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with टच् V 1 79 S 1743) The word एव 'only' is for the sake of perspicuity अहन् alone does not lose its final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same This we infer, from the exception made in the case of ātman and adhvan, before ख in VI 4 169 S 1671

In the sub division of तमधीष्ट (V 1 80 S 1744) reading the anuvritti of द्विगोर्वा (V 1 86 S 1750) in the sūtra रात्र्यह सवत्सराद्य (V 1 87 S 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Paribhāṣhā relating to gender being anitya, (see 788 above) we have no टच् here in मद्राज्ञा राज्ञी = मद्राज्ञी ॥

७९० । अह्नोऽह्ने एतेभ्य । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्य परस्याहन्वाब्दस्याह्नादेश स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790 For ahan is substituted ahna, when preceded by the words, mentioned in V 4 87 S 787 (and taking the affix tach mentioned in V 4 91 S 788)

Note — When the affix टच् follows अहन्, and the latter is preceded by the words सर्व &c, then अह्ना is substituted for अहन् ॥ By the term एतेभ्य "these" words", is meant the numerals (with the exception of एक V 4 90 S 794) the In declinables, the words सर्व, सख्यात् and words denoting a part of a day, for these are the words mentioned in the sūtra V 4 87 S 787 The word अहन् is also mentioned therein, but it is not taken here, for there can be no Tatpuruṣha

compound of अहन् with अहर् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V 4 90, S 794 Thus द्वयोरहोर्भव = ब्रह्म, त्र्यह्म अहरतिक्रान्त = अत्यह्म, निरह्म ॥ So also सर्वाह्ण, (VIII 4 7 S 791) पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, सख्याताह्म (according to some सख्याताह्म V 4 90)

७६१। अहोऽदन्तात् । ८। ४। ७।

अदन्तपूर्वपदस्याद्वैकात्परस्याऽह्मादेशस्य नस्य ण स्यात् । सर्वाह्ण । पूर्वाह्ण । सख्याताह्म । द्वयोरहोर्भव । कालाह्म । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इति ङम् लुक् । ब्रह्म । स्त्रियामदन्तत्वाङ्गाप् । ब्रह्माह्म । ब्रह्ममिय । अत्यह्म

791 The ण is the substitute of न of अहन् when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (1 e the letter र)

Thus सर्वाह्म पूर्वाह्ण "fore noon", अपराह्ण "after noon" But in सख्याताह्म no change

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरह्म, दुरह्म ॥

The word अह्म is substituted for अहन् by V 4 88 S 790 The word अह्म being used in the sūtra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words Thus रीर्षाह्मी शरत् ॥ The word अह्म in the sūtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthānins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वन (VIII 4 4 S 1039), वाहन (VIII 4 8 S 1052), यान &c The compounding takes place by II 2 1, then is added the samāsānta affix टच् (V 4 91 S 788), and अह्म substitution by V 4 88

The word रीर्षाह्मी is a Bahuvrīhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it The feminine ङीप् is added by IV I 28, S 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI 4 134 S 234

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe द्वयोरहोर्भवो = ब्रह्म, ॥ This is a Tadditārtha Dvigu compound formed by II 1 51, S 728 the affix ङम् of कालाह् ङम् (IV 3 11, S 1381) is elided by IV 1 88 S 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI 4 145 S 789

In the Feminine, there will be टप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As ब्रह्मा ॥ So also ब्रह्ममिय and अत्यह्म ॥

७६२। क्षुब्भादिषु च । ८। ४। ३६ ॥

एषु णत्वं न स्यात् । रीर्षाह्मी प्राबुद्ध । एव चैतदर्थमह्म इत्यदन्तात्प्राकरणेऽप्येव न कर्तव्यम् । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति णत्वंवारणाय क्षुब्भादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अदन्तादिति तत्परकरणमिह । परागतमह्म पराह्म ॥

792 The ण is not the substitute of न् in the words kshubhna &c

Note —The 'not' of sūtra VIII 4 34 S 2840 is to be read into this. Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीत, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of अच् being like the principal I 1 57 S 50. So नृनमन where the change was called for by VIII 4 3, S 857 and VIII 4 26 S 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन् and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दन, गिरिनगर ॥ The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीयत्यते ॥ नृत्, नृमोति also belongs to this class नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound. As, परिनर्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII 4 3 S 857. So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII 4 14 S 2287 शरनिवेश, शरनिवास, शराग्नि, शरानूप ॥ All these are Names. After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीन, अचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मेर followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name. This is an आकृतिगण ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमन, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन्, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि सज्ञाया प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्, 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते, 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेश, 21 शरनिवास, 22 शराग्नि 23 शरानूप, 24 आचार्यादण्यत्वं च आचार्यभोगीन (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 नृत्, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि सज्ञायाश्च । इरिका, तिमिर समीरं, कुबेर, हरि कर्मेर, आकृतिगण ॥

Thus दीर्घाद्धी प्रावृद्ध ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्ना end in short अ for the purpose of this case. Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnādi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII 4 11 S 1055

In the sūtra VIII 4 7 S 791 we read 'when preceded by a word ending in short अ', therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change, as पराह (परागतम्) ॥

७९३ । न सख्यादे समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य सख्यादेरद्वादेशो न स्यात् । सख्यादेरिति स्पष्टार्थम् । द्वयोरद्वा समाहारो अह् । अह् ॥

793 This substitution of ahna for ahan, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity

This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samāhāra-Tatpuruṣa. Thus द्वयोरद्वा समाहार = अह्, so also अह् ॥ Here rule V 4 91 applies,

There can be no samahāra Tatpuruṣa compound, unless it is a Numeral compound. So the use of the word सख्यादे in the sūtra is not absolutely necessary, but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness.

७९४ । उत्तमैकाभ्या च । ५ । ४ । ९० ॥

आभ्यामद्वादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः । पुण्यशब्दमाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाह । उत्तममहणपुण्यस्यापि समहार्यामित्येके । सख्यात्ताह ॥

794 And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i. e. पुण्य) and eka this substitution does not take place

The word उत्तम means 'last', and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V 4 87 S 787. The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैयर्थ्य, the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise एकाह ॥ Some include the penultimate word सख्यात् also in the prohibition. According to them सख्यात्ताह is the proper form and not सख्यात्ताह ॥

७९५ । अश्वानामुत्तमस्य । ५ । ४ । ९३ ॥

एष स्यात् । अश्वानामुत्तमस्य इव अश्वोत्तमस्य, मुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795 The affix tach comes after the word 'utmas,' standing at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'

Thus अश्वानामुत्तमस्य = अश्वोत्तमस्य 'the most excellent of horses'

Note —The word अश्व means 'the principal' as the word उत्तम is the principal member of an animal, so by metonymy it has come to mean 'the principal'

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent" Observe देवदत्तस्योत्तमस्य = देवदत्तस्योत्तमस्य "the breast of Devadatta"

७९६ । अनोद्गमाय सरसां जातिसङ्गयो । ५ । ४ । ९४ ॥

एष स्यात् । अनोद्गमाय सङ्गयो च । उपानसम् । अश्वत्थम् । कालावसम् । मण्डूकसत्तमिति जानि नक्षत्रसम् । विण्डीयम् । लोहितावसम् । जलसरसमिति सङ्गो ॥

796 The affix tach comes after anas, asman, ayaṣ, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpuruṣa compound, it denotes a jāti or a name

Thus उपानसम्, अघृताशम्, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डाशम्, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of सज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say ' when meaning a jāti or a sañjñā ? Observe सदन सशमा, तत्सर ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाश्यां च तक्ष्ण । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्ष । साधारण इत्यर्थः । कुच्या भव कौट स्वतन्त्र । सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्ष ॥

797 The affix tach comes after taksna, when preceded by grāma and kauta, in a Tatpuruṣa compound

The anuvṛtti of jāti and sañjñā does not run into this sūtra Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्ष, बहुना साधारण 'the public carpenter of all कुच्या भव = कौट "independent" कौट तक्षा = कौटतक्ष meaning स्वतन्त्र कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचित्प्रातिबद्ध 'and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one'

७९८ । अति शुनः । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराह । अतिश्वी सेना ॥

798 The affix tach comes after the word śvan preceded by ati, in a Tatpuruṣa compound

Thus अतिक्रान्त श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराह "the boar that surpasses the dog" i.e. अववाह "very swift" So अतिश्वो सेना "the dog-surpassing soldier i.e. more devoted to his master than a dog" or 'a servile army, as mean as a dog'

७९९ । उपमानाद्ग्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

अग्राणिविषयकोपमानवाचिन शुनदृष्ट्यात् । आकर्ष श्वेव आकर्षश्च । अग्राणिषु किम् । वानर श्वेव वानरश्च ॥

799 The affix tach comes after the word śvan ending in a Tatpuruṣa compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it

Thus आकर्ष श्वेव = आकर्षश्च 'a dog-like bow' This compounding takes place by II २ 56 S 735

Why do we say "when the thing compared is not a living being"? Observe वानर श्वेव = वानरश्च 'a dog-like monkey'

८०० । उत्तरमगपवाङ्क सक्थन । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चादुपमानात् । उत्तरसक्यम् । दृगसक्यम् । पूर्वसक्यम् । फलकमिव सक्य फलकसक्यम् ॥

800 The affix tach comes after sakthi, when preceded by uttara, mriga, and pûva, in a Tatpuruṣa compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we read in the word उपमानात् also Thus उत्तरसक्यम्, दृगसक्यम्, पूर्वसक्यम् ॥ So also in फलकमिव सक्य = फलकसक्यम् ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगो । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

नौशब्दान्ताद्विगोदृक् स्यान्न तु सञ्ज्ञितलुकि । द्वाभ्या नौभ्यामागत द्विनावरूप्य । द्विगोलुगनपस्य इत्यत्र अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्वलादेर्न लुक् । पञ्चनावप्रिय । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्विज्ञितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभि क्रीत पञ्चनौ ॥

801 The affix tach comes after the word nau, when at the end of a Dvigu compound, but not so when the Taddhita affix is elided

Thus द्वाभ्या नौभ्यामागत = द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावमयम् (IV 3 81 S 1461) The elision of IV 1 88 S 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word अचि of IV 1 89 S 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant

So also द्वे नावौ समाहृते = द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम् ॥ Thus द्विनावधनम्, पञ्चनावप्रिय are also formed

Why do we say 'when in a Dvigu compound'? Observe राजनौ "the king's ship" The phrase अतद्विज्ञितलुकि "when a Taddhita affix is not elided" of sūtra V 4 92 S 729 applies here also Therefore दृक् does not apply in पञ्चभिर् नौभि क्रीत = पञ्चनौ, दशनौ ॥

८०२ । अर्धाश्व । ५ । ४ । १०० ।

अर्धाश्ववदृक् स्यात् । नावाऽर्धम् । अर्धनावम् । क्लीबत्वं लोकात् ॥

802 The affix tach comes after the word nau, when preceded by the word ardhā, in a Tatpuruṣa compound

Thus नावो अर्ध = अर्धनावम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II 2 S 713 The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II 4 26 S 812, for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाश्रयत्वं लिंगस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्या प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्धाष खार्याट्त्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803 To the word khâî, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians

The words द्विगो and अर्धात् are both understood here Thus द्वे खार्यो समाहते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्ध खार्या = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जले । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

ञ्जा स्यात् द्विगौ । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलि । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्या क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलि ॥

804 The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहते = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also द्व्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगो is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply Thus द्वयोरञ्जलि = द्व्यञ्जलि ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V 4 92 S 729)" is understood here also Therefore the affix टच् does not apply here द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्या क्रीत = द्व्यञ्जलि ॥ (V 1 28)

Note —The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V 4 101 S 803 is to be read into this sūtra Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिमिव ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तान्त्पुरुषादृच् स्यान्तमासेन जानपदस्त्वमाख्यायते चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्म ॥

805 The affix tach comes after the word brahmana in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country

The word जानपद is equivalent to जनपदेषु भव 'belonging to a country' Thus affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country Thus सुराष्ट्रसु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्म, and भवन्तिब्रह्म "a Brāhmana of Surashṭra or Avanti" This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

Note —Why do we say “when referring to the name of a country” ?
Observe देवब्रह्मा नारद ‘Narada the bard of the gods’

८०६ । कुमहद्वयामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्या ब्रह्मणो वा ऽच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्म । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806 The affix tach comes optionally after the word brahman preceded by the words कु and महत्, in a Tatpuruasha compound

Thus कुब्रह्म or कुब्रह्मा, ‘a bad Brahmana’ The word ब्रह्मन् is a synonym of ब्राह्मण “a Brāhmana”

८०७ । आन्महत समानाधिकरणजातीययो । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्म । महाब्रह्मा । महादेव । महाजातीय । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महत् सेवा महत्सेवा । लाक्षणिक विहाय प्रतिपदोक्त सन्महदिति समासो ग्रहीष्यते इति चेत् महाबाहुन स्यात् । नस्मादक्षेपप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्योति परिभाषा नह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आशिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रणिक्तादशब्ध इति निर्देशाद्वा । एकादश । महतीशब्दस्य पुवर्कर्मधारयोति पुवर्कावे कृते भात्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महत्वात्वे चासकरविशिष्टरूपसंख्यान पुवर्भावश्च * ॥ असमानाधिकरण्यार्थमिदम् । महतो महत्वात् वा चासो महाचास । महाकर । महाविशिष्ट ॥

अष्टन कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपाल ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्ते इत्यर्थे गम्येऽष्टन भात्व वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ॥ अष्टागव शकटम् । अष्टप्रत्यन्त्रवेत्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्बहुव्रीहवत्यच् । अष्टानां गवा समाहारः अष्टगवम् । तद्वक्तव्यत्वाच्छकटमष्टागवमिति वा ॥

807 For the final of महत् is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महाब्रह्म or महाब्रह्मा, महादेव, महाजातीय ॥ Why do we say ‘before a word which is in apposition with it’? Observe महत् सेवा=महत्सेवा “the service of the great man” the two words are not in apposition Obj We shall explain the compound महत्सेवा by saying that the rule of आ substitution applies to those compounds only of महत् which are ordained specially by II 1 61 S 740 and not to the general compounding of महत् with any noun.

And as महत् सेवा can not be compounded under II 1 61 S 740 so there will be no आ substitution here

Ans—Not so, for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहु which is also not a compound under II 1 61 S 740 but a Bahuvrīhi, and which according to your explanation ought to be महद्बाहु ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paubhā shā does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sūtra Therefore, the present sūtra applies to all compounds of महत्, where it is in apposition with the second word

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga vibhāga, taking आत् as a separate sūtra, or because Pāṇini himself uses it in V 3 49 S 1995

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महत् by VI 3 42 S 746, and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sūtra, and thus we get महाजातीया ॥

The compounding with महत् takes place under II 1 61 S 740 This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrīhis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहु ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samānādhikaraṇa in this sūtra Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurusha compounds of mahat, taught under II 1 61 S 740, but not to Bahuvrīhis like महाबाहु ॥ In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् सपन्न, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary

Vārt —आ is substituted for the final महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition As महत्या घास = महाघास, महत्या कर = महाकर, महत्याविशिष्ट = महाविशिष्ट ॥

Vārt - आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant As अष्टाकपाल चरु निर्वपेत् ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपाल ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vārt —आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गौ, when the meaning is that of 'yoked' As, अष्टागवेन शक्रदेन ॥ But अष्टगव ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in अत् is for the sake of distinctness

The affix अच् of V 4 75 S 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhāga though the compound is Bahuvrīhi, अष्टन् + गो = अष्टा + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samāhāra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked there to

८०८ । द्व्यष्टन सख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्यो । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

आत्स्यात् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । त्रयोविंशति वा । द्वाविंशति । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशति ।
अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्यो क्रिप् । द्विचा । अशीति ॥ प्राक्शतानिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विशतम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808 आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टद् when another Numeral follows but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्व'दश (=द्वौ च दश च or द्व आधिका दश) द्वाविंशति द्वाविंशत्, अष्ट'दश अष्टाविंशति, अष्टाविंशत् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्विचा, अशीति ॥

Varī —This rule applies upto one hundred Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम् अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रैस्त्रय । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयस् स्यात्पूर्वाविषये । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशति । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिंश त्रिंशदा । सुअये बहुव्रीहि । अशतो तु त्र्यशीति । प्राक् शतानित्येव । त्रिशतम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809 For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrīhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिंशदा which is a Bahuvrīhi (II 2 25 S 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अष्टनास्त्रय प्रायुक्त वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदादौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशत् । द्वाचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशत् । त्र्यचत्वारिंशत् । एव पञ्चाशत्षष्ठिस्तत्रनिवृत्तिम् ॥

810 The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टद्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत् or द्वाचत्वारिंशत् त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रय पञ्चाशत् अष्टपञ्चाशत् अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred as, द्विशतम् and अष्टशतम् त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशत् षष्टि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकाविंशकस्य चातुर्क । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

कार्दिनम् प्रकृत्या स्वार्कत्वे च बहुवाक्यम् । यस्मात्तस्या सह समासे कृते एकशब्देन

सहं हृतीयेति योगविभागास्तमास । अदुनासिकविकल्प । एकेन नविशति एकान्नविशति । एका
नविशति । एकोनविशतिस्त्वर्थः ॥

यस्य उत्सव इत्यवशात्तत्परपदार्थे इत्थं च धातु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडश । षोडश । षोडा ।
षड्धा ॥

811 The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्)

Thus एकने नविशति = एकान्नविशति, एकान्नविशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II 1 30 S 692 by the method of yoga vibhāga taking हृतीया as a separate sūtra The nasal is optional, so we have एकाह्नविशति also, meaning "nineteen" The augment अदुक् is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकान् न विशति and एकान् न विशति by VIII 4 45 S 116

Vart —The final of षड् is changed to ड before इत्, इत्, and धा (meaning 'location') and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् वन्ता अस्य = षोडश, so षोडश, षड्धा or षोडा कुह ॥ The addition of ड is optional here The putting of धातु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण) In fact, it has the force of an affix here The rule therefore, does not apply to these —षड् वधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

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THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS

८१२ । परवल्लिङ्ग द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयोः परपदस्येव लिङ्गं स्यात् । कुक्कुटमश्र्याविने । मशूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ । अर्धपिप्पली ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालपूवगतिसमानेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतं पञ्चकपालं पुरोडाशः । प्राप्नो जीविका प्राप्न जीविक । आपन्नजीविक । अलं कुमार्यै अलकुमारि । अत एव ज्ञापकास्तमास । निष्कौशाम्बि ॥

812 The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-puruṣa compound is like that of the last word in it

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction As कुक्कुटमश्र्याविने 'those two (fem) the cock and the peahen' मशूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ 'those two (mas) the peahen and the cock' The Samāhāra Dvandva is always neuter So also in a Tat-puruṣa compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism: As अर्धपिप्पली, अर्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali'

Vārt — Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with *प्राप्त आपन्न* and, *अल* and (3) compounds with Gati words i. e. *Prāṇi* compounds, as, *पञ्चकपाल* 'Purodāsa prepared in five cups', *प्राप्त जीविक* (*प्राप्त + जीविका*) 'has obtained living' *आपन्नजीविक* ॥ *अलकुमारि* 'who is a suitable match for the girl' There is no special rule of Pāṇini by which *अल* can be so compounded We infer such a rule, by the implication (*jñāpa-ka*) of this *vārtika* निष्कौशान्ति 'gone beyond Kausambi'

८१३। पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ । २।४।२७ ॥

द्विवचनमसन्नाम् । अश्ववडवौ । अश्ववडवान् । अश्ववडवै ॥

813 The gender of the compound of the word *aśva* 'horse' and *vadava* 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II 4, 12 S 916, in that case it will be neuter *अश्ववडवादिमौ*, *अश्ववडवान्*, *अश्ववडवै* &c, (in every number and case) 'those two (mas) the horse and the mare' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound

८१४। राज्राज्ञाहा पुंसि । २।४।२९ ॥

एतदन्तौ इन्द्रतपुस्वौ पुंस्त्वेव । अनन्तरत्वात्परवाङ्मितापवाकोऽप्यत्र परत्वात्समहारनपुंसकता बाधते । अहोरात्र । रात्रे पूर्वभाग पूर्वरात्र । पूर्वार्द्धे । अह ॥ सख्यापूर्वं रात्र इतिवच् ॥ द्विरात्रच् । त्रिरात्रच् । गणरात्रच् ॥

814 The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with *rātra* and *ahna* and *aha* are spoken of in the masculine

This debarb the neuter gender of *Samāhāra* even (II 4 17 S 821) because it is a subsequent *sūtra* to that in the order of Pāṇini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II 4 26 S 812 it debarb the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II 4 17 S 821 Thus *अहोरात्र* ॥

These words refer to *kṛit* and *Samasānta* affixes Thus the word *रात्र* is formed by *रात्रि + अच्* (V 4 87 S 787) *अह* is formed by V 4 88 S 790 and *अह* by V 4 91 S 788 The general rule II 4 26 S 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्र, *द्विरात्र*, *त्रिरात्र*, 'A space of two or three nights' *पूर्वार्द्ध*, *अपराद्ध*, *मध्याह्न* 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' *अह* 'two days' *अह*, 'three days'

Vārt —The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as द्विरात्रम् &c, गयारात्रम् ॥ गयाना बहूना रात्राणां समाहार = गयारात्रम् ॥

८१५ । अपथ नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो वेश । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह । अपन्या ॥

815 The Tatpuruṣa word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter

The word "Tat-puruṣa" only is understood in this sūtra and not Dvandva

अपथमिवम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road But अपथोदेश (masc) 'a roadless country' Here the compound being Bahuvrīhi, the word is masculine, so also अपथा where the rule does not apply, because the sūtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samāsānta affix So where there is no samāsānta affix, the form is अपन्या also The samāsānta is optional by V 4 72 S 957

८१६ । अर्धचा पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धचादय शब्दा पुंसि क्लीबे च स्युः । अर्धर्चः । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वजः । ध्वजम् । एव तीर्थं, शरीरं, मण्डः, पीडूषः, देहः, अङ्कुशः, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816 The words 'ardharcha' &c, may be masculine and neuter

As अर्धर्च and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वज or ध्वजम् 'a flag' So also तीर्थ or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage,' शरीर 'the body,' मण्ड 'a shed,' पीडूष 'nectar,' देह 'the body,' अङ्कुश 'a goad for an elephant,' कलश 'a jar' &c

Note —These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter another Thus पद्म 'treasure,' पद्म or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शङ्ख 'treasure,' and शङ्खम् or शङ्ख 'conch-shell,' भूत or भूतम् 'ghost' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies सैन्धव or सैन्धवम् 'salt,' but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies सार 'best' सार 'compendium' So धर्म and धर्मम्

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्यर्थो वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणा पूज्या ब्राह्मण पूज्य ॥

817 In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed

Note —The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jati or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number, by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuvṛtti of asishyam does not go further. Thus ब्राह्मण पुंशः or ब्राह्मण पुंशः.

Note —It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common nouns, such as सपन्न &c, agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus सपन्ना यव or सपन्ना यवा, "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मण प्रत्युद्देश्य or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणा प्रत्युद्देश्या ॥

Why have we used the word jati in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्त Devadatta, यज्ञदत्त Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jati, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of kasyapa may also be called kasyapa, this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say ekasmin? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley' the rule does not apply.

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहि सपन्न सुभिन्न करोति.

८१८ । अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ । ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचनं वा स्यात् । वयं स्म । पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि । आवां हव इति वा ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधः * ॥ पटुरहं ब्रवीमि ॥

818 The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूम), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां हव 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूम 'we speak'.

Vārt —There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute —as पटुरहं ब्रवीमि 'I Patu am speaking' Here we cannot use the plural.

८१९ । कल्युनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात् । पूर्वे कल्युन्यौ । पूर्वा कल्युन्य । पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे । पूर्वा प्रोष्ठपदा । नक्षत्रे किम् । कल्युन्यौ माणविके ॥

819 And the dual of Phalgunī and Proshthapadā, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural)

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvṛtti of the word इय from the last. Of the stars phalgunī and proshthapadā, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूव फल्गुन्यौ (dual), or उदिता पूर्वा फल्गुन्य (plural). So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे ० पूर्वा प्रोष्ठपदा ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunī and proshthapadā, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual'. The present sūtra ordains plural optionally.

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunī and proshthapadā are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number as फल्गुन्या माणविक ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचन नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३ ॥

बहुत्व द्वित्ववद्भवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसु च तिष्यपुनर्वसु । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखादुराधा । नक्षत्रेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवका ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasu, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदयेने 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual)'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखादुराधा 'the stars Visākhā and Anurādhā'. The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense. As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasu'.

Note —There is one star called Tishya, and there are two stars called Punarvasu. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number.

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of? The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasu. As तिष्यपुनर्वसु, पुष्यपुनर्वसु, विशाखादुराधा ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus निष्पुनर्वसव is an example of Bahuvrīhi compound meaning 'persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu' "

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As निष्पुनर्वसु इक्षिणि

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular", for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend further.

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारे द्वियुद्धेन्द्रश्च नपुंसक स्यात् । परवह्निष्ठापवाह । पञ्चगवम् । इन्तोष्ठम् ॥

भकारान्तोत्तरपदा द्वियु क्षियामिष्ट २ ॥ पञ्चमूली ॥

भाबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी । पञ्चसद्वम् ॥

भनो नलोपेभ वा द्वियु क्षियाम् * ॥ पञ्चतल्ली । पञ्चतल्लम् ॥

पात्राद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम् । त्रिभुवनम् । चतुर्गुणम् ॥

पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामह् क्लीबतेष्टा * ॥ पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् ।

पथ सख्याव्ययादे * ॥ सख्याव्ययादे पर कृतसमासान्त पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः । अयाया पन्थाक्षिपथम् । विरूप पन्था विपथम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह सुपन्था । अतिपन्था ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ षट् पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ॥

821 *It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II 4 1 S 731 and II 4 2 S 906) is always a neuter gender.

Note —This sūtra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member. See II 4 26 S 812.

As, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' इन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' शिरोशीवम् 'head and neck'.

Vat —A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only, as पञ्चमूली.

Vārt —A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine, as, पञ्चखट्वम् Or पञ्चखट्वी

Vārt —A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अन् is optionally feminine and the न is elided, as, पञ्चतन्त्रम् Or पञ्चतन्त्री

Vārt —Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c, पञ्चपात्रम्, चतुर्भुजम्, त्रिभुवनम्

Vārt —The Neuter gender is employed after the word अह् preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन, as पुण्याहम् 'sacred day', सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day'

Vārt —The word पथ ending with the samāsanta affix (V 4 72 S 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya, as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम्. But not so in सुपन्या and अतिपन्या where the samāsanta has not been added, because of the prohibition of V 4 69 S 954

Vārt —The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant

As मृदु पचति 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook),
प्रातः कमनीयम् 'in the morning it is pleasant'

— 0 —

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनङ्कर्मधारय । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822 A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhāraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sūtras

Note —This is a governing sūtra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat purusha may be Neuter

८२३ । सज्ञायां कन्थोऽनीनरेषु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषः॥ स्त्रीब स्यात्सा चेदुशीनरेष्वोत्पन्नाया कन्थाया सज्ञा । सुशमस्यापत्यानि सौशमम् ।
तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम् । सज्ञाया किम् । वीर्यकन्था । उशीनरेषु किम् । शशिकन्था ॥

823- When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Uśīnaras

As, सौसामिकन्य 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śushama'

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe वीरणकन्या
Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśīnaras'?
Observe दाक्षिकन्या

Note — This debars the rule (II 4 25 S 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term (For accent see IV 2 124)

८२४ । उपहोपक्रम तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसक स्यात् तयोरुपज्ञायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरपि प्रायम्ब
चेष्टाख्यातुमिच्छते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञ ग्रन्थ । नन्दोपक्रम द्राण ॥

824 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñā' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थ 'the book & the grammar which is Pāṇini's invention', नन्दोपक्रम द्राण 'the measure Drona first introduced by the king Nanda'

Note — Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed, as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथ 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथ 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta' So also the sense may be that of invention &c, but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used, as वाल्मीकिश्लोका 'the slokas invented by Valmiki'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छावान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसक स्यात्पूर्वार्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षुया छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनेति
विकल्पस्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छावानिषादिभ्य इति तु भासमन्ताग्निषादिभ्य इत्याह्मश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade & , groves of sugarcane'

The sūtra II 4 25 S 828 gives *optional* neuter, this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness In the sentence "इक्षुच्छावानिषादिभ्य" there is also shortening, there is वा between ikshuchâyâ and nishâdīnyah Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय निषादिभ्य ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपदार्थपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसक स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पदार्थस्यैवेष्टे * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रयुतसभा ।

अमनुष्यशब्दो रूढ्या रक्ष पिशाचादीनाम् । रक्ष सभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826 A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ* 'court' is neuter, provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word *Râjâ*, or by a word denoting a non-human being

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रयुतसभा the word is not neuter, for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word form राजा, an apparent exception to Rule I 1 68 S 25

So also रक्ष सभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Pisâchas' The word is neuter The word non human has a technical significance meaning "a Rākshasa or a monster &c"

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

सपाठार्थो वा सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुष ऋषि स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसपाठ इत्यर्थः । अशाला किम् । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word *sabhâ*, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe धर्मसभा here सभा means a house or an institution

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुष ऋषि वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । बवसुरम् । बवसुरा । कुम्भच्छादम् । कुम्भच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनम्कर्तृधारक इत्यनुवृत्ते-नेह । दृढसेनो राजा । असेना । परमसेना ॥

828 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words *senâ* 'army,' *surâ* 'wine,' *chhâyâ* 'shadow,' *śālâ* 'house' and *niśâ* 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle *nañ* (II 2 6) and the *karmadhāraya* compound

As *ब्राह्मणसेना*, *ब्राह्मणसेनम्* 'the Brahmana army' *यवसुरम्* *यवसुरा* the barley wine, *कुडचच्छायम्*, *कुडचच्छाया* the shadow of the wall, *गोशालम्*, *गोशाला* 'the cow house,' *इवनिशम्* *इवनिशा* 'tomorrow night' But *वृद्धसेनोराजा*। *असेना* 'non army,' *परमसेना* good army, the former being a negative and the latter a *karmadhāraya* compound For II 4 19 S 822 applies here also

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpuruṣa Compounds

830 Two or more words ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting, another new thing, not connoted by those words individually, and the compound is called Bahuvrīhi

The Bahuvrīhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first, as प्राप्तमुक्क ग्राम = प्राप्तोक्को ग्राम a water-reached village ऊढरयोऽनङ्गा 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn' उपहतपशुरूद्र Rudra to whom cattle is offered' उद्घृतौदना स्थाली a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरधरि 'Hari wearing yellow garments' वीरपुरुषको ग्राम 'a village possessed of heroic men'

The Bahuvrīhi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case As वृष्टे देवे गत gone when it had rained'

The Bahuvrīhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded, as पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vari —The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term As प्रपतित पर्जनस्य = प्रपर्ण a tree of which the leaves are all fallen'

Vari —The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms As अविद्यमान पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्र childless' So also अभाज्यं wifeless'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrīhi As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmanī having milk' These words are indeclinables The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb

Note —Why have we used the word 'anya' in the sūtra? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpuruṣa and the Bahuvrīhi may be indicated A Tatpuruṣa denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि सावकाशं तत्पुरुषः) while a Bahuvrīhi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound

८३१ । स्त्रिया पुषद्भाषितपुस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

— भाषितपुस्कादङ् ऊङोऽभावो यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहि निपातनात्पञ्चम्या अलुक् । पद्भाषलुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते बहुक्तपुस्क तस्मात्पर ऊङोऽभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुवाचकस्यैव रूप स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे । नतु पूरण्या प्रियादौ च परत । गास्त्रयोरिति ब्रह्म ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो अम् इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रगु । रूपव-
द्भार्य । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तेर्बहुनामपि बहुव्रीहि ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीगु । जरतीचित्रागुर्वा । एव इधार्तिर्वाजङ्घ । तन्वीर्वाजङ्घ ।
त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ प्रथम न पुवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् ।
उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढ । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढ इति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । आनङ् कत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्थस्य पुवदेव ।
चित्राजरहुरित्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरस्यौ गावो यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरहुरिति भाव्यम् ।
कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुवत् । जरचित्रगु । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्रजरङ्गवाक ।

स्त्रिया किम् । भ्रामणि कुल दृष्टिरस्य भ्रामणिदृष्टि ।

भाषितपुस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभाष ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामोरुभाष्य ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्या माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रिया किम् । कल्याणा प्रधान यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधान । पूरण्या तु ॥

831 In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it, but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor भ्रिय &c (see under 835 for the list of Pīyādi words)

Note —The words of this sūtra require some analysis for better comprehension स्त्रिया 'for a feminine word', पुवद् "like the masculine," i.e. a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word भाषितपुस्कान् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i.e. a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आशय) of the two words, that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation applying to the same objects, but of different genders. A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुस्कादन्ङ् स्त्रीशब्द ॥ The word भाषितपुस्कादन्ङ् is a Bahuvrīhi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously. Of such २ भाषितपुस्कादन्ङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form. Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i.e. a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (परम) and of भ्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रयु 'He who has bridled cows' Here गो is shortened by 1 2 48 S 656 The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस् (Pl) + गो + अस् (Pl) Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र, and गो is shortened to यु ॥ Similarly रूपवद्भाष्य ॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य ॥ Here according to some we have either चित्रा-जरतीयु or जरतीचित्रायु ॥ So also वीर्यातन्वाजह् or तन्वीरीर्याजह् ॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrihi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word. The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound. The word उत्तरपद 'last word' is the technical name of the last member of a compound, while पूर्वपद 'first word,' is similarly confined to the first member of a compound. Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada, similarly this second term though a purva pada with relation to the third, is not called purva pada" Thus say some grammarians.

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sūtra any such word as purva pada and the word should not be inserted in it. For if पूर्वपद qualified this sūtra, it would similarly qualify VI 3 25 S 921, and therefore though we could form होतापातारौ by आनङ्, we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टेद्गातार, but नेष्टृ + इद्गातार ॥ But in the Mahābhāṣya we find नेष्टेद्गातार ॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine, and the proper form is चित्राजरह् &c. Therefore in चित्राजरस्यौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one bridled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरह् only. This is in the Mahābhāṣya. But when the first member is a Karmadhāraya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरतिचित्रयु 'He who has an old bridled cow' The compounding here is by II 1 49 S 726. But when the last term is a Karmadhāraya compound, we have चित्रजरह्वीक ॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhāraya compound, जरती चासौ गौश्च = जरह्वी which is formed by adding the feminine affix डीप् to the word जरह्व formed by the samāsanta affix टच् (V 4 92 S 729). Then we form the Bahuvrihi चित्रा and जरह्वी यस्य = चित्राजरह्वीक the affix कप् is added by V 4 153 S 833.

So also दर्शनीयभार्य (= दर्शनायाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनाया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीय, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ, it is followed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रवादि class, hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूड, दीर्घजड ॥

Why do we say स्त्रिया for a feminine word? Observe ग्रामणि ब्राह्मणकुलदृष्टिरस्य = ग्रामणिदृष्टि ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुस्क)? Observe गङ्गाभाय ॥ There is no corresponding masculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानाद्यमाकृतौ ? Observe द्वौणीभाय, the masculine word द्वौण has not the same significance as द्वौणी ॥ The words गभिभार्य, प्रसूतभार्य, and प्रजातभार्य are anomalous Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वामोरुभार्य ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याणमाता = कल्याणीमाता 'the mother of Kalyāni' Why do we say स्त्रियाम् followed by a feminine word? Observe कल्याणी प्रधान यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधान ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word Why do we say not being an ordinal Numeral? The next sūtra applies to ordinals

८३२ । अप्पूरणीप्रमाण्यो । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्त यत् स्त्रीलिङ्गं तदन्तात्प्रमाण्यन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहरेप् स्यात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसा रात्रीणां ता कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रय । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाण । पुनरावृत्तिविधौऽप्यस्यैव प्रधानपूरणमेव । रात्रि पूरणी वाच्या चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्य । अन्यच्च तु ॥

832 The affix *ap* comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word *pramāṇi*

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V 2 48 S 1849 &c) प्रमाणी means 'a witness, 'a principal' Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसा रात्रीणां = कल्याणीपञ्चमा रात्रय 'the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious' कल्याणीदशमा रात्रय ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषा = स्त्रीप्रमाणा कुडम्बिन meaning भार्याप्रधाना "having a woman for authority"

The affix *अप्* and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (*pradhana*) member in a compound When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal The prohibition of *punvād bhava*—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI 3 34 S 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is *pradhana* Therefore, the affix is not added here कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष = कल्याणी पञ्चमी अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so, then instead of अप् we have कप् as by the next sūtra

८३३ । नद्युतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्युत्तरपदादन्तोत्तरपदाच्च बहुव्रीहि कप्स्यात् । पुवङ्गाव ॥

833 The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadī word, or which ends in a short अ ॥

Note —The word नदी is defined in I 4 3 S 266 Thus बहुकुमारीको देश (बह्व्य कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धक ॥ बहुकर्तृक ॥ The त in क्तृ is for the sake of euphony

There is punyad bhāva (masculine substitution) in such compounds

Thus कल्याणी + पचमी + कप् ॥ Now at this stage the next sūtra requires that the long ई be shortened

८३४ । केऽण । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्व स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

834 Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ए are shortened

Note —As झका, (VII 3 47 S 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ ई and ऊ only ? Observe गौका नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unādi diversity with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un III 40) By the following sūtra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप् it therefore implies that क्तृ is governed by this rule though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kītyāyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the krit क of the Unādi, as राका, धाका but Unādi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽन्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sūtra

Therefore कल्याणी + पचमी + कप् = कल्याणी + पचमि + कप् ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sūtra

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपचमीक पक्ष । अत्र तिरोहितावयवेऽस्य पक्षस्यान्यपक्ष-
र्यतया रात्रिप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृक । अप्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रिय ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्ति । सचिवा । स्वरा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । समा ।
अपला । दुहितृ । वामा । अत्रला । तनाया ॥

सामान्ये नृपसकम् ॥ दृढ भक्तियस्य स दृढभक्ति । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षाया तु दृढाभक्ति ॥

835 But before the samāsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrīhi compounds the अण् vowels are not shortened

As कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष ॥ बहुकुमाराक, बहुवृषलीक, बहुलक्ष्मीक ॥ The shortening ordained by I 2 48 S 656 even does not operate when कप् follows Here सखि is not principal, but secondary, because पक्ष is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared

Note —For had there been upasārjana shortening (I 2 48), the present sūtra would be useless Therefore, the very existence of this sūtra debars every sort of shortening Ob! The present sūtra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasārjana by I 2 48 S 656, namely before non-feminine affixes as बहुयवागूक, but there should be shortening in feminine affixes Ans The shortening of I 2 48 will not take place before कप् affix Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member So there is no prātipadika left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I 2 48, S 656 does not apply, because the prātipadika now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix

Similarly बहुकर्तृक ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष ॥ The samāsanta affix अप् (V 4 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before मित्र &c Observe कल्याणीमित्र ॥

1 मित्रा, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सखिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 सन्या, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्ति is anomalous

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढ भक्तियस्य = दृढभक्ति ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढाभक्ति ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुच । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिषुष्वाकृत्वसुजन्तेषु परेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवस्यान् । परिगण्यन् कर्तव्यम् । अस्याप्यातिव्याप्ति-
परिहाराय । ऋतुसौ । वसन्तमपौ । अरुणजातीयौ । कल्पमेसीयौ । रूपपाशपौ । धात् । तिलध्वनौ
बह्वोषु बहुत्र । बहुत । वर्धनीयतपु । दर्शनीयतमा

घरूपेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्व पर-वात्पुवङ्गाव बाधते । पङ्क्तिरा । पङ्क्तिना । पङ्चरी । पङ्जातीया ।
दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । वट्या । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकति । अजाभ्यो
हिता अजध्या ॥

शस्ति बहुलपार्थस्य पुवङ्गावो उक्तव्य * ॥ वङ्गीभ्यो देहि बहुश । अल्पाभ्यो रहि अल्पश ॥
त्वत्तजोगुणवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लाया भाव शुक्लवम् । शुक्लता । गुणवचनस्य किम् । कर्त्र्या भाव कर्त्र्यत्वम् ।
शरद् कृतार्थितेत्यादौ तु सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥

भस्यादे तद्धिते * ॥ इस्तिनीना सगृहो हास्तिकम् । अठे किम् । रोहिणेय । स्त्रीभ्यो ङगिति
ढोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्रेढगिति ङकि तु पुत्रदेव । अग्रायी देवताऽस्य स्थालीपाकस्यग्नेय । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिधा ।
शत्रुपर्यायात्सपत्नशब्दाच्छास्त्रवादिनाम् डीन्येक । समान पतिव्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धन पतिशब्द-
माश्रित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गो द्वितीय । स्वामिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुष्कस्तृतीय । आद्ययो शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या
अपत्य सापत्न । तृतीयाच्च लिङ्गविशिष्टपारिभाषया पत्युत्तरपदलक्षणो ण्य एव । न त्वण् । शिवादौ रूढयोरेव
ग्रहणात् । सापत्य ।

ठक्छसोश्च * ॥ भवत्याश्छात्रा भावत्का भवहीया ।

एतद्वान्तिकमेकनद्धिते चेति सञ्च च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुवङ्गाव इति भाष्यकारेण
गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकार्थ्या यस्य स सर्वकभार्य । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवम् ।
मन्त्रैवाङ्गिति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकचि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सविता । सर्वा ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डाटिपु ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्ड कुक्कुटण्डम् । घृया पद घृगपदम् ।
घृगशीरम् । काकशाव ॥

836 A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ्
and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed
to such masculine form before the affixes beginning with
तसिल् &c (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच्
(V 4 17 S 2085)

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many
or too few The following are the affixes before which the feminine is
changed to masculine च and तस् तरप् and तमप्, चरद्, जालीचर्, कल्पप्, (देश्य),
देशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्, (यम), याल्, (श and हर्ल), तिल्, ध्यन् (सातिल) ॥ All other
affixes do not affect the gender

Thus (1) च=बहुच, (2) तस्=बहुत both with the force of locative
बङ्गीषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes
are called च and so the rule VI 3 43 S 985 causes shortening and this
shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even
Thus not पङ्तरा and पङ्तमा, (as given in some texts), but पङ्क्तिरा
and पङ्क्तिमा ॥ (5) चरद् (V 3 53 S 1999) as पङ्चरी ॥ (6) जालीचर् (V 3
69 S 2024) as पङ्जातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as
दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V 3 66 S 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V 3
47 S 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) याल् (V 3 23 S 1971) as बहुया ॥ (12)
तिल् (V 4 41 S 3505) as वृकति (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) ध्यन् (V 1 8 S 1669)
as, अजध्या (=अजाभ्योहिता.) ॥

Vart —The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् —३९ बह्वीभ्यो देहि = बहुषो देहि अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥ See V 4 42 S 2109

Vart —A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes स्व and तल् ॥ शुक्लाया भाव = शुक्लत्वम् so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्र्या भाव = कर्त्रीत्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरव कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance For though शरव is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थता ॥

Vart —The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes except ढ, when the word gets the designation of ष ॥ Thus हस्तिनीना सगृह = हस्तिकम् by ढक् (IV 2 47 S 1256) Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI 4 148 S 311) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI 4 22 S 2183) and also by I 1 57 S 50 sthānat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI 4 144 S 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable So the form would have been some thing like हस्तिनिकम् instead of हस्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of ढ'? Observe रोहिनेय the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added डीप् and न् changed to न by IV 1, 39 S 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been punvad bhāva, रोहिनेय would have been the form The ढ taken here is the ढ of the sūtra IV 1 120 S 1123 and not the ढक् of IV 2 33 S 1236 Thus आग्नेय (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings (1) Formed by adding डीन् under शार्ङ्गखादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy' सपत्नी 'a female enemy' (2) a co-wife, समान पतिर्यस्या । It shows marital relation, and is always feminine, having no corresponding masculine (3) where पति means 'lord' (not husband) and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine It means a female servant of the same master The first two take the अण् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्य = सपत्न 'the son of a female enemy or of a co-wife' In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not अण् because शिवादि अण् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the yugika word Its form will be सापत्य ॥

Vart —The masculine change takes place before the affixes ढक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या शलाका = भावस्का, भवद्गीया ॥ This Vārtika and the sūtra एकताङ्गितेय (VI 3 62 S 1000) need not have been made Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (15/12) of the Bhāsyakāra (Patanjali) "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function" As (1) सर्वमय (2) सर्वकाम्याति, (3) सर्विकाभार्या यस्य स = सर्वकभार्य In spite of VI 3 37 S 838 (4) सर्वमिय &c In the first the

affix is नयङ् which is not included in Tasiladī class of this sūtra, and yet it causes masculation. The third would not have become masculine by VI 3 34 because VI 3 37 S 838 would have prevented it.

So also सर्वप्रिय in spite of the exception of VI 3 34 S 881 with regard to प्रिय &c. That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रिय &c.

If a sarvanāman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तद्व्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्त्या ought to become masculine. But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pūrva) member of the compound. When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term. This we infer from the implication of VII 3 47 S 466. That sūtra contains two pronominals एषा and हा and if they were to become masculine even in Taddihta function (i.e. when क is added) there would have been no scope for the इ of that sūtra. Hence there is this inference that a sarvanāma does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha, as सर्विका with akach, and सर्वा plural being eka sesha.

Vart —The words कुक्कुटी &c. become masculine before अण्ड &c. as, कुक्कुट्या अण्ड = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्या पदे = मृगपदम्, मृग्या क्षीरे = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्या शावे = काकशाव ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender.

८३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयो परत पुवत । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वमित्रा काचिर्दशनीया मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीया स्त्रिय मन्यते दर्शनायमाना चैत्र ॥

837 A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिन्—दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्या "He esteems her as handsome" दर्शनायमानिनीयमस्या (इयम् अस्या) "She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome" The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words. Thus non-feminine words—दर्शनीया मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी अयमस्या ॥ For non-appositional words—as, दर्शनीया मन्यते देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्या ॥

Note —The affix क्यङ् is added under III 1 11 S 2665. Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII 4 25 S 2298 and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word मानिन् is separately used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words and non-feminine (masculine) words , which was not the case under the last sūtra

८३८ । न कोपधाया । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधाया स्त्रिया न पुवत् । पाचिकाभार्य । रसिकाभार्य । मद्रिकायते । मद्रिकामानिनी ॥
कोपधप्रतिषेधे तद्धित वुप्रहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्य ॥

838 A Feminine word having a penultimate क् does not assume the Masculine form

Thus पाचिकाभार्य , रसिकाभार्य , मद्रिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI 3 34—36 and not only to VI 3 34

Vart —The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्य (पाकाभार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means “young” and is formed by the Unâd. affix क (Un V 53) This is neither a Taddhita क nor a क of वु affix

८३९ । सज्ञापूरण्योश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनयोर्न पुवत् । दत्ताभार्य । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्त स्त्रिया पुंसि च सज्ञाभूततोऽयमिति भाषितपुस्तकत्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्य । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839 The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्य । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhâshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा to give , so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त, though both may be proper Names So also पञ्चमीभार्य and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशाप् is added by आन्वेपाशाप् (V 3 47 S 1993)

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धेतुर्थस्तद्धिताऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुवत् । औल्लीभार्य । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्य । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलावभार्य । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावद्भार्य ॥ रक्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था यस्य स काषायपन्थ । विकारे तु हैनी छुद्रिका यस्येति हैमछुद्रिक । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धि प्रति फलोफलोपधानाभावादिह पुवत् । वैद्याकरणभार्य, । सौवश्वभार्य ॥

840 The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vriddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vriddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'

Thus लौघीभार्य, मायुरीयते, and मायुरीमानिना ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्य ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV 3 8 S 1378 which does not cause Vriddhi. Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्य (काण्ड लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्णयण्) and डीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कन्था यस्य = काषायकन्थ, हेमस्य विकारोऽस्मी, हेमीमुद्रिका = हेममुद्रिका (IV 3 140 S 1520) What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्धि"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i.e. a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes Vriddhi. Therefore this exception does not apply to तावज्जार्थ (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुप् V 2 39 S 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi, but by VI 3 91 S 430 which says 'आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वत्' ॥ Though आ is a Vriddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vriddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in वैयाकरणभावे "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्य "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman" there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi. The word निमित्त in the sūtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit". Now when तद्वधीते तद्वद् अण् (IV 2 59 S 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्य अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vriddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII 3 3 S 1098 which says — "Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows इ or ए, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels". Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vriddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in वैयाकरणी भार्या यस्य, and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाश्चेत । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाय ईकारस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकेशीभार्य । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । पटुभार्य । ईत् किम् । अकेशभार्य ॥ भमानिनोति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनो ॥

841 A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine

Thus सुकोशीभार्य । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पदुभार्य (पदु not denoting any bodily member) Why do we say 'a feminine in ई'? Observe अकेशभार्य (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vartika —There is an exception when the word मानिन follows Thus सुकोशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जाते परो य छाप्रत्ययस्तदन्त न पुवत् । शूद्राभार्य । ब्राह्मणी भार्य ॥ सौत्रस्यैवाय निषेध । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याडे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842 A feminine noun expressing jāti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine

Thus शूद्राभार्य, ब्राह्मणीभार्य ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूह = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas Here the vārtika भस्याडे given under VI 3 35 S 836 will apply of course

८४३ । सख्यायाऽव्ययासन्नादुराधिकसख्या . सख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

सख्येयार्यया सख्ययाऽव्ययाद्य समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहि । वक्षानां समीप ये सन्ति ते उपदशा नव एकादश वेत्यर्थः । बहुव्रीहिौ सख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङच् ॥

843 Indeclinable words and the words āsanna 'near,' adha 'near,' adhika 'more' and the words called sankhyā (Numerals) are compounded with another sankhyā word, when the sense is that of a numeral or sankhyā The compound is Bahuvrīhi

Thus उपदशा (V 4 73 S 851) those who are near ten, i.e. nine or eleven' Similarly उपविंश 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI 4 142 S 844)

By V 4, 73 S 851, the affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral

८४४ । ति विंशतेर्ङिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विंशतेर्भस्य तिङाङ्स्य लोप स्याद्विति । आसन्नाविंशा । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थः । अद्वारविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशा । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्वित्रा । द्विरावृत्ता द्वा द्वित्रा । विंशतिरित्यर्थः ॥

844 Of the Bha stem विंशति before an affix having an indicator ङ, the ति is elided

Thus आसन्नविंश 'nineteen or twentyone', अद्वविंश 'twenty nine or thirty one', अधिकचत्वारिंश 'forty-one'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded, as, द्विंश 'two or three' द्विंश 'twenty'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । दक्षिणस्या पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तराल दक्षिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहणायौगिकानां न । ऐन्द्याश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तराल दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakshina pûrvâ, 'south east,' (the direction midway between south and east) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north east'

The word नाम is introduced in the sutra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction, as ऐन्द्याश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोऽर्थान्तरालम् 'the point between east and north' Here the words ऐह्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे पदे तृतीयान्ते च ग्रहणविषये इह शुद्ध प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्येते कर्मव्यतिहारि शोले स बहुव्रीहि । इतिशब्दादय विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846 Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that' The compound so formed is Bahuvrīhi

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case' and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*, and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking* the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध ॥ Now applies the following sūtra —

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

दीर्घं इत्यनुवर्तते । इच्चि कर्मव्यतिहरि बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य दीर्घं । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठद्गुप्रवृत्तिविचप्रत्ययस्य पाठाद्व्ययीभावस्त्वमव्ययत्वं च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वेद् युद्ध प्रवृत्त केशाकेशि । वृण्डैर्वृण्डैश्च ग्रहणेद् युद्ध प्रवृत्त वृण्डावृण्ड । मुष्टीमुष्टि ॥

846 A The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also

(This sūtra is taught in S 3539 also)

The word *dirgha* is understood in this sūtra from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VI 3 111 The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrīhi compound is lengthened, before the samāsānta affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant The samāsānta इच् will be taught later on (V 4 127 S 866) The इच् affix is read in the Tishthadga class (II 1 17 S 671) and so these compounds are Avyayibhāvas and Indeclinables

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इद् युद्धप्रवृत्त=केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair', वृण्डैश्च वृण्डैश्च ग्रहणेद् युद्धप्रवृत्त=वृण्डावृण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave' so also मुष्टी मुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुण । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुण स्यात्तद्धिते । भवादेश । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोरिति वक्तव्ये युगोक्ति सज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन वृत्तलेन ॥

847 For उ or ऊ of a bha stem there is substituted Guna, before a Taddhita affix

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand" Instead of making the sūtra simpler by saying ओरोरु 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ' the employment of the technical phrase गुण in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim सज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्य "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term" The present sūtra is, therefore, anitya and we have forms like स्वायम्भु from स्वयम् without guna See VII 4 30 also

Why do we say in the preceding sūtra S 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following हलैश्च वृत्तलेश्च ग्रहणेद् युद्ध प्रवृत्त ॥

८४८ । तेन सहैति तुल्ययोगे । २२ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमाने सहैत्यन्तर्नीयास्तने प्राग्वत् ॥

848 The word *saha* 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrīhi, provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner

Thus सह+पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । ६ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीहयवयवस्य सहस्य स् स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्र सहपुत्रो वा भागत । तुल्ययोगवचन प्राथिकम् । सकर्मक । सलामक ॥

849 स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi

That compound in which all members are secondary —उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrīhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood, Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्र or सहपुत्र आगत ॥

Note —Why do we say of a Bahuvrīhi? Observe सहयुष्मा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrīhi like सहकृत्वामिय or सहयुष्मामिय ॥

How do we get the forms like सकर्मक सलामक सपुत्रक &c in which there is no 'tulva-yōga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचन प्राथिक) ॥

Note —Thus सह पुत्रेणागत = सपुत्र (VI 3 82, सह changed to स) he has come accompanied by his son' सच्छात्र 'accompanied by the pupil' सकर्मकर 'accompanied by the servant'

Why do we say 'tulva yōga'? Witness सहैव इयामि पुत्रैर्भार वहति गर्दभी 'the she ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिषि । ६ । ३ । ८३ ॥

राशशब्द प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वस्ति राशे सहपुत्राय सहमात्याय ॥ जगोवस्सरेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगव । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850 The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction

Thus स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय, सहानायाय ॥

Vārtika —But optionally so when it is गा, वस्त or हले —as, स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवस्ताय or सहवस्ताय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ सख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

सख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्माद्धुच् स्यात् । उपवशा । भवहुगणात्किम् । उपबहव । उपगणा । अत्र स्वेर विशेष ॥ सख्येयास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्य * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिंशतो निखिलानि वर्षाणि चैवस्य । निगतस्त्रिंशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्या निखिलं खड्ग ॥

851 The affix dach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gāṇa.

This Bahuvrīhi is formed by rule II 2 25 S 843 Thus उपवशा ॥

Note —Why do we say 'denoting a numeral' ? Observe चित्रयु, शबलयु ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gāṇa' ? Observe उपबहव, उपगणा ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच् been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI 1 163 S 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first

Vart — The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like निखिल &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिंशत = निखिलानि वर्षाणि चैवस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशताङ्गुलिभ्या = निखिलं खड्ग 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सकथ्यर्णो स्वाङ्गात्पच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

पथ्येन षष्ठी । स्वाङ्गात्पिसकथ्यन्ताहुव्रीहे षच् स्यात् । दीर्घे सकथ्यनी यस्य सदीर्घसकथ्य । जलजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् ॥ दीर्घसकथ्य शकटम् । स्थूलाक्षी वेणुयाष्ट । अक्ष्णोऽदशेर्गादित्यच् ॥

852 The affix shaach comes after the words sakthī and akshī, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घे सकथ्यनी यस्य = दीर्घसकथ्य, so also जलजाक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe दीर्घसकथ्य शकटम् । स्थूलानां वेणुयाष्ट ॥ The affix अच् is added by V 4 76 S 944

Note —The word सकथ्यक्षणी is genitive dual while it ought to be ablative. Why do we say "in a Bahuvrīhi compound"? Observe परमसकिय, परमाक्षि ॥ Why do we say "after sakthi and akshi? Observe रीर्यत्रातु, सुबाहु ॥

The new affix षच् is employed instead of दच् for the sake of the accent. Thus चक्रसक्यी क्षी, रीर्यसक्यी क्षी ॥ By sutra IV I 41 S 493 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicative ष् is formed by डीष् and not डीप् ॥ Had the affix here been दच्, then the feminine would have been formed by डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470), which is anudatta (III 1 4). Now by rule VI 2 198 S 3932 the second term 'saktha' has *optionally* udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrīhi. When therefore it is not oxytone, then by adding डीष् the final of रीर्यसक्यी would have been anudatta so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone in the other not, which would be anomalous. But when डीष् is added, it is *always* udatta, which is desired and removes the anomaly. The anuvṛtti of Bahuvrīhi extends up to the end of the chapter.

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दाक्षि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ता बहुव्रीहे षच् स्यादाकर्ण्यर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुल्यो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं शरः । अङ्गुलिसहस्रावयव धान्यादिवित्तपणकाष्ठमुच्यते । बहुव्रीहे किम् । हे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या अङ्गुला याटे । तद्वित्तार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलरित्यच् । शरणि किम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853 The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in the word anguli, when the compound means "a piece of wood"

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं शरः ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अङ्गुलायाटे = हे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V 4 86 S 786 by adding षच् as samāsānta affix, the anguli meaning here *size* and not *figure*. Why do we say "when meaning a wood"? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्या ष मुद्वंश । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्या मुद्वंश ष स्याद्वहुव्रीहौ । द्विमुद्वंश । त्रिमुद्वंश ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रे अक्षरकल्पः * दृगो नेता यस्तस्य सः दृगनेत्रा सञ्जयः । पुष्यनेत्रः ॥

854 The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in mūldhan, and preceded by dvi and tri

Thus द्विमुद्वंश । त्रिमुद्वंश ॥ The feminine is formed by डीष् and the accent is regulated by VI 2 197.

Note —Why do we say “preceded by dvi and tri ?” Observe द्वैर्पूर्वा ॥

Vart —The affix अप् comes after नेत् when preceded by a word denoting asterism As धृगनेत्रा रात्रय = धृगो नेता आसा रात्रीणा “the night whose leader is the asterism mriga”, so also पुष्यनेत्र ॥

Note—Why do we say “an asterism” P_ Observe देवदत्तनेत्रका ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोमः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्या लोमोऽस्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । अन्तर्लोम । बहिर्लोम ॥

855 The affix अप् comes after a Bahuvrīhi ending in loman and preceded by antaḥ and bahiḥ

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोमान्यस्य = अन्तर्लोम प्रावार ‘a cloak having the hairy surface inside’ Similarly बहिर्लोम पट ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकाया संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरञ् स्यात् नासिकाञ्चञ्च नस प्राप्नोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856 The affix अच् is added to the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrīhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nāsikā, but not so when the word sthūla precedes the word nāsikā

Thus दु + नासिका = दु + नासिका + अच् = दु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra by which न is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥ .

पूर्वपदस्याग्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्य ण स्यात्संज्ञाया नतु गकारव्यवधाने । दुरिव नासिकाऽस्य दुणस । खरणस । अग किम् । कृचामयन कृगयनम् । अपृगयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यात भाष्ये । अस्थूलात्किञ् स्थूलनासिक । खुरखराभ्या वा नस् * ॥ खुरणा । खरणा ॥ पक्ष भज्यपीव्यते ॥ खुरणस खरणस ॥

857 So also, ऋ is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter न ॥

Thus डारव नासिकाऽस्य = दुणस । खरणस ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, नमनासिके ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter न'? Observe, ऋगयनम् ॥

In the Mahābhāṣya, Patanjali has shown that the word नम् is superfluous in the sūtra for the non change of न to ण in ऋगयन can be established by the nipātana of IV 3 73 S 1452, where Pāṇini himself has used the word ऋगयन showing that न is not changed to ण ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल'? Observe स्थूलनासिको बराह ॥

Vart —After the words खुर, and खर, for नासिका is substituted नस् but no affix is added as, खुरणा, खरणा ॥

Vārtika —In the alternative affix अच् is added, as खुरणस्, खरणस् ॥

Iṣṭi —The forms शित्तिना, अर्चना and साहिना are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas)

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रादेश्यो नासिकाशब्दस्तदन्ताद्ब्रह्मीक्षेप् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । असंज्ञार्यं वचनम् । उन्नतं नासिका यस्य स उन्नत् । उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति सूत्रं तद्वद्वत्त्वा भाव्यकारं ब्राह्म ॥

858 The affix ach comes after the word nāsikā final in a Bahuvrihi, when an upasarga precedes it, and नस् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñā, as it was in the last. Thus उन्नता नासिकाऽस्य = उन्नत् ॥

The next sūtra is not the sūtra as given by Pāṇini. His sūtra is उपसर्गादनोत्पर "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an षो, is changed into ण्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahābhāṣya

Note —For ओत्पर may have two meanings —(1) ओक्तरान् पर, that which comes after ओ, (2) ओक्तरं परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases the rule is objectionable. In the first case, the ण change would be required in अनो घृञ्चत, in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणवर्तिवेदता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रण as well as प्रन, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment

८५६ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थानिनितात्परस्य नसो नस्य ण स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणस ॥ केमो वक्तव्य * ॥ विगता नासिकास्त्व विद्य ॥ खयम् * ॥ विखय । कय तर्हि विनसा इतवान्धेवति भट्टि । विगतया नासिकयो पलक्षितति व्याख्ययम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga, having a cause of change

Thus प्रणस

Var —The ण is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकास्त्व = विद्य ॥ *Vat* —So also विखय in the same sense

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhatti — “विनसा इतवान्धेव” It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI 1 63 S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राक् ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो प्रुचतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text Thus प्रणस् दुल ॥ The word छत्रसि does not govern this sūtra

In प्रणस् दुलम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means ‘nose’ See V 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुप्रातसुध्वसुदिवशरिकुक्षचतुरध्रेणीपराजपदप्रोष्ठपदा । ५ ।

। १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहयश्चलान्त निपात्यन्ते । शोभन प्रातरस्य सुप्रात । शोभन श्वोऽस्य सुध्व । शोभन दिवाऽस्य सुदिव । शाररिक कुक्षिरस्य शाररिकुक्ष । चतुर्धाऽश्वयोऽस्य चतुरश्व । एण्डा इव एण्डस्य एणीपदे । अजपद । प्रोष्ठो गौ तस्यव पादावस्य प्रोष्ठपद ॥

860 The following Bahuvrhis are irregularly formed *by adding ach —su-piāta, su-śva, sudiva, śārikuk-sha, chatuśāśia, eni-pada, aja-pada, and proshṭha-pada.

In some of the above compounds the टि (syllable) is elided शाभन प्रातरस्य = सुप्रात शाभन श्वाऽस्य = सुश्व शाभन दिवाऽस्य = सुदिव ॥ शारिरि कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्ष, चतस्रोऽङ्गुलीऽस्य = चतुरङ्ग, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपद, So अजपद, गौहो means 'cow' तस्य च पादावस्य = गौहोर्पद 'whose feet are like cows'

६६१ । नञ्दु सुभ्यो हलिर्लक्ष्योरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अच् स्यात् । अहल । अहलि । असक्य । असक्यि । एवं दु सुभ्याम् । शक्तयोरिति पाठान्तरम् । अशक्त । अशक्ति ॥

861 The affix ach comes optionally after the words hali and sakthi, final in a Bahuvrīhī, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words dus and su

Thus अविद्यमाना हलिरस्य = अहल or अहलि, दुहल or दुहलि, सुहल or सुहलि ॥ So also असक्य, असक्यि, दु सक्य or दु सक्यि, सुसक्य or सुसक्यि ॥

Some read the text as हलिशक्तयो ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्ति or अशक्त, दुशक्ति or दु शक्त (विकृषा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्ति or सुशक्त ॥

६६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयो । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दु सुभ्य इत्येव । अप्रजा । दुष्प्रजा । सुप्रजा । अमेधा । दुर्मेधा । सुमेधा ॥

862 The affix asich (अस्) comes invariably after prajā and medhā, final in a Bahuvrīhī, when the above particles नञ्, सु and दुस् precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजाऽस्य = अप्रजा, so also दुष्प्रजा, सुप्रजा, अमेधा, दुर्मेधा सुमेधा ॥

Note —The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvṛtti of the word "optionally" of the last sūtra does not run here. The word nitya also indicates that the affix ach comes after prajā and medhā even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमेधस in the following

श्रीनिधयस्यैव त राजन्मन्दकस्याल्पमेधस ।

अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

Note —The अ of असिच् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it अ ॥ Therefore in सुप्रजसौ the अ is elided by अस्वेति च (VI 4 148 S 311) According to Kās kâ the base is अप्रजस्, &c

८६३ । धर्मानिचकैवलान् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

कैवलान्पूर्वपदात्परा यो धर्मशब्दस्तन्ताद्वह्व्रीहरनिच् स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मा । कैवलान्किम् । परम स्वो धर्मो यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहो ना भूत् । स्वशब्दा हीनः केवलः पूर्वपरः किंतु मध्यमत्वाशयेति-
कम् । सन्निधिसाध्यधर्मत्वात् तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बहुव्रीहिः । एव तु परमस्वधर्मोऽपि साधवेव ।
निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुच्छित्तिधर्मोऽप्यदिवत् । पूर्वपरः तु बहुव्रीहिणात्तिप्यते ॥

863 The affix anich (अन्) comes after the word dharmā, when it is the last member of a Bahuvrīhi compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word

Thus कैलवाखो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन् nom sin कल्याणधर्मा ॥ Why do we say कैवलान् 'when it alone is the last member'? Observe परम स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्मः ॥ Here the word स्व is not alone a pūrvapada but a middle term, also it is not an independent word, it is not a pūrvapada and pūrvapada only, but something else also. The word कैवलान् according to some qualifies the word पूर्वपरः and according to others the uttarapada also. That is the first member must be one word though a compound word, and they explain such forms as सन्निधिसाध्यधर्मा, निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा (e.g. भविताशी वा भवत्यमात्वाऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा) as valid. According to Kaumudī the pūrvapada is like सन्निधिसाध्यः are Karmadhāraya. In this view परमस्वधर्मा is also valid and correct, like the words निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा ॥ According to Prasādakara कैवलान् qualifies both the words धर्मान् and पूर्वपदान् ॥

Note —The necessity of अ in अनिच् is not very apparent. The affix निच् would have served the purpose equally well for धर्म + निच् = धर्मन् ॥ But others say, that the word is not धर्म ending with a vowel, but धर्म ending with a consonant. It is formed by adding the affix क्तिप् to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun धर्म by लृक्कृत्ति ५८ S 2573. $\sqrt{\text{क्त्त}}$ ॥ Therefore परमो धर्मः यस्य स परमधर्मा ॥ The word धर्म though defective in one limb, is the same as धर्म for grammatical purposes, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यान्यत्वात् ॥ When in a Bahuvrīhi compound, the last member is धर्म and the first member is a single word, then the affix अनिच् is added. The word कैवलान् qualifies the first member. But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by कैवलान् ॥ The author of Prasāda also has explained Kevalāt as an adjective qualifying both the word dharmā and the pūrvapada or the first member. But both these are very problematic for there is no proof that the word kevalāt should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word dharmā. Moreover there is no necessity that the word dharmā should be qualified by this term Kevalāt. For it cannot

he said that the word *kevalāt* should qualify *Dharma*, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word *eil ng* in *dharmā*. For in such a case, the word *dharma* does not stand as a member of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound. Therefore the word *kevalāt* qualifies the *pūrvapada* only. The *pūrvapada* must be a *single* word and not two or more words. Therefore in *परमस्वो धर्मा यस्य* the *Bahuvrīhi* will not be governed by this rule. Because the word *स्व* is not here the only *pūrvapada*, but being in the middle is relative.

८६४ । जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्य । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भोति कृतसमासान्त निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये इन्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृण भक्ष्य यस्य तृणमिव इन्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सामजम्भा । स्वादिभ्य क्तिन् । पतितजम्भ ॥

864 The word “jambhan” stands at the end of a *Bahuvrīhi*, when preceded by *su*, *harita*, *tṛṇa*, and *soma*

The *जम्भन्* is a word that has already taken the *samāsānta* affix *अन्* irregularly, and means ‘food’ or ‘tooth’. Thus *सुजम्भन्* as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), *सुजम्भा* देवदत्त so also *हरितजम्भा*, *तृणजम्भा*, (तृण भक्ष्य यस्य) *सोमजम्भा* ॥ When it means ‘tooth,’ the compound should be analysed as, *तृणमिव* or *सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य* ॥ Why do we say when preceded by *su* &c? Observe *पतितजम्भ* ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोग । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईमे त्रण यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा मृग । याधेन कृतत्रण इत्यर्थ ॥

865 The form ‘dakshineiman’ is an irregularly formed *Bahuvrīhi*, when used in conjunction with a hunter

The word *लुब्ध* means व्याध or a fowler, a hunter. Thus *दक्षिणमीर्ममस्य* = *दक्षिणेर्मा मृग* ‘a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank’

Note —But in the following verse —जाती हेमाब्जमाली गुणनिधिरिषुणानिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा, it denotes merely hunting. The word *ईर्मम्* means ‘a wound’. Why do we say ‘in reference to a hunter’? Observe *दक्षिणेर्मम् शकटम्* ॥

८६६ । इच्छ कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच्छ स्यात्समासान्त । केशकेशि । सुसलासुसलि ॥

866 The affix *इच्छ* comes after a *Bahuvrīhi* when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action.

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II 2 27 S 684. Thus *केशकेशि* = *केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इच्छ युद्धं प्रवृत्त* ॥ So also *सुसलासुसलि* ॥

The affix इच् forms also avyayibhava compounds, as it occurs in the list of तद्धित् words II 1 17 S 671

८६७। द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च । ५। ४। १२८ ॥

सादृश्यं चतुर्थेया । एषा सिद्धययमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । हो ण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रकरणे तद् द्विदण्डं प्रहरणम् । द्विदण्डं । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867 The words dvidandī &c, are valid forms in ich

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यः is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case. The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II 1 37 S 698). This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यो प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच् comes for the sake of the words dvidandī &c," &c it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidandī &c. These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डं प्रहरति, द्विदण्डं प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा बाला ॥

Note —Though the context is that of Bahuvrīhi, yet some of these words are Tatpuruṣa as निकुच्य कर्णधावति = निकुच्यकर्णं धावति ॥ प्राह्यपादो हस्तिन वाहयति = प्राह्यपादि हस्तिन वाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II 1 72

1 द्विदण्ड, 2 द्विदण्डलि, 3 उभाञ्जलि, 4 उभयाञ्जलि, 5 उभाजन्ति, 6 उभयाजन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाकर्ण, 10 उभयाकर्ण, 11 उभापाणि, 12 उभयापाणि, 13 उभाबाहु, 14 उभयाबाहु, 15 एकपदि, 16 प्राह्यपदि, 17 आह्यपदि, (आह्यपदि), 18 सपदि, 19 निकुच्यकर्ण, 20 सहतपुच्छ, 21 अन्तवासि ॥

८६८। प्रसङ्गां जानुनोञ्च । ५। ४। १२९ ॥

आभ्या पर्योर्जानुशब्दयोर्नोदेशः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रञ्च । सञ्च ॥

868 After the words pia and sam, there is the substitution of jānu for jānu, when forming the Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रञ्च, So also सञ्च ॥

८६९। ऊर्ध्वाङ्गिभाषा । ५। ४। १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वञ्च । ऊर्ध्वजानु ॥

869 The substitution of jānu for jānu is optional, when the word ūrdhva precedes it

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी यस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानु or ऊर्ध्वञ्च ॥

८७०। धनुषश्च । ५। ४। १३१ ॥

धनुरन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870 The 'anan' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrīhi

As शार्ङ्ग धनुरस्य = शार्ङ्गधन्वन् nom s शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

ज्ञतधन्वा । ज्ञतधनु ॥

871 The substitution of अनङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrīhi is a Name

This declares an option, where the last sūtra had made the substitution compulsory As ज्ञतधनु or ज्ञतधन्वा । दृढधनु or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निष्ठादेशः स्यात् ॥

872 For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrīhi

Thus युवति जायाऽस्य = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाय् + नि ॥ Now applies the following sūtra, by which य् is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वालि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकार्यकारयोलौपः स्याद्वलि । युवद्भाव । युवतिजाया यस्य युवजानि ॥

873 There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the च् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिजाया यस्य = युवजानि (जाया + निङ् = जाय् + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule) So also युवजानि ॥ There is punvad-bhāva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine) ,

Note —The final च् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल् consonant & a any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिङ् + वल् (III 2 107) = दिङ् + वल् = दिङिवल् nom singular दिङिवान्, दिङिवानौ, दिङिवात् ॥ Thus डय् + त् = ऊत, 'span', कृय् + त् = कृते 'made a noise' So also the affix ट्क् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV 1 129 S 1135) Of the affix ट्क्, ढ is replaced by ण् (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus गोधा + एङ् + र् = गोधेर (the य् of the affix being even elided before र्) ॥ So also in पचेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III 4 102 S 2255) is elided before रन् (III 4 105 S 2256) So also च् is elided in the following —from जीव— जीवराड् (by Unādi affix जीवे रराड्) from लिङ्—मन्त्रमाणम् formed by the Unādi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unadi affixes (III 3 1 S 3169) there is not ऊद् substitution for व् as required by VI 4 19

Why do we say 'before any consonant except व्'? Observe ऊद्यते, कूद्यते when व् is not elided. Why the word लोव् is placed first? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the spikta व् taught in the next sūtra. Thus कण्डूय् + क्तिप् = कण्डूय् and व् (VI 4 48 S 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डू ॥ So लोलुय् × क्तिप् = लोलू ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल consonant? It is not elided, because it is so taught. Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व् is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasāraṇa, and व्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaraṅga rule while samprasāraṇa, and the elision of र् by हजादिशेष are Bahuraṅga

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरमिभ्य । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकाराऽन्तर्दिशे स्थान् । उद्गन्धि । पूतिगन्धि । सुगन्धि । सुरमिगन्धि ॥ गन्धस्येत्वे तदेकान्तप्रकरणम् * ॥ एकान्त एकदेश इव अविभक्तिर्लक्ष्यमाण इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धि पुष्प सज्जित च । सुगन्धिर्वायु । नेह — शोभना गन्धा द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आपणिक ॥

874 For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरमि in a Bahuvrīhi

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धि, पूतिगन्धि, सुगन्धि, सुरमि गन्धि ॥

Note — Why after these only? Observe लीत्रगन्धा वात ॥

Vārt — The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् पिनाडि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्ध 'having the scent of sandal' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute सुगन्धि पुष्प सज्जित च, सुगन्धिर्वायु ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धा द्रव्याणि अस्य = सुगन्ध आपणिक 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale'

Note — The त् of हन् is for the sake of pronunciation only. Some hold that हन् is an affix, and not a substitute (śleṣa). In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by यस्येति च (VI 4 148 S 311). The word *ekanta* in the vārtika means 'a portion,' in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive. Some explain *ekanta* by 'natural,' i. e. when an object *naturally* possesses scent, and not when artificially scented. Therefore not here आनायि वात् गन्धवद् सुगन्ध ॥

८७५ । अदपाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लेशो यस्मिन्सुत सूपगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आमोहे लेशे सबन्धगर्वयोरिति विश्व ॥

875 The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन् = सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth" So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee" Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viswakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (इष्ट-सcent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धि ॥

876 The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrīhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared

As पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = पद्मगन्धि, उत्पलगन्धि, करीषगन्धि ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्य । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिर्जातौपमानादारस्य पादस्य लोपः स्याद्वहुव्रीहिः । स्यान्निहारेण्य समासान्तः । व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य व्याघ्रपात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्यः क्तिन् । हस्तिपादः । कुसुलपादः ॥

877 The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrīhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c

The word उपमानात् is understood here. The लोप substitution is a samāsānta affix in a way. Thus व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य = व्याघ्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति? Observe हस्तिपादः, कुसुलपादः ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुहाल*, 3 अश्व*, 4 कशिक*, 5 कुरुत, 6 कदोल, 7 कदालक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डालक, 10 कण्डोल*, 11 कण्डोलक*, 12 अज*, 13 कपात*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेना, (महिला), 17 दासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसूल ॥

Note —This elision is a samāsānta. For if it were not a samāsānta, then by the rule आदे परस्य (I 1 54 S 41) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पादः, namely, of प ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishuka कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपादादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पादः पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रिया किम् ।
कुम्भपादः ॥

878 The words kumbhapadī &c, have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद, in the Feminine

The forms कुम्भपदी &c, are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद and then substituting प् for पत् before the feminine affix ई by VI 4 130 S 414 Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else'? Observe कुम्भपादः ॥

Note —Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V 4 138 or V 4 140 In then case, this sūtra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words, so that the optional rule IV 1 8 S 457 does not apply to them

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी, * 5 मुनिपदी, 6 सुणपदी, * 7 क्षातपदी, 8 सूत्रपदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदा, 11 विपदी, * 12 तुणपदा*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी*, 15 षट्पदी*, 16 सप्तिपदी 17 क्षितिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदा, 21 वार्द्धिपदी, 22 कुणिपदी, (कुणपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25 द्राणपदी, (द्रार्थापदी), 26 ह्रस्वपदी, 27 सूकरपदा, 28 शकृत्पदी, 29 अष्टापदी, 30 स्थूलपदी, (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपदा*, 32 सूचापदी, 33 मालापदी, 34 गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 स्रपदी, 37 पञ्चपदा, 38 अर्वपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहसपदी, 41 विषपदी ॥

८७६ । सख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879 The final अ of पाद is elided by samāsānta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrīhi

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात्, त्रिपात्, so also शोभनौ पादावस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि, दन्तस्य दत् । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

सख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दत् इत्यदिषा स्याद्वयसि । द्विदन् । चतुर्वदन् । षट् दन्ता अस्य षोडश । सुदन् । सुवती । वयसि किम् । द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तः नदः ॥

880 For दन्त is substituted दत् as a samāsānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life &c an age

Thus द्वौ दन्तावस्य = द्विदन् "a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदन्, चतुर्वदन् षोडश । See vārtika under VI 3 76 S 881 for

षाडन् ॥ शोभनादन्ताभस्य समस्ता जाता = सुदन् कुमार “a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully” So also सुदन्ती Why do we say denoting ‘age’? Observe द्विदन्त करी । सुदन्तो नट ॥

Note —The ऋ of दन् is indicatory, making rule VII 1 70 S 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before द् in declining these words in saivanāmasthāna cases and rule IV 1 6 S 455 also applies to them. All rules relating to उगित् apply to these

८८१ । स्त्रियां सज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ अयोदन्ती । कालदन्ती । सज्ञाया किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881 For danta is substituted “dat” as a samā-sānta in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name

Thus अयोदन्ती, कालदन्ती ॥ Why do we say “when denoting a Name”? Observe समदन्ती, त्रिग्वदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा इयावारोकाभ्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दन् वा बहुव्रीहौ । इयावदन् । इयावदन्त । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्त ॥

882 Optionally “dat” is substituted for ‘danta,’ in a Bahuvrīhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyāva and aroka

Thus इयावदन्त or इयावदन्, अरोकदन्त or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means ‘dark,’ “without holes or spaces”

Note —The word सज्ञायाम् of the last sūtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place, as इयावदन्त, अरोकदन्त ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दन् वा । कुङ्कुमलाघदन् । कुङ्कुमलाघदन्त ॥

883 The substitution of “dat” for “danta” is optional in a Bahuvrīhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, भ्र, वृष and वराह ॥

The word “optionally” is understood here also. Thus कुङ्कुमलाघदन्, or कुङ्कुमलाघदन्त, so also शुद्धदन्त or शुद्धदन्, शुभ्रदन्त or शुभ्रदन्, वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन्

Note —The च् of the sūtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated as अहिर्दन्त ०। अहिर्दन्, सूषिकर्दन्त ०। सूषिकर्दन्, गर्भदन्त or गर्भदन्त, शिखरदन्त ०। शिखरदन् ॥

८८४ । ककुदस्यावस्थाया लोप । ५ । ४ । १४६ ॥

अजातककुत् । पूर्णककुत् ॥

884 The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrīhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c Thus अजात ककुदस्य = अजातककुत् = बाल "the young of an animal" पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया "middle-aged animal" उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया "old", स्थूलककुत् बलवान् 'strong,' यद्विककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृश ॥

Note —Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुद् ॥

८८५ । त्रिककुत्पर्वते । ५ । ४ । १४७ ॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुत् । सत्रैषा पर्वतविशेषस्य । त्रिककुदोऽन्य ॥

885 The Bahuvrīhi word Trīkakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुत् "a three peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump" All three peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुद् ॥

८८६ । उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य । ५ । ४ । १४८ ॥

लोप स्यात् । उल्काकुत् । विककुत् । काकुद नालु ॥

886 After ut and vi the final of kākuda is elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus उन्नतकाकुदस्य = उल्काकुत्, so also विककुत् ॥ The word काकुद् means 'palate'

८८७ । पूर्णाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १४९ ॥

पूर्णकाकुत् । पूर्णकाकुद् ॥

887 After pūna, the final of kākuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus पूर्णस्य काकुदस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् ०। पूर्णकाकुद् ॥

८८८ । सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयो । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुहृद्भ्यो हृदयस्य हृदावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रम् । अन्यत्र सुहृदय । दुर्हृदय ॥

888 The words suhrit and durhrit are irregularly formed Bahuvrīhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively

The word सुहृत् is derived from सु+हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrīhi. It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another. So also दुर्हृत् is derived from दुर्+हृदय, he whose heart is evil.

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदय कारुणिक 'the kind hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयचोर "the evil hearted thief"

८८९ । उरः प्रभृतिभ्य कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूहोरस्क । म्रियसर्पिस्क । इह पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पय, नौ, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु रोषादिभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुस्क ॥ अयन्मित्रम् * ॥ अनर्थकम् । नञ् । किम् । अपार्थकम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889 The affix कप् comes after uras &c, final in a Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus व्यूहोरस्क = व्यूहहुरोःस्य (VIII 3 38 S 152) So also म्रियसर्पिस्क (VIII 3 39 S 153) अवमुक्तोपानस्क ॥

The words पुमान्, अनङ्गान्, पय, नौ and लक्ष्मी are exhibited in the list of Urasādi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude forms as is the case with other words. The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers. With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sūtra V 4 154 S 891. Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुस्क, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुस्क ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस्, 3 उपानह्, 4 पुमान्, 5 अनङ्गान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौ, 8 लक्ष्मी, 9 कधि, 10 नधु, 11 शालि, 12 अयन्मित्रम् ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्, as अनर्थकम्.) Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्? Observe अपार्थकम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९० । इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुवचिका नगरी ॥ अनिनस्सन्महयान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुवचिका । स्त्रिया किम् ॥ बहुवचिका बहुवचिको मान ॥

890 The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrīhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted

Thus बहुव्रीहिनोऽस्या नगर्याम् = बहुवृद्धिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवामिका समा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुवृद्धी or बहुवृद्धिको ग्राम ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V 4 134 S 891

Parbhāṣā —Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I 1 72, S 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' viz the meaning which grammarians assign to the affixes अन् &c)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also As बहुवाग्मिका समा ॥

८६१ । शेषाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहे कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्क । महौयशा । अनुक्तेत्यादि किम् । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धि । प्रियपथ । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किम् । उपबहव । उत्तरपूर्वा । सपुत्र । सन्नादिना शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891 After all other Bahuvrīhi compounds formed under II 2 23 S 829, and not covered by the foregoing samāsānta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्क or महौयशा

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रपात्, सुगन्धि, प्रियपथ, Here these words are formed by special samāsānta rules given before e g 874, 877 and 940

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrīhis about which no special rule has been given above How do you explain the forms अष्टक साम, बहुवृक्त हृक्त, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V 4 74, S 940 and ought to have taken the samāsānta affix अ? The affix अ is added to कृक् when the compound has a special meaning, such as अष्टवृ means 'a boy', बहुवृ 'a charana.'

Why have we used the words "śeṣādhrīkāraśthāt" in explaining the sūtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrīhi falling under the scope of the rules of Śeṣō Bahuvrīhi II 2 23 S 829" Observe उपबहव ॥ This is

a Bahuvrīhi not formed under the śesha rule II 2 23 S 829, but by a special rule II 2 25 S 843 and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrīhi formed by II 2 26 S 845, and सपुत्र formed by II 2 28 S 848. In fact the word शेष of II 2 23 S 829 governs only II 2 24 S 830 and not the remaining sūtras like 843, 846, 848 &c

The word शेषात् of this sūtra is thus equivocal. It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrīhis for which no samāsanta has been taught" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrīhis which are formed under "śesha Bahuvrīhi" rule". The word शेषात् thus conveys a double meaning. There are two views on this point. One school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used. Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेदः ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषात् twice in this sūtra (Avritti). But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas. Their motto is सत्यव्ययभेदे शब्दस्याभेदः ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word. The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view.

८९२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कण्वाबन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । बहुमालक । बहुमालक । कबभोव बहुमाल ॥

892. Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालक or बहुमालक 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमाल ॥

८९३ । न सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषादिति प्राप्त कप् न स्यात्सञ्ज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेव ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi when a Name is meant.

This debars कप् ordained by V 4, 154 S 801 last. Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य = विश्वेदेव ॥

८९४ । ईयसञ्ज्ञ । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्पदान् कप् । बहव श्रेयांसोऽस्य बहुश्रेयात् । गोष्ठियोरिति ह्रस्वे प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहेर्नोति बाध्यम् * ॥ बहव श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसा । बहुव्रीहे किप् । अतिश्रेयासि ॥

894. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules; & both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहुव श्रेयासोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान् (V 3 57 S 2005) Here rule V 4 154 S 891 is debaried बहुव्य श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसा, here rule V 4 135 S 833 is prohibited By rule I 2 48 S 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vārtika

Vart —In Bahuvrīhi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrīhi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसी ॥

८६५ । वन्दिते भ्रातु । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽयं यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तान् कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तेभ्राता । न पूजनादीति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ संव्यञ्जणोरित्यतः प्रागेवेति वक्ष्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृक ॥

895 The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrīhi ending in the word bhrātri, when it means 'praised'

The word वन्दित means 'praised,' 'respected' &c Thus शोभनाभ्राता यस्य शुभभाता 'one having a good brother' As a general rule, samāsānta affixes are not added, when respect is meant See V 4 69 S 954 But the prohibition of that sūtra has its scope only upto V 4 113 S 852, and not on sutras after that Hence the necessity of the present sūtra Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृक, दुष्टभ्रातृक ॥

८६६ । नाडीतन्त्रयो स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यो नाडीतन्त्रीशब्दो तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडि काय । बहुतन्त्रीर्भावा । तन्त्रीर्धमनी क्षीप्रस्ययान्त्रत्वाभावाद्धत्वो न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीक स्तम्भ । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896 The affix कप् does not come after the words nāḍī, and tantrī final in a Bahuvrīhi, when they mean organs of body

Thus बहुषो नाडोऽस्य = बहुनाडि काय, बहुतन्त्रीर्भावा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीर्धमनी The word तन्त्री means 'an artery' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीक स्तम्भ, बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by डीप् that comes after jāti, तन्त्री is formed by the Unāḍi affix ई (Unāḍi III 158) In बहुनाडि the long ई is shortened as being an upasārjana (I 2 48 S. 655), but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened' as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a kṛit affix (कृत् स्त्रिया प्रतिषेध, See I 2 48

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कबभावोऽत्र निपात्यत । प्रपूर्वाद्भ्यतेल्युद् । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायसलाका । निर्गता प्रवाणस्व निष्प्रवाणि पठ । समाप्तवान नव इत्यर्थ ॥

897 The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप, though the last word is a Nadi word

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्या or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here ल्युद् is added to the root वि 'to weave' and denotes the instrument of weaving i.e. 'a shuttle' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणि पठ, निष्प्रवाणि कम्बल = अपनीतसलक "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted fresh from the loom The न is changed to ण by VIII 4. 29 S 2835

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्त विशेषण च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठकाल । अत एव ज्ञापकादधिकरणपदं बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रयु ॥

सर्वनामसंख्ययोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेत ॥ द्विशुक्ल ॥

मिथोऽनर्धे समासे संख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधान् ॥ द्वय ॥

संख्याया अल्पीयस्या * ॥ द्वित्रा

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ शुद्धप्रिय । प्रिययुद्ध ॥

गङ्गादे परा सप्तमी * ॥ गङ्गुकण्ठ । कृन्निन्न । वहेगङ्ग ॥

898 A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrīhi compound.

In a Bahuvrīhi, all words are upasārjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement The present aphorism declares that rule, as कण्ठकाल 'who is black in the throat' From the jñāpaka of this sūtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhīkarana Bahuvrīhi—a Bahuvrīhi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणि, चङ्क्रमौलि &c So also उरसिलामा, चित्रयु, शबलयु

Varṇ — The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first, as सर्वश्वेत विशुक्ल

Vart —In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanāma words with a sankhyā word, the latter should stand first, as, दुषण्य

Vart —Among numerals, the less in value is placed first, as द्वित्रा 'two and three,'

Vart —Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first), thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve'

Vart —The word प्रिय may optionally stand first, as सुप्रिय or प्रियसुद

Vart —After the words गडु &c, the word in the 7th case affix comes as subsequent, as गडुकण्ठ 'a hemp necked', गडुशिखा &c

How is then the word बहेगडु 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vārtika

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्त बहुव्रीहौ पूर्व स्यात् । कृतकृत्य ॥ आतिकान्तसुखादिभ्य परा निष्ठा वाच्यः * ॥ सारङ्गजम्भी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । प्रायिक चरम । कृतकट । पीतोदक ॥

899 What ends with a Nishthā (I 1 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus कृतकृत्य ॥

So also युक्तयोग 'one who is devoted to devotion', कृतकट 'one who has made the mat', निक्षिप्तनिक्षि 'one who has begged alms'

Vart —A word expressing jāti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent, as, सारङ्गजम्भी, मासजात and सुखजात &c

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकट and पीतोदक also

९०० । आहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्निः । अग्न्याहितः । आकाशतिगणोऽयम् ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्य परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ * ॥ अस्युद्यनः । इन्द्रपाणि ॥ कृषिन् । विवृतासि ॥

900 In the compounds āhitāgni and the like, the Nishthā-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहित or आहिताग्निः one who has consecrated fire'

This **आहिताग्नि** class is **ākritigana**, so that words like **गङ्गा** &c, must be looked for in this class

Vart —The words ending in **Nishthā** or in the locative case stand subsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking', as **अस्त्रयुज्यत** 'ready with sword', **दण्डपाणि** 'holding sceptre in hand' But some times not so as in **विहृतास्त्रि** "drawn-sword"

Here end Bahuvrīhi compounds

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS

६०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्वः । २ । २ । २६ ॥

अनेक सुबन्त चार्थे वर्तमान वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्वः । समुच्चयान्वाचयेत्तरेतरयोगसमाहाराभ्याम् । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वयः समुच्चयः । अन्यतरस्यानुवाङ्मिकत्वेऽन्वाचयः । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोगः । समूहः समाहारः । सर्वेश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्वेति समुच्चये, भिक्षामदं गां चानयेत्यन्वाचये च, न समासोऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवः खदिरौ । सज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनकाक्तर्होत्प्लवङ्गोऽज्ञातारः । द्वयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्वः कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वः तु होतापोऽननेदोऽज्ञातारः ॥

901 When a set of several words ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound, and the compound so formed is called Dvandva

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चय 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference,' (3) इतरेतर-योग 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहार 'aggregate' In the first two cases *vis*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II 1 1 S 647) Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation Thus we cannot compound ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru' or भिक्षामदं गाम् चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow' But we can compound the following वृक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = वृक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees' So धवः खदिरः पलाशाः, वाक्पुष्पम्, वाग्दृषदम्, सज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1 When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya As ईश्वरं गुरुं च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru" Here there can be no compounding, as there is no *sāmarthya* In this example, two *things* (*dravya*) have been collected under one verb (*kriyā*) Similarly in राज्ञो गजश्च अश्वश्च "the elephant and the horse of the king" Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing पटः शुक्रो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red" Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive रक्तं पटं कुण्डलं च

"Red picture and ornament" Here two substances are collected under one attribute

2 When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called anwāchaya as, भिक्षामद, गा चानय "Go for alms and bring the cow" Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow So going out a begging is the principal action

Therefore, in भिक्षामद गा चानय, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another The want of sāmārthya here is want of ekārthibhāva

In धवखदिरौ ' the Mimosea and the Guslea," सज्ञापरिभाषम् "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as itaretara and samāhāra, respectively

The Dvandva compound of the four words होतृ, पोटृ, नष्टृ and उद्गातृ may be either होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातार or हातापोतानेष्टोद्गातार ॥ The first denotes many hotṛis, potṛis &c The second is an example where hotṛi and potṛi are first compounded as a Dvandva, and then नष्टृ and उद्गातृ as another Dvandva Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva

In the first example, there is not आनङ् substitution for the final of होतृ and पोटृ (VI 3 25 S 921) because there is no uttarapada after them See S 921 and 831

६०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हं परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राजा राजदन्तः । धमादिष्वनियमः * ॥ अर्यधर्मौ । धर्मार्थौ । दम्पती । जम्पती । जायापती । जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते । आकृतिगणोऽयम् * ॥

902 The upasarjana is to be put last in the words Rājadanta &c

Thus राजदन्त (दन्तानां राजा) 'a chief of teeth' (i e, an eyetooth) It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples, but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second

1 राजदन्त 2 अमेवणम् 3 लिप्तवासितम् 4 नम्रमुषितम् 5 सिक्तस-
मृष्टम् 6 घृष्टलुञ्जितम् 7 अवह्निप्रपक्वम् 8 अर्पितोत्तम् 9 (अर्पितोत्तम्) 10
उत्तगाढम् 11 उलूखलमुत्तलम् 12 तण्डुलकिण्वम् 13 दृषदुपलम् 14 आह्वता

यानि 15	(भारग्वायनबन्धकी)	16	चित्ररथवाल्मीकम्	17	भवन्त्यश्मकम्	18	
शङ्खार्थम् 19	जातकरोजानो 20	विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ 21	अक्षिभुवम् 22	सारगवम् 23	शब्दार्थो 24	धर्मार्थो 25	कामार्थो 26
वर्त्यशब्दो 27	वर्त्यधर्मो 28	वर्त्यकामो 29	वैकारितम् 30	गाजवाजम् 31	गोजवाजम् 32	गोपालि-	
धानपूलासम् 33	(गोपालधानीपूलासम्) 34	पूलासकारण्डम् 35	पूलासककु-	रण्डम् 36	स्थूलासम् 37	(स्थूलपूलासम्) 38	उद्योतवीजम् 39
(जिज्ञास्य) 40	सिद्धजात्यम् 41	(सिञ्जद्वयम्) 42	चित्रास्वाती 43	(चित्रस्वाति) 44	भार्यापती 45	हम्पती 46	जम्पती 47
जायापती 48	पुत्रपती 49	पुत्रपत्नी 50	कोशदम्भू or दम्भूकोशौ 51	शिरोविशु 52	शिरोवीजम् 53	शिरोजानु 54	सर्विर्मधुनी 55
मधुसर्विणी 56	आद्यन्तो 57	अन्तादी 58	गुणवृद्धी 59	वृद्धिगुणौ			

Vatika —“In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule. Thus वर्त्यधर्म or धर्मार्थ ‘wealth and virtue’ or ‘virtue and wealth’. So also हम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती. The word जाया is changed to जम् or हम् irregularly. These belong to ākritigana.

Note —हम्पती is really a compound of हम् “home” and पति ‘master or mistress’. हम् is the same word as the Latin domus “home,” as in “domestic.” हम्पती means ‘the two masters of the house—i.e. the husband and wife’.

६०३ । वृद्धे धि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

वृद्धे विसृज्य पूर्व स्यात् । हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरो ॥ अनेकप्राप्तादेकत्र नियमोऽनियम शेषे * ॥
हरियुरुहरा । हरिहरयुव ॥

903 In a Dvandva compound, let a word called धि (1 4 7 S 243) stand first

As हरिहरो ‘Hari and Hara’

Vatika —Where there are more than one such धि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule. As हरियुरुहरा or हरिहरयुव

Note —Why do we say ‘Dvandva’? Observe विसृष्टपद which is a Tat-purusha,

६०४ । अजाद्यदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

इदं वृद्धे पूर्व स्यात् । इत्यकृष्णौ । *

बहुवचनियम * । अश्वरथेन्द्रा । इन्द्राश्वरथा ॥ *

अन्तादजाद्यदन्त विप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ इन्द्राग्नी ॥

904 In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first

Thus, ईशकृष्णौ 'Isa and Krishna'

Vart —When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule As अश्वमेधेन्द्रा or इन्द्राश्वमेधा ॥

Vart —In the Dvandva compounds, the चि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजायदन्त does not prohibit it Thus इन्द्राग्नी Here अग्नि though चि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I 4 2 S 175)

Note —Why do we say 'अन् with a न्' (I 1 70 S 50)? This rule does not apply when it is long वा as अदवा + वृष = अदवावृषौ or वृषादवे

६०५ । अल्पाक्षतरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

ऋतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामनुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ता । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां क्रिये । ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षर पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाशम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च ° ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्णानामनुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविद्वद्ब्राह्मण ॥

भ्रातृव्यार्थसः * ॥ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905 In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels is to be placed first

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ।

Note —When there are many words, there is no fixed rule As शस्त्रदुन्दुभि-वीणा or वीणाशस्त्रदुन्दुभय

Vart —Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ता , कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first

Vart —A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first

As, कुशकाशे , 'a bundle of Kusa and Kāsa grasses' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass

Vart —The more honorable of the two is placed first , as तापस पर्वतो "Tāpasa and Parvata" वासुदेवार्जुनौ "Vasudeva and Arjuna" (IV 3 98 S 1478)

Vart —The castes are placed according to their order as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिय विद् बुद्धा 'Brāhmaṇa-Kṣhatṛīya-Vaiśya and Śūdra' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here

Vart —The name of the elder brother is placed first , as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhisṭhira and Arjuna'

६०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषा द्वन्द्व एकवक्त्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मर्हङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वरोहम् ॥

समाहारस्त्वैकत्वादेकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थं प्रकरणम्, प्राण्यङ्गार्हना समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906 A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal body, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोमूढ 'the head and neck' मर्हङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mridanga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वरोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse' वीणावादकपरिवारिकम्, रथिकपादादम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samāhāra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only , and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II 2 29 S 901) A Samāhāra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule That is, the samāhāra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c, need not be singular

Note —In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c, the singular is optional , (II 4 12 S 916) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samāhāra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samāhāra Dvandva The compounds of words like अधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II 4 14 S 918) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samāhāra Dvandva , while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c, (II 4 12 S 916) are optionally either Samāhāra or Itaretara Dvandva

६०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणाना द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्येणोर्लुङीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उदगात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यक्षात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907 A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular

Note —The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch. The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration, that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvada. Another meaning of this word is "the recitation of the charanas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time"

Vart —This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्या and इष् only, as उदगात् कठकालापम् (इत्यत्र कठेषु कालापेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चावाभ्या यत्र गन्तव्यमिति सकेवविद्या तत् सकेव विस्तृत्यासीन प्रतीदृश्यते) ॥ प्रत्यक्षात् कठकौथुमम् 'katha and kauthuma established again'

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदय कठकालापम् or प्रत्यक्ष कठकौथुमम्, when demonstration for the first time is meant. It is the aorist of स्या and इष् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs as —अनन्विषु कठकालापम् and उदयन्ति कठकालापम् ॥

Prof. Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another'

६०८ । अध्वयुक्तुरनपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यजुर्वेदे विहितो यः क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गाना द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वयुक्तुः किम् । इषुवज्जौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसकः किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चादी ॥

908 A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvayur) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender

As अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices ? Observe इषुवज्ञौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sâma Veda

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Râjasûja and Vajapeya sacrifices' अर्धर्चादी (II 4 31 S 816)

Note —Why have we इक्षोणमासो ? Because the word ऋतु is a technical term applying only to Soma sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general Therefore, though Darsa and Paunamî are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply

६०६ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या येषा तेषा इन्द्र एकवत् । पदक्रमक्रम ॥

909 A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular

As, पदक्रमक्रम 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement

Note —Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian'

६१० । जातिप्रमाणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिना इन्द्र एकवत् । धानाशष्कुलि । प्राणिना तु विद्वद्वा । द्रव्यजातीयाना मेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्रधान्य एवायमेकवच्चाव । द्रव्यविशेषविवक्षाया तु बह्वामलकानि ॥

910 A Dvandva compound of words signifying jāti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular

Thus धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake'

Note —Why do we say 'words denoting genus ? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Panchajanya' These are Sanjñā words or Proper Names

When denoting living beings then विद्वद्वा (and not विद्वद्भ्यः) 'Vaisyas and Sudras' Here there is plural number by I 2 58 S 817, though the words are jāti denoting

This rule applies to the jāti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jāti names of qualities and actions (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपासौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्जने 'going and contraction'

Even with jāti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class, when, however the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed, as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and āmalaki fruits' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV 3 163 S 1541 The feminine is also elided by I 2 49 S 1408 See also II 4 12 S 916

Note —The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians Jāti has already been explained Substances are nine earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind Qualities are twenty four colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscosity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty There are five actions throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going

६११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्त्यनदीदेशवाचिना^१ भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । उद्धय इरावती च उद्धेरावति । गङ्गा च यामुना च गङ्गायामुना । कुरुव च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायामुने मत्स्यकेकया । ग्रामानां किम् । जाम्बव नगरम् । शाकुकिनी ग्राम । जाम्बवशाकुकिन्यौ ॥

911. A samāhāra Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular

Thus उद्धेरावति "The Uddhya and Irāvati," The Uddhya is a river (nada)

So also गङ्गायामुना 'the Ganges and the Sona' कुरुव + कुरुक्षेत्र = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्र 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायामुने 'the Ganges and the Yāmuna' Both being feminine gender, so also मत्स्यकेकया ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country

The word विशिष्ट of the sūtra is derived from the root शिषि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate,

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुकुटमयुरौ 'the hen and the peahen'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशाकुकिन्यौ 'Jambaba (a city) and Sālukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river' So also 'mountains' are not included, as कैलाशगन्धमादने 'the Kailāsa and the Gandhamādana

Vart —The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grāma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्र 'the cities of Mathura and Pātaliputra'

Vart —When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies, as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata'

६१२। क्षुद्रजन्तव. । २। ४। ८॥

एषा समाहारे इन्द्र एकवत्स्यात् । यूकालिचम् । भानकुलाक्षुद्रजन्तव ॥

912 A Samāhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular

Thus यूकालिचम् 'the louse and the nit'

Note —The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates), others say, those which are small in size

All below the mongoose are kshudrajantu

६१३। येषां च विरोध. शाश्वतिक. । २। ४। ६॥

एषा प्राग्वत् । बाहिनकुलम् ॥ गोव्याघ्रम् ॥ काकोलूकमित्यादौ परस्माद्भिभाषा वृत्तवृत्तेति प्राप्त चकारेण बाध्यते ॥

913 A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i e natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular

The word विरोध means enmity and शाश्वतिक means permanent

Thus, बाहिनकुल 'the snake and the mongoose' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl'

Note —Why do we say 'natural and eternal' ? Observe गौपतिसालकायना कलहायन्ते 'Gaupāli and Sālanakayana are quarrelling' देवासुरैर्युतमम्बुनिधिर्मन्ये ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co operated in churning the ocean

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular, no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds. Thus the rule II 4 12 S 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular. That rule (by I 4, 2 S 175) would have set aside the present rule. But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war, as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोळकम् 'the crow and the owl'

६१४ । शूद्राणामनिर्वसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

अबहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत् । तत्तायस्कारम् । पात्राद्वहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालवृत्तया ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular

Thus, तत्तायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालवृत्तया 'the Chandāla and the Mritapa'

Note —The word अनिर्वसित means one not expelled (from the dish) This shows that there was interdining between the Śūdras and the twice-born in the days of Pāṇini

A Śūdra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel is called an Anuvāsita Śūdra

६१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोच्चारितानि साधूनि स्युः । गवाश्वम् । हासीहासभिर्यादि ॥

915 The word gavāśva and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse' So also हासीहासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I 2 67 S 933 does not take place. These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pāṇini specifically in the subjoined list

- 1 गवाक्षम् ॥ 2 गवाक्षिकम् ॥ 3 गवेडकम् ॥ 4 अजाक्षिकम् ॥ 5 अजैडकम् ॥
 6 कुञ्जवामनम् ॥ 7 कुञ्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8 पुत्रपोत्रम् ॥ 9 श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10 स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥
 11 दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12 शाटापिच्छकम् ॥ 13 उद्धरम् ॥ 14 उद्धशशम् ॥
 15 मूत्रशङ्कुम् ॥ 16 मूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17 यकृन्नेदम् ॥ 18 नासशोणितम् ॥ 19 दर्भशरम् ॥
 20 दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21 अजुनशिराषम् ॥ 22 तृणोलपम् ॥ 23 दासीशसम् ॥
 24 कुडीकुटम् ॥ 25 भगवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart — In this list, the forms as given, are singular, but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number. As गौश्वम् or गोश्वम् ॥ In this form of गा and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed

९१६। विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २। ४। १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां समाना इन्द्र । अश्ववडवेत्यादि इन्द्रश्च च प्राग्वद्वा । वृक्षादां विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् । प्लक्षन्त्यमोधम् । प्लक्षन्त्यमोधा । रुरुपृषतम् । रुरुपृषता । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशा । त्रीहियवम् । त्रीहियवा । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषा । शुक्रवकम् । शुक्रवका । अश्ववडवम् । अश्ववडवौ । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिशृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानां बहुप्रकृतिरेव इन्द्र एकवदिति वाच्यम् * ॥ बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भावः । नह बदरामलके । रयिकाश्वा रोहो । प्लक्षन्त्यमोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृत्तेति सूत्रे येऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणः । जातिरप्राणिनामिति नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वात्त्रित्यं प्राप्ते । शृगाणां शृगैरेव शकुनीनां तैरेवोभयत्र इन्द्र । अन्यस्तु सहेतरेतरयोग एवेति नियमात् शृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एव पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परस्वात्पूर्ववदश्ववडवाविति स्यात् ॥

916 A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1 trees, 2 wild animals, 3 grass 4 corn, 5 condiment, 6 domestic beasts and, 7 birds, and the compounds, 1 asva-vadava, 2 purvâ-para and 3 adharottara, are optionally singular

Thus, प्लक्षन्त्यमोधम् or प्लक्षन्त्यमोधा 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees', रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषता 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes', कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशा 'the Kuśa grass and the Kasa grass', त्रीहियवम् or त्रीहियवा 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or वा 'the cow and the buffalo', शुक्रवकम् or का 'the parrot and the crane birds', अश्ववडवम् or वा 'the horse and the mare', पूर्वापरम् or रे 'the first and the last', अधरोत्तरम् or रे 'the upper and lower'

Vart — The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of, that is when a large number of them is taken collectively. When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not, as बह्मणि आमलकानि = बह्मणलकम्. Here there is singular number by II 4 6 S, 910. But not so in the following बह्मणलके तिष्ठत 'a badari and an amalaki fruit are here', रथिका-श्वरोहो 'a charioteer and a horseman', प्लक्षन्त्यग्रोक्षौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree', रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer', हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravāka bird', शृकालिष्ठे 'a louse and a nit', व्रीहियवौ 'a brīhi and yava grain', कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâsa grass. In this sūtra, those words which denote non animate beings such as trees, and corn &c, would have taken compulsory singular by II 4 6 S 910, the present sūtra ordains optional singular in their case. In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II 4 2 S 906, because they form component parts of an army corps. This sūtra ordains option. Why are the words वृग, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sūtra, when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II 2, 29 S 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that वृग words are compounded with वृग words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule. With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samāhāra.

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule. Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samāhāra Dvandva. Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samāhāra, but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only.

So also is the case with पूर्वापरम् and अथोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववडव is read in the sūtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter. For अश्व and वडव being both पुल्लिङ्ग would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention. Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them. Therefore when we use अश्ववडव in the singular, the rule II 4 27 S 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II 4 17 S 821 and is Neuter. In fact, the subsequent sūtra II 4 27 S 813 is set aside by the prior sūtra II 4 17 S 821 because the singular अश्ववडव is a pratipada vidhāna samāsa.

६१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्वयवाचिना इन्द्र एकवद्वा स्यात् । शीतोष्णम् । शीतोष्णे ~ वैकल्पिक समाहारइन्द्रार्थे इन्द्र इति सूत्रेण प्राप्तं स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि वाद्वयवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थमिदम् । तेन द्वयवाचिर्नमितरेतरयोग एव । शीतोष्णे उदके स्त । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । नन्वैकपाञ्चजन्यो । इह पानिकं समाहारइन्द्रो भवत्येव ॥

917 A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat', सुखदुःख or सुखदुःखे pleasure and pain', जीवितमरण or जीवितमरणे 'life and death

The word विप्रतिषिद्ध means words of contrary significations The word *adhiḥkāraṇa* means material things a dravya च indicates the anuvṛtti of the word 'optionally' from the last sūtra By sūtra II 2 29 S 901, the samahāra Dvandva is optional, for that sūtra is governed by the great option of II 1 11 S 665 When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance Thus the present sūtra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samāhāra

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ which are not of contrary significations Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samahara Dvandva also

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samāhara also

६१८ । न दधिपयश्चादीनि । २ । ४ । १४ ॥

एतानि नैकवस्तु । दधिपयसी । इध्माबर्हिषी । निपातनादीर्घ । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे ॥

918 The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c, are not singular

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk', इध्माबर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee' The short अ of इध्म is lengthened irregularly So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sāma-Veda', वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind"

Note — With this sūtra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sūtras would have caused

The following is a list of such compounds —

- 1 दधिपयसी ॥ 2 सविर्मधुनी or मधुसपिषा ॥ 3 ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ 4 शिवै भवजो ॥ 5 स्कन्दविशाखौ ॥ 6 परित्राङ्कौशिकौ ॥ 7 प्रवयोपससौ ॥ 8 शुक्लकृष्णौ ॥ 9 इध्माबर्हिषी ॥ निपातनादीर्घ ॥ 10 दीक्षातपसी ॥ 11 अज्ञातपसी ॥ 12 मेधातपसी ॥

13 अभयनतपसी ॥ 14 उल्लुखलुसले ॥ 15 आद्यावसान ॥ 16 अज्ज्ञानधे ॥ 17
कवसामे ॥ 18 वाङ्मनसे ॥

६१६ । अधिकरणैतावत्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्वयसंख्यावगमे एकवदेवेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश दन्तोष्ठा ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of material things (adhikarāṇa) is not singular

There is no general rule (nyāma) that such a compound should be singular

As, दश दन्तोष्ठा 'ten sets of teeth and lips', Compare II 4 2

६२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य सामीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येव रूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदश दन्तोष्ठम् । उपदशा दन्तोष्ठा ॥

920 A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular

There may be a general rule (nyāma) that such a compound shall be a samāhara only

Thus उपदशदन्तोष्ठम् or उपदश दन्तोष्ठा 'nearly ten i e nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'

६२१ । आनङ् ऋतोद्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ।

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिनाष्टदन्ताना द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । हेतापोतारौ । हेतूपोतूने षोडशतार । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्ते पितापुत्रौ ॥

921 In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member

Thus हेतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्धारौ, but हेतूपोतूनेष्टोद्धारौ ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्ट only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातु, and not the ऋ of हेतु and पोतु which are not followed by an uttarapada प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्त्तारौ मातापितरौ, The anuvṛtti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI 3 21 S 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in क् ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ याताननान्दरौ ॥ The anuvṛtti of पुत्रे is read in this sūtra by the method of frog leap

The substitute is really आ, the न् is useful only to prevent the application of I 1 51, by which a र comes after every simple vowel substitute of क् ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in क्' ? Observe विनृपितामहौ ॥

६२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ् । मित्रावरुणौ ॥

वायुश्चन्द्रप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः * ॥ अग्निवायू । वायव्यग्री । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य पारमर्हार्थम् । तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्वि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यम् ॥

922 The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatās

Thus मित्रावरुणौ ॥

Vāṇ — Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वायव्यग्री ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sūtra, in spite of its anuvṛtti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known. It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती सिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatās are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go together. In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatās whose companionship is well-known

६२३ । ईद्वन्द्वे । सोमवरुणयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे इत्येव ॥

923 For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which स is changed to ष ॥

६२४ । अग्ने स्तुत्सोमसोमा । ८ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अग्ने परेषामेषा सस्य ष स्थ । मासे । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोम । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924 ष is substituted for the स् of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोम, अग्नीषोमौ। अग्निवरुणौ ॥

Ishii —The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened इ, that the स of सोम is changed to ष otherwise not. As अग्निस्तोमौ मायवक्रौ ॥ So also अग्निस्तोमो तिष्ठत् (where 'agni' means fire, and 'oma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here"

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोम ॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by कृत्, the *sacrine* in which Agni is praised (स्तुयते) is so called अग्निष्टोम is also the name of a sacrifice the first division (सस्था) of the Soma yāga. अग्नीषोम is a देवता इन्द्र so where there is no Devata Dvandva, the ष change will not take place. Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb. According to Aśvalayana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ ऋण्ययानि ॥

६२५। इदृष्टुत्तौ। ६। ३। २८ ॥

वृद्धिमत्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिदंदेश स्यादेवातादृन्हे । अग्नामरुतो देवते अस्य आग्निमारुत कर्म । अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्निवारुणम् । देवतादृन्हे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धिः । अलौकिके वाक्ये आनङ्गीत्य च बाधित्वा इत् । वृद्धौ किम् । आग्नेन्द्र । नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्गतिषेधः । विष्णौ न * ॥ आग्नावैष्णवम् ॥

925 The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि, in such a Dvandva, in which both members take the Vriddhi

The substitution of इ for इ may appear superfluous, but it is really for the sake of debarring the long ई of the last sūtra

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI 3 26. Thus आग्निवारुणीमनङ्गाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुत कर्म क्रीयेत ॥ अग्नीमरुतौ देवतस्य (IV 2 24 S 1226), takes the Taddhita affix, अण् and by VII 3 21, S 1239 both members of the compound take Vriddhi. When both members do not take Vriddhi, the rule does not apply as आग्नेन्द्र (अग्निइन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vriddhi, by VII 3 22 S 1240

Vārt —Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows as आग्नावैष्णव चरु निर्वपेत् ॥ The इ being prohibited, there comes आनङ् of 922

९२६। दिवो द्यावा । ६। ३। २६ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाक्षणे ॥

926 For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatās, when it is followed by a second member

Thus द्यावाक्षणा, (Rīg Veda X 36 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rīg Veda VII 62 4)

८२७। दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६। ३। ३० ॥

दिव इत्यत्र चाट् द्यावा । आदेशे अकारोच्चारण सकारस्य रुक् ना मृद्वित्येतदर्थम् । द्योश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधि ॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योरपत्ति रित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927 For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatās

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र or visarga or upadhmāniya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमते ॥ (Rīg Veda II 12 13) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule In दिवस्पृथिव्योरपत्ति the authors of Pada Pātha read the दिवस् as दिव with a visarga

६२८। उषासोषस । ६। ३। ३१ ॥

उषस्शब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताद्वन्द्वे । उषासासूर्यम् ॥

928 For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatā-dvandva

Thus —उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥ (Rīg Veda X 36 1) These are samāhāra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c

६२९। मातरपितराबुदीचाम् । ६। ३। ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचा क्रिम् । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by भरद् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ Why do we say “according to Northern authors”? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वेन्द्राच्छुदणहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

अवर्गान्ताहणहान्ताश्च द्वेन्द्रादृच् स्यात्समाहारे । वाक् च स्वक् च वाक्त्वचम् । स्वक्सजम् । क्षमीदृषदम् । वाक्त्विवचम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृत्तारदौ ॥

930 The affix tach comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a द् or a ष् or a ह्, when the compound is a Samâhâra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity)

The anuvṛtti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V 4. 86, ceases. The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्व 'an aggregate Dvandva' which is always in Neuter singular, and not to इतरेतरद्वन्द्व "or mutual conjunction". Thus वाक् च स्वक् च = वाक्स्वचम्, so also स्वक्सजम्, क्षमीदृषदम्, वाक्त्विवचम्, छत्रोपानहम्, Why do we say "in a Samâhâra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृत्तारदौ ॥

Note — Why do we say "after a Dvandva"? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, पञ्च वाक् समाहृता = पञ्चवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च् class, or द् ष् ह्"? Observe वाक्समित् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI

ON EKAŚESHAS

सरूपाणाम् ॥ रामौ । रामा ॥ विरूपाणामपि समानार्थानाम् * ॥ वक्रवृण्डश्च कुटिलवृण्डश्च
वक्रवृण्डौ । कुटिलवृण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka śesha, i. e. where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided. The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained.

We have already seen the application of eka śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ, similarly राम+राम+राम=रामा ॥ See I 2 64, S 188. Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarūpa words only. Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka śesha as by the following Vārtika.

Vārtika —There is eka-śesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense*. As वक्रवृण्ड + कुटिलवृण्ड = वक्रवृण्डौ or कुटिलवृण्डौ ॥ This Vārtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense."

६३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रयुवप्रत्ययमात्रकृतं चेत्तयो कृत्स्नं वे रूप्यं स्थान् । गार्ग्यश्च
गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्धः किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षणः किम् ।
भागवित्तिभागवित्तिश्रौ । कृत्स्नं किम् । गार्ग्यवात्स्थायनो ॥

931 The vriddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only.

The word śesha of the sūtra I 2 64 S 188 is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vriddha word.* The word

Vṛiddha means gotra the old âcharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sūtras IV 1 162 and 163 (अपत्य पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such person is living, and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son, while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes The word lakshana 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion', meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others The word विशेष in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form'

Thus गार्ग्य + गार्ग्यायण = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gārgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् IV, 1 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix क् denoting a secondary derivative In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains, the second or the yuvan is dropped, and the form "Gārgyau" means both the old and the new clan Similalry वास्व + वास्वायन = वास्वौ ॥

This Ekasesha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation

This rule of ekasesha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word Thus गर्ग + गार्ग्यायण = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्य + गर्ग = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan

The word 'only' is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, & form may be the same, but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable Thus Rule IV 1 148 S 1172 says " a Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix डक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira*" Thus भागवत्ति + भागवत्तिक = भागवत्तिभागवत्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation The affix डक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also The pure yuvan word being भागवत्तियन ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same The rule therefore does not apply to —गार्ग्य (a Vṛiddha word) + वास्त्यायन (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवास्त्यायनौ ॥

६३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री शिष्यते तदप्यत्र पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणा च गर्गा । अस्त्रियमित्यनुवर्तमाने यम्योभेति लुक् । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्षी ॥

932 And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained, and it is treated like a masculine

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped, and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sūtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sūtra Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणौ = गर्गा ॥ Here the affix यञ् is elided by II 4 64 S 1108 which applies to non feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियान् is understood in that sūtra from II 4 62 S 1193 The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायण = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि) ॥

६३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रिया सहोक्तौ पुमाञ् शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । हसी च हसश्च हसौ ॥

933 A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśeṣha, and the latter is dropped.

As हसी + हस = हसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरौ । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्रौ ॥

934 The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasi, 'sister' and duhitrî 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped

With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I 2 65 S 931 Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśeṣha under special circumstances Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons)

९३५ । नपुसकमनपुसके नैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अङ्गीवेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लं पद । शुक्ला शार्दी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तदिदं शुक्लम् । तानामानि शुक्लानि ॥

935 A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष of I 2 65 S 931 governs this sūtra also thus शुक्लं पद, शुक्ला शार्दी, शुक्लं च वस्त्र ॥ "The white (masculine) cloth, the white (feminine) wrapper, and the white (neuter) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्ल (neuter), or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note — A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them, provided that, the words differ in gender signs only, but radically they be the same Thus आलस्यो, मैथुन, निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्जिते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'alasya' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidra' which is in the feminine gender The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśeṣha may be in the singular number

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply Thus शुक्र+शुक्र+शुक्र=शुक्रानि the word is in the plural, there is no ekavadbhāva.

६३६ । पिता मात्रा । १ । २ । ७० ॥

मात्रा सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936 The word pitṛi, 'father' is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mātṛi, 'mother'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent' or मातापितरौ वा ॥

६३७ । श्वशुरः श्वश्रुः । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्रुः सहोक्तौ श्वशुरौ वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विद्यमानम् । श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

937 The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrū, 'mother-in-law'

Thus श्वशुर + श्वश्रु may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in law and mother-in law,' or श्वश्रुश्च श्वशुरौ ॥

६३८ । त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वे सहोक्तौ त्यदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादीना मिथ सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते * ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादित् शेषे पुनपुसकतेऽपि लिङ्गवचनानि * ॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यश्च तौ च नानि । पुनपुसकयोस्तु परत्वान्नपुसकं शिष्यते । तच्च देवदत्तश्च ते ॥

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमधुर्याविने । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनो । तच्च सा च अर्धविष्ण्व्यौ ते ॥

938 The pronouns 'tyad' &c, when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c') are always retained as ekasheṣa, (to the exclusion of others)

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I 1 27 They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim' When these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped The word 'sarva' is used in the apborism to indicate 'universality', i. e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules

Thus स (he) + देवदत्त (Devadatta) = तौ (they two)

Vart —When व्यवाहि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Ganapātha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus य + स = यौ, य + क = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I 1 27 S 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद्, similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vartika —In the ekaśeśha of tyādadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine, and neuter to the exclusion of masculine. As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यद्देवदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine तच्च च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika —It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds. In the case of these, the sūtra II 4 26 S 812 applies. The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun. Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्याविने (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटाविनौ (इमौ masculine dual). Similarly पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + अर्धपिप्पली (feminine) = अर्धपिप्पली (feminine Plural). The relative Pronoun will be ता ॥

६३९ । ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षाया स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेत्यापवादः । गाव इमा । ग्राम्येति किम् । रुरव इमे । पशुग्रहणं किम् । ब्राह्मणा इमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वस्त्रा इमे । अनेकशक्तिर्वाति वाच्यम् * ॥ अथा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्ताभावाद् इन्द्रो न । तेन शिरसी शिरालीत्यादौ समासस्येत्थन्तोदात्त प्राण्यङ्गत्वादिकवञ्चादश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939 The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I 2 67 S 933). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders, the feminine noun is preferred, provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals The word 'ataruna' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha' As गाव इमा 'these cows (and bulls)' अजा इमा 'these goats' (both males and females)

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya animals) and not to *wild* animals, and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men As रुद्र इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणा, 'the Brāhmanas' (male and female) क्षत्रिया, 'the Kshatriyas' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I 2 67 S 933

Vart —This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female) Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरत, 'these two cows are grazing' Here the word 'gāvau' does not connote 'bull' also

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves', बकरा इम 'these kids' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I 2 67 S 933

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka śesha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka śesha words Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरासि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI 1 123 S 3734 would have applied Nor is there eka vadbhāva of these words, though they denote members of living beings (II 4 2 S 906) Similarly in पत्न्यानौ पत्न्यान् &c there is not the affixing of samāsānta (V 4 74 S 940)

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA

— o —

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL

कृतञ्जिनसमसैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपा पञ्च वृत्तयः । परार्थाभिधान वृत्तिः । वृत्त्यार्थावबोधक वाक्य विग्रहः । स द्विविधः । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुलौकिकः । प्रयोगानर्होऽसाधुर लौकिकः । यथा । राज्ञः पुरुषः । राजन् अस् पुरुषः सु इति । अविग्रहो नित्यसमासः ॥

अन्वयपर्यायविग्रहो वा समासश्चतुर्विधः इति तु प्रायोबाधः । अव्ययीभावतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिहो-वाधिकारबाधैर्भूतानामपि सहस्रपेति समासविधानात् ।

पूर्वपर्यायप्रधानोऽव्ययीभावः । उत्तरपर्यायप्रधानस्तत्पुरुषः । अन्यपर्यायप्रधानो बहुव्रीहिः । उभयपर्यायप्रधानो ह्रस्वः इत्यापि प्राचा प्रवादः प्रायोऽभिप्रायः । सूत्रमिति उन्नतगङ्गमित्याद्यव्ययीभावे, अतिमालाहौ तत्पुरुषे, द्विधा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ इन्ताष्टमित्यादिह्रस्वे चाभावात् । तत्पुरुषविशेष-कर्मधारयः, तद्विशेषः द्वियु ॥ अनेक पदस्य ह्रस्वः बहुव्रीह्यादेव । तत्पुरुषः कश्चिदेवेत्युक्तम् । किञ्च ॥

सुपा सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽप्य तिङा तिङा । सुबन्तेनेति विशेषः समास-षड्विधो बुधैः ॥ १ ॥

सुपा सुपा, राजपुरुषः । तिङा, पर्यधूषयत् । नाम्ना, कुम्भकारः । धातुना, कदहू-अजस्रम् । तिङा तिङा, पितृतखास्ताः । स्थास्तमोस्ताः । तिङा सुपा, कृन्तविचक्षणेति यस्या क्रियाया सा कृन्तविचक्षणा । एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे इति मयूरव्यसकाहौ पाठास्तमासः ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (*vr̥tti*) is of five sorts, namely, 1 *Kṛit*—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root 2 *Taddhita*—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun 3 *Samāsa*—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun 4 *Eka sesha*—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded 5 Lastly *Sanādyanta dhātus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb, such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs

The word *vr̥tti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word When a word undergoes a *vr̥tti* or modification, it gains an additional sense This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding ति &c affixes is not a *Vr̥tti* because here the root does not undergo any change of sense To express the sense of another word by a different word is a *vr̥tti*

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called *vigraha* or the analysis of a word. The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone.

The *vigraha* or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical. That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis. That which is shown by technical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis.

Thus राजपुरुष when analysed logically will be राज पुरुष, but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन् + अन् + पुरुष + ख्य ॥

That which is not capable of laukika analysis is a *nitya samāsa* or a *nitya-samāsa* is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words.

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1. *Avyayībhāva*, 2. *Tatpurusha*, 3. *Bahuvrīhi* and 4. *Dvandva*. But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule सहस्रधा ॥ (S 649)

“An *Avyayībhāva* is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant.”

“A *Tatpurusha* compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant.”

“A *Bahuvrīhi* is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant.”

“A *Dvandva* is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant.”

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians, they are not however strictly accurate. For these definitions do not hold good in the case of *Avyayībhāva* compounds like उन्मत्तगङ्गा, *Tatpurusha* compounds like अतिमाला, *Bahuvrīhi* like द्वित्रा, and *Dvandva* like दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

Karmadhāraya is a subdivision of *Tatpurusha*. *Dvigu* is a particular case of *Karmadhāraya*.

The *Dvandvas* and *Bahuvrīhis* only can consist of many words. The *Tatpurusha* seldom consists of more than two words as in व्यङ्गजात ॥ For thus it is said

VERSE

1 The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2 Or with a tense inflected word, 3 Or with a crude noun 4 Or with a root 5 The tense inflected word may be compounded with another tense inflected word 6 Or with a case-inflected word Thus compounds are of six kinds

1 सुपा सुपा, Declined noun with another declined noun as राजपुरुष ॥

2 सुपा तिङा, A noun with a conjugated verb as, परि-अभूषयत् ॥

3 सुपा नाम्ना A noun with a nascent noun or Upapada samāsa. as, कुम्भकार ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥

4 सुपा धातुना, A noun with a root as कटुह् । अजसम् ॥ This compound कटुह् is so exhibited in Vārtika under sūtra III 2 178 S 3158, and the word अजसम् is formed by the sūtra III 2 167 S 3147

5 तिङा तिङा । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as पिबत खावता, खावतामोवता ॥ See Mayūravyaṅsaka class of compounds II 1, 72 S 754

6 तिङा सुपा, A conjugated verb with a noun, as कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ In the Mayura vyāṅsakāḍī class, we find the rule एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule

अथ सर्व समासान्न प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMĀSĀNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL

६४० । ऋक्पूरब्धू पथामानक्षे । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

अ अनक्षे इति छेद् । ऋगाद्यन्तस्य समासस्य अमत्ययोऽन्तावयव स्यात् । अक्षे या धूस्तदन्तस्य
५ । अर्धर्ष ॥ अनुचबहुवचनध्वेयैव ॥ नह अनुक्ताम् । बहुक् सूक्तम् । विष्णो पू विष्णुपुरम् ।
झीवत् लोकात् । विमलाप सर ॥

940 The affix अ comes after rik, pur, ap, dhūr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhūr is in conjunction with aksha

The anuvṛtti of the word bahuvrīhi does not enter here it applies to all compounds in general The word अनक्षे qualifies धूर, as it cannot qualify the words ऋक् &c

Thus (1) rik —अर्धर्ष 'half a hymn', अनुच, बहुच

Note —Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अक्ष?" Observe, अक्षस्य धू = अक्षध, दृढधूरत् ॥

The words अनुच and बहुच apply to students of Rik thus अनुच means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda" बहुच "One who has read the Rig Veda" The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अनुक् साम, "the Sāma Veda which is not divided into hymns" बहुक् सूक्तम् ॥ "a hymn consisting of many Rig verses"

(2) pur —विष्णो पूर=विष्णुपुरम् 'the town of Vishnu' So also कलादपुरम् नान्दीपुरम् ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पूर is feminine

(3) Ap —As विमलाप सर 'a lake with pure water' For other compounds of अप् see the following sūtras

Note —In अर्धच the compounding is by II 2 2 S 713 It becomes masculine by II 4 31 S 816 In the case of अनुक् ann बहुक् we may have the general samāsanta कम् (V 4 154 S 891) giving the forms अनुक्कम् &c For अप् धूर and पथिन् see the subsequent sūtras

In the case of the word अप् the following rule applies by which the initial अ of अप् is changed to ई ॥ Thus हि + अप् + अ = हि + ईप् + अ ॥

६४१ । अन्तरूपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ६७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम् । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्य ईत्स्यात् । द्विगता आपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । सनीपम् । समापा देवयजनमिति तु समा अपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम् । कृतसमासान्तप्रवृत्तिहेतुः । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्वा * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941 After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samāsanta अ : e अप् + अ = अप ॥ The nominative अप has the force of the genitive here. That is अप = अपस्य ॥ The samāsanta अ is added by V 4 74 S 940 By I 1 54 S 44 ई replaces the *first letter* of अप viz अ only Thus द्वीपम् 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' । e, 'adverse' सनीपम् ॥ 'near'

Note — Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समाप नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods'

The word समाप may be analysed as समा + आप, : e समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजन means the ground where Devas are worshipped 'Holy land' "sacrificial ground"

As the word अप is exhibited in the sūtra with the samāsanta अ, the ई substitution will not take place where the samāsanta अ is not added Thus V 4 69 S 954 prohibits samāsanta when 'honor' is indicated Therefore सु + अप् = स्वप्, Fem स्वपी ॥

Vārtika —Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle', परापम् or परेपम् 'an outlet of water' The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्, here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sūtra It means प्र &c

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies

६४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ६८ ॥

अनो परस्यापस्य ऊत्स्यादेशे । अनूपी देशः ।

राजधरा । असे तु अक्षधृ । दृष्टधराक्ष । सक्षिपय । रम्बपयो देशः ॥

942. After अनु ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप्, when the sense is that of a locality

Thus अमृषो देव । 'a marshy place'

Note —But अमृषीपस् when locality is not meant The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed, as अनु ऊप = अनूप ॥ The form अनूप could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूप ॥ But this analysis is not intended

The word धुर also takes अ by V 4. 74 S 940 As —राजधुरा 'the kings load (of Government)', but when relating to अक्ष then अक्षधू 'the yoke attached to the fore part of the pole of a car', दृढधूरक्ष 'a car with strong poles'

The word पथिन् also takes, अ by V 4 74 S 940 As —सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देव 'a place the road of which is pleasant'

६४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोम् । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमान्तात्समासादश्च स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् । अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम् ॥

कृष्णोदक्पाण्डुसख्यापूर्वाद्या भूमेराजिष्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूम । उदग्भूम । पाण्डुभूम । द्विभूम प्रासादः ।

सख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्या च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागादन्यथापि । पञ्चनाभ ॥

943 The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them

As प्रतिसामम्, harshly 'अनुसामम्, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly'

Ishti —The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदक्, पाण्डु and also 'a numeral Thus कृष्णभूम 'a place having the ground black,' उदग्भूम 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूम 'having white ground' द्विभूम प्रासाद 'a palace of two floors' .

Vartika —And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी when preceded by a numeral As पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, i.e. the Panjab', सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II 1 20)

Note —This affix is added to words other than those mentioned above as पञ्चनाभ, कर्मनाभ, सप्तरात्र, द्वीपरात्र, अरात्र ॥ Here the affix अच् is added to नाभि and रात्रि ॥ All this can be done by dividing the above sutra into two parts viz (1) अच् (2) प्रत्यन्व &c That is (1) अच् comes after all compounds and (2) after सामन् and लोमन् preceded by प्रति &c

६४४ । अक्षोऽदर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अक्षु पर्कथावक्ष्योऽच् स्यात्समासान्त । गवाक्षीव गवाक्ष ॥

944 The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole'

The word अक्ष is understood here Thus गवाक्ष 'a hole for the rays of light, i.e. a small window' The word क्षो here means 'ray of light' गवाक्षिरणा ॥ Or a gavāksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows

Note —The word दर्शन in the sâtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but is a synonym of 'eye'

६४५ । अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्क्सामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभुवदार-
गवोर्वष्टावपदष्टीवनक्तदिवरात्रिदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनि श्रेयसपुरुषायुषज्ञायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्य-
जुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृक्षोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वा । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते पञ्चविंशतिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो बहुव्रीहय । आवद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अच-
तुर । विचतुर । सुचतुर ॥

अ्युपाभ्या चतुरोऽजिष्यते* ॥ विचतुरा । चतुर्णो समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपचतुर ।

वत एकावक्ष इन्द्रा । स्त्रीपुंसौ । धेन्वनडुहौ । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे । अक्षिणी च भुवौ च अक्षि-
भुवम् ।

द्वाराश्च गावश्च सारथ्यवम् ।

ऊरू च अष्टीवन्तौ च ऊर्ध्वीवम् । निपातनाद्विलोप ।

पदष्टीवम् । निपातनात्पादश्चदस्य पङ्गाव ।

नक्त च दिवा च नक्तन्दिवम् ।

रात्रौ च दिवा च रात्रिन्दिवम् । रात्रेर्मान्तत्वं निपात्यन्ते ।

अहनि च दिवा च अहर्दिनम् । वीप्साया इन्द्रा निपात्यन्ते अहन्वहनीत्यर्थः ।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽव्ययीभावः । बहुव्रीहौ तु सरज पङ्कजम् ।

निमित्त श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम् । तत्पुरुष एव । नेह नि श्रेयान् पुरुष ।

पुरुषस्यायु पुरुषायुषम् ।

ततो द्वियु । द्वायुषम् । त्र्यायुषम् ।

सतो इन्द्र । ऋग्यजुषम् ।

सतस्त्रय कर्मधारया । जातोक्ष । महोक्ष । वृक्षोक्ष ।

शुन समीप उवशुनम् । विलोपाभावः सम्प्रसारणं च निपात्यन्ते ।

गाष्ठेश्वा गोष्ठश्च ॥

945 The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix *ach* — *achatura*, *vichatura*, *suchatura*, *stri-punsau*, *dhenv-anaduhau*, *rik-sâme*, *vân-manase*, *akshibhruvam*, *dâra-gavam*, *ûvashthîvam*, *pada-shthîvam*, *naktamdivam*, *râtrim-divam*, *ahar-divam*, *sara-jasam*, *nih-śreyasam*, *purushâ-yusham*, *dvyâ-yusham*, *tryâ-yusham*, *rig-yajusham*, *jâto-kshah*, *maho-kshah*, *vridhho-kshah*, *upaśunam*, and *goshtaśvah*

The first three of these words are Bahuvrîhi (1) *अचतुर* = *अदृश्यान्वविद्यमानानि वा चत्वारि यस्य* 'that whose four are absent or non-existent' (2) *विचतुर* = *विगतानि चत्वारि यस्य* "whose four are gone" So also (3) *सुचतुर* = *शोभानानि चत्वारि यस्य* 'whose four are good' Had these been Tatpurusha, the forms would have been *अचत्वार*, *विचत्वार* &c

Ishu — The affix *अच्* comes after *चतुर* when preceded by *त्रि* and *उप* Thus *त्रिचतुर* and *उपचतुर* "near the four"

The next eleven words are Dvandva compounds They are clear Thus (4) *स्त्री च पुमान्* = *स्त्रीपुंसौ* 'the man and woman', (but not *हेतुः स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियमस्ति पुमान् ह्ये*) = *स्त्रीपुमान्* "a brave towards women only",

(5) *धेनुश्च भनङ्गाश्च* = *धेनून्डुहौ* "cow and bull"

(6) *रिक् च सामश्च* = *रिक्साते* "the *Rik* and the *Saman*"

(7) *वाक् च मनश्च* = *वाङ्मनसे* "the speech and mind"

(8) *अक्षिणीश्च भ्रुवौ च* = *अक्षिभ्रुवश्च* "the eyes and the brows" The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II 4 2 S 905)

(9) *ह्यपश्च गावश्च* = *ह्यरगवश्च* "the wives and cows" Here the final syllable (called *टि*) is elided

(10) *ऊरू + अङ्गीवन्तो + अच्* = *ऊर्वङ्गीवन्* "Thighs and knees" ||

(11) So also *पादौ + अङ्गीवन्तो* = *पद् + अङ्गीव + अच्* = *पदङ्गीवन्* "Feet and knees." ||

(12) *नक्तश्च दिवाश्च* = *नक्तदिवश्च* 'by night and day' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular

(13) *रात्रिश्च दिवाश्च* = *रात्रिदिवश्च* "By night and day" ||

(14) The words *अहर्* and *दिवा* both mean 'day' the compound *अहर्दिवश्च* is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms It is used here in a distributive sense = *अहन्यहनि* 'day by day'

(15) The word सरजसन् is an Avyayībhāva, meaning 'with the pollen' & e 'all,' as सरजसमभ्यर्हिरात् ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrīhi as सह+रजसा=सरज पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word नि श्रेयस=निश्चित श्रेय 'sure (never failing) happiness' and is a Tatpurusha but not so in नि श्रेयान् पुरुष ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha=पुरुषस्त्रायु ॥ 'limit of a man's life' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च आयुश्च=पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) द्वायुषम् and (19) त्रयायुषम् are Samāhāra Dvig compounds Therefore not here, द्वयोरायु=द्वायु, त्रयायु ॥

(20) The word कृग्यजुषम् is a Dvandva Therefore, not here कृग्यजुस्त्योन्मुग्धस्य=कृग्यजुस्त्योन्मुग्ध (य कृचोयजुषि मन्यते) ॥

The three words ending in जसन् are Karmadhāraya (21) जातोक्ष "a young bull," (22) महोक्ष "a big bull," (23) वृद्धोक्ष "an old bull" Not so when these are Bahuvrīhi as जातोक्षा ब्राह्मणा "Brahmanas possessing young bulls"

(24) The word उपशुनम् is an Avyayībhāva=शुन समीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of व of श्वन् into उ (Samprasāraṇa) are irregular

The word गोष्ठश्च is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोष्ठेश्च=गोष्ठश्च ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer"

६४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चस । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

अन् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । हस्तिवर्चसम् ॥

पल्यराजभ्या चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पल्यवर्चसम् । राजवर्चसम् ॥

946 The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti

Thus ब्रह्मवर्चसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्चसम् 'strength of an elephant' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength'

Vārt —So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and rājan as, पल्यवर्चसम्, राजवर्चसम् ॥ The word पल means 'meat,' पल्य 'meat-eater,' पल्यवर्चसम् "the strength of the meat eater"

६४७ । अवसमन्धेभ्यस्तमस । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । सतमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्ध पचाद्यच् । अन्ध तम अन्धतमसम् ॥

947 The affix ach comes after the word *tamas*, when preceded by the words *ava*, *sam* and *andha*, in a compound

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सतमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight'

The word अन्ध is derived from the *churādi* root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III + 134 S 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीय श्रेयस । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

वसुशब्द प्रशस्तवाची । तत् ईयसुनि वसाय । श्वसुशब्द उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामाशीर्विषयतामाह । मयूरन्यसकारित्वात्समास । श्वानसीयसम् । श्व श्रेयस ते भूयात् ॥

948 The affix ach comes after the words *vasīyas* and *śreyas*, when they follow the word *śvas* in a compound

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्व श्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीय is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," "rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V 3 57 S 2005) The word श्व is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term These compounds belong to the class of *Mayuavyaśakādi* (II 1 72 S 754) Thus श्व श्रेयसम् ते भूयात् = शोभन श्रेयस्त भूयात् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्व श्रेयसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्ववतप्ताद्रहस । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अनुरहसम् । अवरहसम् । तप्तरहसम् ॥

949 The affix ach comes after the word *rahas*, when it follows *anu*, *ava*, and *tapta* in a compound

Thus अनुरहसम् 'secluded' अवरहसम् 'a little secluded' तप्तरहसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' : १ which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter'

९५० । प्रतेहरस सप्तमीस्थात् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

हरसि प्रति प्रत्युरसम् । विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययाभावः ॥

950 The affix ach comes after the word *rahas*, when it follows the word *prati* in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative

Thus प्रत्युरसम्—उरसि वृत्तते 'against the heart' This is an Avyayibhāva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II 1 6 S 652)

Note —Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe प्रत्युर = प्रतिगतपुर ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते रीर्धत्वे । अनुगव आनम् । अस्य आयाम इति समास ॥

951 The word anugava is irregularly formed by adding the affix ach, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows"

Thus अनुगव आन "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen" This compound is formed by II 1 16 S 670

Note —Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, गवा पश्चाद् = अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदि । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अचप्रत्ययद्विलोप समासश्च निपात्यते । यावता प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽध्वनेषां स वेद निपातनम् । वेदिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जु ॥

952 The words dvistāvā and tristāvā are irregularly formed, when qualifying a vedi or 'altar'

The affix अच् is added and the final syllable (इ दि) is elided Thus द्विस्तावा वेदि "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one" त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar" Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like Aśvamedha &c The words are compounds of द्वि and त्रि plus तावत् meaning "as much" Why do we say "when applied to an altar"? Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जु , त्रिस्तावता रज्जु ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गादध्वन । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वन प्राध्वो रथ ॥

953 The affix ach comes after the word adhvan, preceded by an upasarga in a compound

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वान = प्राध्वो रथ , 'a chariot'

Note —Why do we say "when preceded by an Upasarga"? Observe परमाध्वा उत्तमा वा ॥

९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

पूजनार्थात्पर्येभ्य समासान्ता न स्यु । सुराजा । अतिराजा ॥

स्वातिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । परमराज ।

पूजनात्किम् । गामतिक्रान्तोऽतिगव । बहुव्रीहौ सकथ्यङ्गोरित्यत प्रागेवाय निषेध । नेह । सुसकथ । स्वक्ष ॥

954 The samâsânta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise

The present rule prohibits the application of the samâsânta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise Thus V 4 91 S 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, महा + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराज, and not महाराजा ॥ But सुराजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king'

Vart —The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराज and परमगव ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise'? Observe अतिगव 'a fool,' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly' This prohibition applies up to sutra V 4 113 S 852 exclusive Thus सुसकथ 'having handsome thighs,' स्वक्ष, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix षच् (V 4 113 S 852) is not prohibited

९५५ । किम क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे य किञ्चिदस्तत् पर वचनन्तात्समासान्ता न स्यु । कुत्सितो राजा किराज । किसखा । किंगौ । क्षेपे किम् । किराज । किसख । किंगव ॥

955 The samâsânta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach

Thus कि + राजन् = किराजन् as किराजा यो न रक्षति "He is no king who does not protect" किसखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति, किंगौ यौ न वहति ॥ (V 4 91 S 788 V 4 92, S 729 II 1 64 S 743) The compounding here takes place by Rule II 1 64 S 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach'? Observe कस्य राजा = किराज, किसख, किंगव ॥

= ९५६ । नञस्तत्पुरुषात् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

समासान्तो न । अपाजा । असखा । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । अधुर शकदम् ॥

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV

ON NON ELISION OF CASE AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS

६५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगधिकार प्रागानङ उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमासि ॥

958 In the following upto VI 3 24 S 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound "

Note —The words अलुक् 'there is no elision,' and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sūtras Both these words jointly govern the sūtras upto VI 3 24, S 982, while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI 4 1 S 200) Thus sūtra VI 3 2 S 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c" The present sūtra should be read there to complete the sense, e g "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c, are not elided before the second member of the compound" Thus स्तोकात् मुक्त = स्तोकान्मुक्त, अल्पान्मुक्त ॥ Why do we say "before the second member" ? Observe निष्क्रान्त स्तोकात् = नि स्तोका ॥ The maxim of prātipadokta does not apply here

६५९ । पञ्चम्या स्तोकादिभ्यः । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

एभ्य पञ्चम्या अलुक् स्यादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकान्मुक्त । एवमन्तिकार्थद्वार्यकृच्छ्रेभ्य ।

उत्तरपदे किम् । निष्क्रान्त स्तोकान्निस्तोक ।

ब्राह्मणाच्छासिन उपसख्यानम् * ॥ ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि उपचाराद् ब्राह्मणानि, तानि शस्यतीति ब्राह्मणाच्छसी कर्तृत्वविशेष । द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसख्यानदिब ॥

959 The Ablative-ending after स्तोका &c is not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्त, अल्पान्मुक्त, अन्तिकादागत, अभ्यासादागत, वरादागत, विप्रकृष्टादागत, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्त ॥

Note —By I 2 46 S 179 a case collected word when forming part of a compound is called prātipadika, and by II 4 71 S 650 the endings of a Prātipadika

are elided Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् युक्त, the ablative ending required to be dropped The present sutra prevents that The words स्तोक् &c, in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them Thus स्तोकाभ्या युक्त, स्तोकेभ्य युक्त are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have one accent, for in one word, there is only one acute Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्त being one compound word will have one acute (VI 1 158, S 3650 VI 2 144 S 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्या युक्त being treated as two words will have separate acute accents The above compounding takes place by II 1 39 S 701

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्त स्तोकात् = नि स्तोक् ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here

Part —The word ब्राह्मणाच्छसिन् should be enumerated in this connection Here also the Ablative is not elided Thus ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि = ब्राह्मणानि, तानि शसति = ब्राह्मणाच्छसिन् "a kind of Ritvic priest"

Note —The object of making words like स्तोकान्मुक्त a compound is three fold First ऐकपद्यम् : e they become one word Thus the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्त will be स्तोकान्मुक्ता, the Taddhita affix being added to the whole Similarly the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्ता (Feminine) will be स्तोकान्मुक्तेय ॥ Second ऐकस्वर्यम् : e one accent, thus स्तोकान्मुक्ते has acute on the final by VI 2 144 S 3878, read with VI 1 223 S 3734, VI 1 158 S 3650 Thirdly विशेषण योगाभाव : e the absence of adjective No separate adjective can be added to these words separately

Note —The śāstras ordained in the Brahmanas are called also metaphorically ब्राह्मणानि ॥ The priest who praises such śāstras is called ब्राह्मणाच्छसिन् Here the fifth case has the force of the Accusative, by virtue of this vartika The शस्त्र is a kind of hymn of praise The difference between śāstra and stotra is thus explained प्रगीतमन्त्र साध्ययुणि निष्ठयुगाभिधानं स्तवम् । अप्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्ययुणिनिष्ठयुगाभिधानं शस्त्रम् ॥ One is sung with musical accompaniment, the other is merely recited These are the technical terms of the sacrificial Priests

६६० । ओज सहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयाया । ६ । ३ । ३ ।

ओजसाकृतमित्यादि

अञ्जस उपसख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्जसाकृतम् । भार्जवेन कृतमित्यर्थ ॥

पुसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति च * ॥ यस्याग्रज पुमान् स पुसानुज । जनुषान्धो जात्यन्ध ॥

960 The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् done with strength' &c,

Vārt —भञ्जन् also should be enumerated Thus भञ्जसाकृतम् 'done correctly'

Vārt —The compounds पुसानुज and जनुषान्ध should also be mentioned Thus पुसा हनुनानुज = पुसानुज 'having an elder brother' जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्ध = जनुषान्ध 'blind from birth' The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् 'birth'

६६१ । मनस सज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसायुता ॥

961 After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member

Thus मनसायुता ॥

Note —Why do we say when 'Name' ? Observe मनोवृत्ता, मनोयुता ॥

९६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनस इत्येव । मनसा भाज्ञातु शीलमस्य मनसाज्ञायी ॥

962 Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञायितु शीलमस्य ॥ One knowing by mind'

६६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तृतीयाया बहुक् स्यात् ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पूरणमस्ययान्ते उत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनापञ्चम । अनार्हन्स्त्वा-
श्चतुर्थे एवेति बहुव्रीहिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरणे क्रिन् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963 The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided

Vārtika —“When an Ordinal Numeral follows” should be added

Thus आत्मनापञ्चम, 'himself and four others'

Note —The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vārtika तृतीया-
विधाने प्रकृत्यावीनाष्टपसख्यान (II 3 18 Vārt S 561) And the compounding takes place by
II 1 30, S 692 by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sūtra
or in this way —आत्मना कृतः पञ्चम = आत्मनापञ्चम ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ्य in जनार्दनस्वात्मचतुर्थ्य एव ? It is a Bahuvrīhi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe आत्मकृतम्

६६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्या । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तादृशे चतुर्थ्येवा । चतुर्थीति योगविभागा-
स्समास ॥

964 The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bībhāga of sūtra II 1 36, S 693 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha. If we do not read the anuvṛtti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sūtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar"

६६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965 The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar

Thus परस्मैपद "The Parasmaipada" &c

९६६ । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या सज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

हलन्ताददन्ताच्च सप्तम्या भलुक् सज्ञायाम् । त्वचिसार ॥

966 The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name

Thus त्वचिसार

९६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिर । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

आभ्या स्थिरस्य सस्य च स्यात् । गविष्ठिर । अत्र गवीति वचनविवातुक् । युधिष्ठिर । अरण्ये तिलका । अत्र सज्ञायामिति सप्तमीसमास ॥

हृद्भ्या च " ॥ हृदिस्पृक् । त्रिदिस्पृक् ॥

967 The स् of स्थिर is changed to स् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर 'firm in the sky'

Though गो does not end in a consonant and so VI 3 9 S 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule. So also अ ending words as युधिष्ठिर and अरण्य तल्ल ॥ The compound-
ing takes place b. II 1 44 S 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI 3 9 S 966

Note — Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्या कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्या पाशा = भूमिपाशा ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षौण्ड ॥

Vart — The Locative ending is not elided after हृ and इद्, as हृदिस्पृक्, दिदिस्पृक् = हृदय दिव च स्पृशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII 3 III S 2123

६१८ । कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचा देशे अकारनाम तत्र हलादाहुत्तरपदे हलदन्तास्तत्रम्या अलुक् । कुकुटेकार्पाणम् । इषदि माषक । पूर्वेषु सिद्धे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्येव प्राचामिव हलादिवेति । कारनाम्नि किम् । अभ्यर्हितेषु । कारान्यस्यैतद्व्यस्य नाम । प्राचा किम् । द्यूयपशु । हलादौ किम् । अविकटोरण । हलदन्तात्किम् । नद्या देश नदीदेश ॥

968 The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant

Thus कुकुटे कार्पाणम् इषदिमाषक ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule. The present rule makes a nyama or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant

Why do we 'say when it is the name of a tax'? Observe अभ्यर्हितेषु = अभ्यर्हितेषु ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe द्यूयपशु = द्यूयपशु ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe

अविकटे उरण = अविकटारण The word उरण means 'sheep' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = नैघसत्पात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ'? Observe नद्या दोह = नदीदोह ॥

६६६ । मध्याद्गुरो । ६ । ३ । ११ ॥

मध्ययुद् ॥ अन्ताच्च* ॥ अन्तेयुद् ॥

969 The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows

As मध्येयुद् 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle'

Vart — So also after अन्त, as अन्तेयुद् ॥

६७० । अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गादकामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकाल । सरसिलोमा । अमूर्धमस्तकात्किं । मूर्धशिख । मस्तकशिख । अकामे किम् । दुखे कामोऽस्य सुखकाम ॥

970 The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठ कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकाल, सरसिलोमा ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक'? Observe मूर्धशिख, मस्तकशिख ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम'? Observe — दुखे कामोऽस्य = सुखकाम ॥

Note — When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply as अक्षसोऽण्ड, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अयुनिवाण, जङ्घाबलि ॥

६७१ । बन्धे च विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हलन्तात्सप्तम्या बहुक् । हस्तबन्ध । हस्तबन्ध । हलन्तेति किम् । युतिबन्ध ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्ध or हस्तेबन्ध ॥

Note — This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrīhi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI 3 19 S 977 when the compound is a Tatpurush, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not The word बन्ध is a घञ् formed word

इतर, पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ०१ पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ॥ काल—पूर्वाङ्गत्वे or पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ॥ तन—पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ०१ पूर्वाङ्गत्वे ॥

Note —Why do we say 'after a time name' ? Observe शुक्लतर शुक्लत्वे । The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also. Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word form काल and not time denoting words in general. The affix तन is right in IV 3 23 S 1391

६७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

लेशय । लेशय । ग्रामवास । ग्रामवास । ग्रामवासी ॥ ग्रामवासी ॥ हलन्तादिस्तेषु । भूमिशय ॥

अपो योनियन्मनुषु * ॥ अप्सु योनिरुत्तिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयानि । अप्सु भद्रोऽप्सव्य । अप्सुमन्ता-
राड्यभागौ ॥

976 The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus लेशय, or लेशय, ग्रामवास or ग्रामवास, ग्रामवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time name we have पूर्वाङ्गशय ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशय ॥

Vart —The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when यानि, or the affix यत् or मनुप् follows. Thus अप्सुयानि, अप्सव्य अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the ङिगादि class (अप्सु भव IV 3 54 S 1429). Some give अप्सुज् and अप्सुचर as additional illustrations. The two mantras अप्सव्ये सधिव (Rig VIII 43 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अन्नवीत् (Rig I 23 20, X 9 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses the oblations offered with these are also so called.

६७७ । नेत्सिद्धवन्धातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इमन्तादिषु सप्तम्या बहुम । स्थण्डिलशायी । साक्षादयसिद्ध । चक्रबन्ध ॥

977 The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthandila or sacrificial ground" साक्षादयसिद्ध चक्रबन्धक ॥

Note —The compounding takes place by yoga vibhāga of sūtra II 1 40 S 717. Some use the word चक्रबन्ध as an illustration under this rule. बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III 1 134 S 2896. The बन्ध ending in चच् is governed by VI 3, 10 S 971. This sūtra is an exception to Tatparusha VI 3 14 S 972. In the Bahuvrīhi, option of S 971 takes place.

The prohibition of this sūtra applies to Tatparusha compounds only

६७८। स्थे च भाषायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

सप्तम्या अमुत्र । सप्तम्य । भाषाया किम् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्टः ॥

978 The Locative ending is not preserved before थ in the spoken language

Thus सप्तम्य ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्ट in the Veda, as in कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्ट ॥ स is changed to थ by VIII, 3, 106 S 3643

६७९। अमुत्रा आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

आस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे किम् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

वाग्विक्पश्यन्त्यो युक्तिरुण्डहरपु * ॥ वाचोयुक्ति । विशाण्ड । पश्यतोहर ॥

आमुत्रायनाऽऽमुत्रयुचिकाऽऽमुत्रयुक्तिकति च * ॥ अमुत्रायपत्य आमुत्रायण । नडादिस्वाङ्कः । अमुत्रयुचस्य भावः आमुत्रयुचिका । मनोऽज्ञादिस्वाङ्कः । एवमाऽमुत्रयुक्तिका ॥

देवानामिय इति च मूर्खे * ॥ अन्यत्र देवमिय ॥

रोपपुच्छलाङ्गुलपु शुन * ॥ शुन रोप । शुन पुच्छ । शुनोलाङ्गुल ॥

दिवश्च रास * ॥ दिवोरास ॥

979 The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'

Thus आस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vārt —The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिश before ण्ड, and after पश्यन् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्ति, दिशोण्ड, पश्यन्ताहर ॥ पश्यन्तमनाहत्य हरानि "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith" The compounding is by II 3 38 S 635

Vart —The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुत्रायण, आमुत्रयुचिका and आमुत्रयुक्तिका ॥ अमुत्रय is the Genitive-Singular of the Pronoun अस्म, and is enumerated in the णडादि class (IV 1 99) and takes क्त in forming the Patronymic, अस्मत्रायण्यम = आमुत्रायण, अमुत्रयपत्यस्य भावः = आमुत्रयुचिका formed by हुन् (V 1 133 S 1798) So also आस्ययुक्तिका ॥

Vārt —The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानामप्रीय

Note —The author of Siddhanta Kaumudī says “when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devanām-priya” There is no authority for this, either in the Mahabhashya or the Kaśikā This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it had it meant ‘a fool’ The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas

Vārt —The Genitive affix is not elided after भृन् when होष पुच्छ and जगल follow it —शुन होष, शुन पुच्छ, शुनोजगल ॥ These are names of three Rishis

Vārt —The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when शस follows as दिवाशस ॥

६८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

पृथग्वा पुत्रे परेऽलुक्वा निन्दायाम् । शस्या पुत्र । शसपुत्र । निन्दाया किम् । ब्रह्मणी पुत्र ॥

980 The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows

Thus शस्या पुत्र or शसपुत्र ॥ Why do we say ‘when insult is meant ? Observe ब्रह्मणीपुत्र ॥

६८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिसबन्धेभ्य । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासबन्धयानिसबन्धवाचिन ऋदन्तात्पृथग्वा अलुक् । होतुरन्तेवासी । होतु पुत्र । पितुरन्तेवासी । पितु पुत्र ॥ विद्यायोनिसबन्धेभ्यस्तत्पुत्रोत्तरपदग्रहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृधनम् ॥

981 The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतु पुत्र, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितु पुत्र ॥

Vārtika —The relationship through ‘study’ or ‘blood’ should be between the first and the second member of the compound Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम् होतु गृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

६८२ । विभाषा स्वसृपत्यो । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

ऋदन्तात्पृथग्वा अलुक् वा स्वसृपत्यो परग्रो ॥

982 The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ, when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note — Thus मातृ स्वसा or मातृ ज्वसा, or मातृज्वसा, पितृ स्वसा or पितृ ज्वसा or पितृज्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII 3 84, S 934 and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII 3 85 S 983) So also दुहितृ पति or दुहितृपति, ननान्दु पति or ननान्दुपति ॥

६८३ । मातृ पितृभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८५ ॥

आभ्या स्वसृ सस्य षो वा स्यात् समासे । मातृ ज्वसा । मातृ स्वसा । पितृ ज्वसा । पितृ स्वसा । दुक्पक्षे तु ॥

983 The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to ष, after मातृ and पितृ in a compound

Thus मातृ स्वसा, or मातृ ज्वसा, पितृ स्वसा or पितृ ज्वसा ॥ The words मातृ and पितृ end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII 2 24 S 280) In fact, the word पितृर् is so exhibited in the sūtra itself, with a र्, the word मातृ therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word

The word समासे is understood here also Therefore not here मातृ स्वसृ, when the words are used separately in a sentence

But when the genitive case affix is elided, then the following sūtra applies

६८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८४ ॥

आभ्या परस्य स्वसृ सस्य ष स्यात्समासे । मातृज्वसा । पितृज्वसा । असमासे तु मातृ स्वसा । पितृ स्वसा ॥

984 The स् of स्वसृ is changed to ष after मातृ and पितृ in a compound where the case-affix is elided

As मातृज्वसा, पितृज्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातृ स्वसा and पितृ स्वसा That is there is not even the *optional* ष of sūtra VIII 3 85 S 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence

Thus we have three cases —

- (1) अलुक् समासे as, मातृ स्वसा or मातृ ज्वसा “mother’s sister”
- (2) Ordinary समास, as, मातृज्वसा “mother’s-sister”
- (3) No samāsa, as मातृ स्वसा “mother’s sister”

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samāsa

अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS

६८५ । धरूपकल्पचेलङ्बुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ड्योऽनकाचो ह्रस्व । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुस्काचो ङी तदन्तस्थानिकाचो ह्रस्व स्यात् धरूपकल्पव्यत्ययेषु परेषु चेलङादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितमा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिबुवा । ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा । ब्राह्मणमता । ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ च, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलङ् &c are words as second members, बुव is formed by अच् (III 1 134 S 2896) added to ब्रू, गुण and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously The words चेल &c denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person The compounding in the case of these takes place by II 1 53 S 732

985 Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), बुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus च—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ॥ ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिबुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ च, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलङ् &c are words as second members, बुव is formed by अच् (III 1 134 S 2896) added to ब्रू, गुण and वच् substitution being prevented anomalously The words चेल &c denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person The compounding in the case of these takes place by II 1 53 S 732

Why do we say "ending in ई (ङी)"? Observe इत्तातरा, युतातरा ॥ Why do we say "consisting of more than one syllable"? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule Why do we say "having a corresponding masculine"? Observe आमलकीतरा, कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent masculine forms

Note —The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called च (I 1 22 S 2008) They denote superlative comparative degrees रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V 3 66 S 2021) चेल is derived from चिल वच्ने 'to dress' It means 'garment' At the end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile The word is read in पचादि class as चेलङ् (III 1 134 S 2896) The ङ् indicates that the Feminine is with ङीप् (IV 1, 15 S 470)

In ब्राह्मणितरा there is not masculation as required by VI. 3 35 S 856 because of the prohibition of VI. 3 41 S 842.

६८६ । नद्या शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

अड्यन्तनद्या ड्यन्तस्यैकाच् घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । स्त्रितरा स्त्रीतरा ॥

कृन्तया न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986 In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I 4 3 S 266 and 4 S 303), the substitution of short vowel before घ &c under the preceding circumstances is optional

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts. First — Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadî, and secondly — feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable. Thus ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा, or स्त्रीतरा ॥ The rule of masculination also does not apply

Vart —Nadî words formed by कृन् affixes are excepted as लक्ष्मीतरा, स्त्रीतरा formed by the Unâdî affix ई (Un III 158, 160)

९८७ । उगितश्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उगित परा या नदी तदन्तस्य घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । विदुषितरा । ह्रस्वाभावपक्षे तु तत्तिलानि विवति पुषन् । विदुषितरा । वृत्त्यादिषु विदुषातरेत्यप्युदाहृत तन्निर्गुलम् ॥

987 The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicative उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before घ &c (VI 3 43 S 985)

Thus विदुषितरा ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix क्त्तु ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculination under VI 3 35 S 836, when we get the form विदुषितरा ॥

In the Kāśikā, Prakriyā Kumudī &c, the alternative form given is विदुषातरा । This is not valid for the long ई can never come, as the rule of पुषन् (S 836) will at once apply in this alternative

Notes—Or this latter form विदुषितरा may be considered to have been evolved from विदुषत्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine क्त्तु is denoting a feminine

६८८ । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्णासेषु । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

हृदये लिखतीति हृल्लेख । हृदयस्य प्रिय हृदयम् । हृदयस्यैव हार्दम् । हृल्लेख । लेखेत्यणन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । हृदि तु हृदयलेख । लेखग्रहणेन हापकम् उत्तरेपदाधिकरि तदन्तविधिनास्तीति ॥

988 हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यन् and अण् and before लृप्तः ॥

Thus हृदय लिखति = हृदलेख, हृदयस्य प्रिय = हृदयम् हृदयस्येवम् = हृदयम्, हृदयस्य कालो = हृदयलसः ॥ The word लेख here is derived by अण् affix from लिख ॥ Before the word लेख formed by यञ् affix this substitution does not take place, as हृदयन्लेख ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sūtra proves the existence of this maxim “उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम्” ॥

Paribhasha —“An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i.e. in a rule of VI 3 1 S 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix”

Note —As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word य अय &c in VI 2 144 means a word ending in य affix &c But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so far as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word form ending in that affix, on the above maxim उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own form Thus त्वर तम and तन in VI 3 17 S 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sūtra VI 3 50, the author declares “हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यन् अण्, and लृप्तः follow” Had the affix अण् here meant the word form ending in अण् the there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sūtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix See Sūtra IV 3 23 S 1391 for the affix तन ॥

६८६ । वा शोकस्यञ्जरोनेषु । इ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोकः । हृदयशोकः । सौहार्दार्थम् । सौहृदव्ययम् । हृद्भोगः । हृदयभोगः । हृदयशब्दपर्यायो हृच्छब्दोऽप्यस्ति । तेन सिद्धे प्रपञ्चार्थमिदम् ॥

989 हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix व्यङ् follows

Thus हृच्छोकः or हृदयशोकः सौहार्दार्थम् or सौहृदव्ययम् ॥ Here व्यङ् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brāhmanādi class V 1 124 S 1788 When हृद् is substituted there is Vṛiddhi of both the members शु and हृ by VII 3 19 S 1133 So also हृद्भोगः or हृदयभोगः ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृन् which is a full word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदय ॥ The substitution taught in this sūtra is rather unnecessary

६६० । पादस्य पदाड्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषूत्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद इत्यदन्त आदेशः स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजि । पदाति । अड्य तिभ्या पक्षे चैतीन् प्रत्यय । अजैर्व्यभावो निपातनात् । पदग । पदोपहत ॥

990 पद (Pada) is substituted for पाद (pāda) before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजि = पादाभ्यामजति पजाति = पादाभ्यामजति ॥ आजि and आति are formed by इण from अज and अत् (Un IV 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to झी though required by II 4 56 S 2292 before this affix. So also पदग = पादाभ्या गच्छति, पदोपहत = पदिनोपहत ॥

Note —The substitute is पद pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पदग ॥ Moreover in the next sūtra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ, so the पद of this is with final अ ॥ The word पद् has no case-affix as a sūtra anomaly.

६६१ । पद्यत्यतदर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पत्त्याङ्गतरर्थे यति परेण पादो विध्यन्ति पद्या शर्करा । अतदर्थे किम् । पादार्थशुद्धक पाद्यम् । पादार्थाभ्या चीति यत् ॥

इके चरताडुपसख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्या चरति पदिक । पदादित्वात् इन् ॥

991 पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत्, used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"

Thus पादोविध्यन्ति = पद्या शर्करा ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"? Observe पाद्यम् = पादार्थशुद्धक ॥ (see IV 4 83 S 1635 and V 4 25 S 2093)

Vast —Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद, as पादाभ्या चरति = पदिक (IV 4 10 S 1558) by इन् affix.

Note —The word पाद in this sūtra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism. Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V I 34, S 1599 as द्विपाद्यम्, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'

९९२ । हिमकाषिहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पद्भिर्मम । पत्काषी । पद्भति ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पङ्क्तिम्, (= पादस्य स्त्री) पङ्क्तादिन् (= पादच्चारिण) (with शिनि of III 2 78 S 2988) as in अथ पङ्क्तादिणी यान्ति, and पङ्कति (पदाभ्या हन्यते) ॥ इति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्तृणि क्तिन्) ॥

६६३ । ऋच शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

ऋच पादस्य पत्स्याच्छे परे । गायत्री पच्छ शसति । पादपादमित्यर्थः । ऋच कित् । पादः कार्षापण इति ॥

993 पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik)

Thus पच्छो गायत्री शसति = पाद पाद शसति, the affix शस् being added by V 4 43 S 2110 Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादश्च कार्षापण इति ॥

६६४ । वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पत् । पद्घोष । पादघोष । पन्मिश्र । पादमिश्र । पच्छब्द । पादशब्द ॥
निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पन्निष्क । पादनिष्क ॥

994 This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोष or पादघोष, पन्मिश्र or पादमिश्र, पच्छब्द or पादशब्द ॥

Vart —So also before निष्क as पन्निष्क or पादनिष्क ॥

६६५ । उदकस्येयाद् सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमेघे ॥

उत्तरपदस्य चोति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्षीरोद ॥

995 उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name

Thus उदमेघ 'a person called Udamegha',

Note —The well-known Patronymic from this is औदमेघि ॥ Why do we say when it is a Name? Observe उदकगिरि ।

Vart —उद is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name as क्षीरोद ॥

६६६ । पेषवासवाहनभिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेषविनिष्टि । उदवास । उदवाहन । उदधिघट । सङ्घट्टे तु पूर्वेषां सिद्धम् ॥

996, उद् is substituted for उद्क before पेय, वास वाहन and धि ॥

Thus उद्नेय पिनोष्ट formed by ण्वुल by III 4 38 S 3359 उद्वास = उद्कस्यवाम so also उद्वाहन ॥ उद्क धीयतऽस्मिन् = रद्धि 'a water jar' The affix is कि III 3 93 S 3271) When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उद्धि will be evolved by the preceding sūtra, for then it is a saṃjñā or name

६६७ । एकहलादौ पुरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उद्कुम्भ । उद्ककुम्भ । एकैति किम् । उक्कस्याली । पुरयितव्येति किम् । उद्कपर्वत ॥

997 उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water

Thus उद्कुम्भ, or उद्ककुम्भ, उद्पात्रम् or उद्कपात्रम् ॥ Why do we say 'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उक्कस्याली as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant. Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उद्कपर्वत ॥

६६८ । मन्थोदनसक्तुविन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उद्मन्थ । उद्कमन्थ । उद्दोदन । उद्कोदन ॥

998 उद् is optionally substituted for उद्क, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, विन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उद्केन मन्थ = उद्मन्थ or उद्कमन्थ । उद्केनोदन, उद्दोदन or उद्कोदन । सक्तु । उद्केन सक्तु उद्मसक्तु or उद्कसक्तु । विन्दु । उद्कस्य विन्दु, उद्बिन्दु or उद्कविन्दु । वज्र । उक्कस्य वज्र उद्बज्र or उद्कवज्र । भार । उद्क विभर्तीति उद्भार । or उद्कभार । हार उद्क हरतीति, उद्हार or उद्कहार । वीवध । उद्कस्य वीवध, उद्बीवध, or उद्कवीवध । गाह । उद्क गाहत इति, उद्गाह or उद्कगाह ॥

६६९ । इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यादुत्तरपदे । ग्रामणिपुत्र । ग्रामणीपुत्र । इक किम् । रमापति । अङ्ग इति किम् । गौरीपति । गालवग्रहण पूजाधम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्ते ॥

इयङ्कुवङ्भविनामव्ययानां च नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमत् । भूभङ्ग । शुक्लीभाव ॥

अभूकुसाक्षीनामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भूकुस । भूकुदि । भूकुस । भूकुदि । अकारोऽनेन । वधोऽयत्न इति व्याख्यानतरम् ॥ भूकुस । भूकुदि ॥ भूवा कुसो भाषण शोभा वा यस्य स स्त्रीविषयार्थी नर्तक । भूव कुटि कौटिल्यम् ॥

999 According to the opinion of Gālava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ऋ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (डी)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (डी) and for ऊ, a short and उ are substituted in a compound, before the second member Thus आगमिपुत्र or आगमिपुत्र, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्र or ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्र ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe रमापति ॥ Why do we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix डी'? Observe गोरीपति ॥ The name of Gālava is mentioned puṣārtha, for the anuvṛtti of 'optionally' was present in this sūtra

Vat —It does not apply to Avyayibhāva compounds, nor to those words which take इवङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीपद । भूभङ्ग शुक्लीभाव ॥

Vat —It does however apply to भूकुस &c, as भूकुस, or भूकुस भूकुटि or भूकुटि ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भू &c as अकुस and अकुटि ॥ भूकुस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye brows, or whose ornament (kunsā) are the eye brows" A male actor who plays the part of a female भूकुटि means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य ह्रस्व स्यात्तद्धिते उत्तरपदे च । एकस्या भागत एकरूप्यम् । एकक्षीरम् ॥

1000 The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows

As एकस्या भागत = एकरूप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्या क्षीर = एकक्षीरम् ॥

Note —The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculination, such as VI 3 35 S 836 : e when एक means the numeral one But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply The word एक is exhibited in the sūtra without any case affix as a Gṛhandas irregularity The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the final letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word

१००१ । ज्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसेर्धुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥
रेवतिपुत्र । भजक्षीरम् ॥

1001 The short *i* is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (डी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas

As रेवतिपुत्र ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकर । नान्दीघोष । नान्दीविहाल ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमारारिषा प्रदर्विषा, sometimes the shortening does not take place, as काल्युनीषीणमासी, जगतीछन् ॥

आप् ending words in Name अजसीरम्, शिलप्रस्थम्, sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लामकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas —अजसीरेण श्रुताति, ऊर्णमदा पृथिवी विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णसूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

१००२ । त्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

त्वप्रत्यये ङष्ठापोर्वा इत्व । अजत्वम् । अजात्वम् । रोहिणित्वम् । रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002 The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भाव = अजत्व or अजात्व, रोहिणित्व or रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

Note —These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कौमुदगन्धः + पुत्र ॥ In compounding these, two words, the following rule applies

१००३ । व्यङ् सप्रसारण पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

व्यङन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य सप्रसारण स्यात्पुत्रपत्योरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003 There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix व्यङ् (IV 1 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्धः + पुत्र = कौमुदगन्धि + पुत्र ॥ Then applies the next sūtra, by which इ is lengthened

Note —When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasāraṇa (vocalising the semi vowels) of the affix व्यङ् of the preceding That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषत्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धि (a Bahuvrīhi compound taking the samasanta affix or rather substitute इ by V 4 127 S 866) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) = करीषगन्धः ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding व्यङ् (IV 1 78 S 1198) Thus we have करीषगन्ध्या (see IV 1 78 S 1198) Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुञ् or पति, the final ए will be changed into इ and we have कारिषगन्धीपुञ्, कारिषगन्धीपति ॥ The अ of या becomes merged into इ (VI 1 108 S 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI 3 139 S 1004) So also कौमुदगन्धीपुञ् or कौमुदगन्धीपति ॥

Why do we say "of the affix व्यङ्" ? Observe इयापुञ् ! क्षत्रीयापुञ् ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुञ् or पति" ? Observe कारिषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpuruṣa compound" ? Observe कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारिषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्राम ॥ It is a Bahuvrīhi compound

The affix व्यङ् is here the feminine affix य followed by चाप् (भा) (see IV I 77 and 74)

१००४ । सप्रसारणस्य । इ । ३ । १३० ॥

सप्रसारणस्य दीर्घे स्यादुत्तरपदे । कौमुदगन्ध्याया पुञ् कौमुदगन्धीपुञ् । व्यवस्थितविभाषया इत्येव न । स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जनेनेति तदादिनियमप्रातिषेधात् । परमकारिषगन्धीपुञ् । उपसर्जने तु तदादिनियमनिह । अतिकारिषगन्ध्यापुञ् ॥

1004 The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound

As कौमुदगन्धीपुञ् । कौमुदगन्धीपति ॥ See VI 1 13 S 1003

कारिषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = कारिषगन्धि (इ being added as samāsānta by V 4 136 and 137 S 875 and 876) The optional shortening ordained by VI 3 61 S 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option, moreover, on the maxim of परस्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI 3 61 is superseded by VI 3 139 S, 1004 and the rule VI 3 61 S 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुन प्रसङ्ग विज्ञान "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule" For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सकृत्ता विप्रतिषेधेयद्वाधित तद्वाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect"

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself प्रत्ययमङ्गो यस्मात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तम्व ग्रहणम्" ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, where we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपमजने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्याया पुत्र = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्र and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपति ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्र, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापति ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । १४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे उत्तरपदे व्यङ्ग्यं सप्तसारण्यं स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धु । बहुव्रीहविति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धु कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धु । क्लीबनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपपेक्षया ॥ मानज्जातृकमातृषु वा ० ॥ कारीषगन्धीमात । कारीषगन्ध्यामात । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनान्मातृशब्दश्च मातृजादेशः । नयूतश्च (८३३) इति कश्चिकल्पश्च । बहुव्रीहौवेदेष् । नेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया माता कारीषगन्ध्यामाना । चित्त्वसामर्थ्याच्चिस्त्वरो बहुव्रीहिस्त्वर बाधते ॥

1005 There is vocalisation of the affix व्यङ्ग्य when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrīhi compound

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धु ॥ So also कौण्डिन्यगन्धीबन्धु ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrīhi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धु = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धु, which is a Tatpurusha compound

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sūtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word. It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu

Vari — There is vocalisation of व्यङ्ग्य in a Bahuvrīhi compound with मातृच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally as कारीषगन्धीमातृच् or कारीषगन्ध्या मातृ, कारीषगन्धीमातृक or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in कृ take the samāsānta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V 4 153, S 833. So the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional. The rule is confined to Bahuvrīhi compounds. Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kārishagandhya"

The indicative च् of मातृच् makes the word take the udātta on the last syllable (VI 1 163 S 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrīhi (VI, 2. 1. 8. 3735)

१००६ । इष्टकेशीकामालानां चित्तूलभारिषु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां तदन्तानां च पूर्वपदानां चित्तादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु ह्रस्व स्यात् । इष्टकाचितम् । पक्षेष्टकाचितम् । इषीकतूलम् । सुञ्जेष्टाकतूलम् । मालभारी । उत्पलमालभारी ॥

1006 For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित्, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिषु ॥

Thus इष्टकाचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c as they fall under Padâdhikâra So that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule as पक्षेष्टकाचितम् सुञ्जेष्टीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

१००७ । कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

सुम् स्यात् । सत्यङ्कार । अगदङ्कार ।

अस्तोभेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कार ॥

धेनोर्भव्यायाम् * ॥ धेनुभव्या ॥

लोकस्य पूये * ॥ लोकपूण । पूण इति सू=विभुजादित्वात् ॥

इत्येऽनभ्यासस्य * ॥ अनभ्यासमित्य । दूरत परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः ।

आष्टान्योरिन्धे * ॥ आष्टमिन्ध । अग्निमिन्ध ॥

गिलेऽगिलस्य * ॥ तिमिङ्गिल । अगिलस्य किम् । गिलगिल ॥

गिलगिले च * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलगिल ॥

उष्णभद्रयोः करण * ॥ उष्णङ्करणम् । भद्रङ्करणम् ।

1007 सुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यकार = सत्यकरोति or सत्यस्यकार 'to take oath' So also अगङ्कार "a physician"

Vart —So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुङ्कार "efficacious, working as a medicine"

Note —So also in Vedas, of भक्त before कार—e g भक्तकार, in secular language भक्षकार ॥

Vart —Of धेनु before भव्या, e g धेनुभव्या (धेनुभासीभव्या च) ॥

Vart —Of लोक before पूय, e g लोकपूणा filling or pervading the

world" As लोकमृणै परितै परितुलितस्य ॥ वृण is formed by the affix क (III 2 5 S 2919 vart) added to the root वृण् ॥ as it belongs to the Mūla-vibhujādi class

Vart —Of अनभ्यास before हल as अनभ्यासानित्य "to be shunned from afar"

Vart —Of भास् and भस्मि, before इन्ध, as भास्मिन्ध, भस्मिन्ध 'one who fries or roasts'

Vart —A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e g तिमिलि "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*" But गिलगिल ॥

Vart —So also before गिलगिल, e g तिमिलिगिल ॥

Vart —Of वृष्ण and भृश before करण, e g वृष्णकरण and भृशकरण ॥

१००८ । रात्रे कृति विभाषा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिञ्चर । रात्रिचर । रात्रिमट । रात्र्यट । अखिर्यनिव सूत्रम् । खिति तु अरुर्निषहिति नित्येनैव वक्ष्यते । रात्रिमन्य ॥

1008 The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix

As रात्रिचर or रात्रिचर, रात्रिमट or रात्र्यट ॥ This is an aprāpta vibhā-shā This sūtra applies to words not formed by a खित् affix The augment इम् is compulsory by VI 3 67 S 2942 before a kṛt-affix having an indicative ख, As, रात्रिमन्य ॥ Here the affix खश् (III 2 83 S 2993) is added to the root मन्, and as it is a sārvaadhātuka affix, because it has an indicative ख, therefore the vikarana इम् is added.

१००९ । सहस्य स सज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

उत्तरपदे । सपलाशम् । सज्ञायां किम् । सहयुध्वा ॥

1009 स is substituted for सह, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound

Thus सपलाशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा formed by कनिष् (III 2 96 S 3006) The ई is not added in the Feminine because of the vārtika under IV 1 7 S 456

१०१० । ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

अनयो परयो सहस्य स स्यादुत्तरपदे । सहयुध्वा ज्योतिषमधीते । सद्रोणा खारी ॥

1010 स is the substitute for सह, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

‘upto the end’ (in connection with a literary work) or ‘more’

Thus सकल = कलान्त व्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also सहूर्णम् = (सहूर्णन्तिम्) ॥ सः समह (= समहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayibhāva compounds by “अन्त वचने (II 1 6 S 652) Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI 3 81 S 660 The present sūtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time denoting words even, when the meaning is that ‘of the end of a book’ When the sense is that of ‘more,’ we have सन्तोषाख्यो समासः कार्षापण्य । सकाकिणीको माष ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य स स्यात् । सराक्षसीका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निश्चयाऽनुमीयते ॥

1011 स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived

Note —Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, ‘the non-principal is called the ‘second or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य । & what is to be inferred That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word Thus सान्नि (कपोत) ‘a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where’ सविशाचा वात्या ‘a storm wind which announces the Pisāchas’

सराक्षसीका निशा Here the fire, the Pisācha or the Rāshas as are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm wind and night In सराक्षसीका, there is added कश् by V 4 153 S 833

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्ध्वप्रभृत्युदर्केषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य स स्यादुत्तरपदे नतु मूर्धादिषु । अनु भ्राता सगर्भ्य । अनु सखा सख्य । यो न सख्य । तत्रभव इत्यथे सगर्भसख्यसमुदायत् । अमूर्धादिषु किम् । समानमूर्धा । समानप्रभृत्य । समानोर्द्धा । समानस्येति यागो विभज्यते । तेन सपक्ष साधर्म्ये सजातीयामत्यादि सिद्धसिति काशिका । अथवा सहशब्द सहशवचनोप्यस्ति । सहश सख्या सख्येति यथा । तेनायमस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहि । समान पक्षोऽस्येत्यादि ॥

1012 स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभाता सगर्भं अनुसखा सख्य, योन सख्य (IV 4. 114 S 3460) समानो गर्भ = सगर्भ तत्र भव = सगर्भ formed by अत् affix IV 4 114 S 3460 Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c' Observe समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतय, 'समानो-दर्का ॥

"The sutra should be divided into two viz, समानस्य forming one sūtra, and छन्दस्यमूर्द्ध &c, another This we do in order to get the forms सपक्ष, साधार्थम्, सजातीयम् &c, in secular language also." Thus says the author of the Kāśika

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससखा (= सदृश सख्या) Therefore the above are Bahuvrīhis, which should be analysed thus समान पक्षोऽस्य = सपक्ष &c Here क is an elliptical form of सह meaning sadṛiṣa See VI 3 82 S 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note —This sutra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vibhāga it can be applied to ordinary language also

But if the view be taken that in सपक्ष &c, the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga vibhāga, for the Māhābhāṣya has not shown this splitting of this particular sūtra

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयवचनबन्धुषु ।
६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वादशसत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स स्यात् । सज्योनि । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013 This substitution of स for समान takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also

Thus सज्योनि सजनपद, सरात्रि, सनाभि, सनामा, सगोत्र, सरूप, सस्थान, 'सर्वण', सवय, सवचन, सबन्धु ॥

Note —सज्योनि (neut) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced

१०१४ । चरग्रे ब्रह्मचारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स स्याद्यज्ञे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने । चरण शाखा । ब्रह्म वेदः ॥ सद्ध्ययनार्थं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म । सद्यस्तीति ब्रह्मचारी । समान स सब्रह्मचारी ॥

1014 स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas

Thus सानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sūtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas He who has a common (samāna) branch (charana) is a sabrahmachārī The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both ॥ साने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note — सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co student, one who reads the same Vedic portion as the other

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे उत्तरपदे यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य स स्यात् । सतीर्थ = एकयुक्त । समानतीर्थे वा सीति यत्प्रत्यय ॥

1015 स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it

Thus सतीर्थ = समान ताथ वासी (IV 4. 107 S 1658) 'a fellow student,' & whose preceptor is one and the same person who are studying under a common teacher The affix यत् is added by IV 4 107 S 1658

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोदर्थ । समानोदर्थ ॥

1016 The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it

सोदय or समानोदर्थ (IV 4. 108 S 1659)

१०१७ । हृदयवतुषु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सहक् । सहय ॥

हृदये चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सहस । वतुहसराय ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान before हक्, हृक् and the affix यत् ॥

Thus सहक्, सहयः ॥ The affixes क्त्, and क्त् are added to हृक् under III, 2 60 S 429 Vārt which give us the forms हक् and हय ॥

Vart —So also before दक्ष as सदक्ष ॥ दक्ष is formed by क्त affix under III 2 60S 429 Vārtika

The affix वत् is taken for the sake of the subsequent sūtra

१०१८ । इदं किमोरीशकी । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

दृग्दृश्वन्तु इदम् इयं किम् की स्यात् । ईदक् । ईदश । कीदक् । कीदश । वतूदाहरणं वक्ष्यते । दक्षे च । इदञ्च । कीदक्ष ॥ आ सवनाम् ॥ दक्षे च । तादक् । तादश ॥ तावान् । तादक्ष । शीघ्र । मत्स्योत्वे । अमदक् । अमूदश । अमूदक्ष ॥

1018 ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दक्ष, दश and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदक् इदश and इयान्, कीदक्, कीदश and कियान् ॥

Note —ईवन् and कीवन् are changed to ई+इयन् and की+इयन् by V 2 40 S 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI 4 148 S 311 and we get इयन् and कियन् ॥

Vart —So also before दक्ष, as ईदक्ष and कीदक्ष ॥

So also when the rule VI 3 91 S, 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तादक्, तादश, तावान् and तादक्ष ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अहम् when it takes the long अ (VII 3 91 S 430), and म and न substitutions (VIII 2 80 S 419) as—अमूदक्, अमूदश, अमूदक्ष ॥

१०१९ । समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्ग । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिशब्दास्तङ्गस्य सस्य सूर्यन्यः स्यात्समासे । अङ्गुलिषङ्गः । समासे किम् । अङ्गुले सङ्गः ॥

1019 ष् is substituted for the स् of ङ्गस after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्गः ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्गः ॥

Note —The word सङ्गः is exhibited in the sūtra in the nominative case. The force is here that of Genitive : अङ्गुले सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२० । भीरो. स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

भीरिशब्दात् स्थानस्य सस्य सूर्यन्यः स्यात्समासे । भीरुग्रामम् । अममासे तु । भीरे स्थानम् ॥

1020 ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थान when preceded by भीरि in a compound

Thus मीरुष्ठानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also, otherwise मीरो स्यात् ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुष स्तोम । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आध्या स्तोमस्य सस्य मूर्धन्य स्यात्स्तमासे । ज्योतिष्टोम । आयुष्टोम । समसि किम् । ज्योतिष स्तोम ॥

1021 The स of स्तोम is changed to ष after ज्योतिष and आयुष् in a compound

As ज्योतिष्टोम, आयुष्टोम ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe ज्योतिष स्तोम where there is no compounding

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्य । शोभन साम यस्य सुषामा । सुषन्धि ॥

1022 The स is changed to ष in the words सुषामन् and the rest

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मण्य = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥ So also सुषन्धि ॥

Note —1 सुषामा, 2 निषामा, 3 दुषामा, 4 सुषध 5 निषेध (निषेध), 6 दुषेध, 7 सुषधि, 8 निषधि (निषधि), 9 दुषधि, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्य सज्ञायाम् 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेचनम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्, नौषेचनम्) 17 एति सज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेण, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, राहिणीषेण ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII 3 111, S 2123 others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list The word सु is here a karmapravachanīya (I 4 94 S 555) and निर् and दुर also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs नेम and क्री, so VIII 3 65 S 2270 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर ॥ The word सेध here is a घञ् formed word, from बिधू हिंसा सराह्यो, if it be derived from बिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII 3 113 S 2278 The words सुषन्धि, दुषन्धि &c, are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सन्, and the affix कि (III 3 92 S 3270), and the स of सन् is changed to ष ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Unādi formed words (Un I 25) The word गौरिषक्य is a Bahuvīhi, the स of साकेय is changed to ष and the Samāsānta षच् is added (V 1 113 S 852) The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI 3 63 S 1001 The change takes place when it is a Name The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root षा, and the affix अङ् (III 3 106 S 3283), and we have प्रतिष्णा with दाप्, then क is added by V 3 73 S 2028 and षा shortened (VII 4 13 S 834) and इ added by VII 3 44 S 463 The word नौषेचने is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच ॥ दुन्दुभिषेचन is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or साध्वति ॥ There are two sūtras in the above list They are explained below

१०२३ । एति सञ्ज्ञायाममात् । ८ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्य । हरिषेण ॥ एति किम् । हरिसक्यम् । सञ्ज्ञाया किम् । पृथुसेन । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेन । इष्कोरित्वेन । सनसेन ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इष् or कु is changed to ष, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरय सेना अस्य = हरिषेण, परित सेना अस्य = परिषेण, so also वारिषेण, जातुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI 3 34 S 831) Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेन ॥ The phrase इष्को (VIII 3 57 S 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेन ॥

Note —This sūtra is read in the list of Sushamādi class (see the last sūtra 1022) so also the next sūtra They have been inserted in the Ashtādhyāyī from the Ganapāṭha

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्या । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य सञ्ज्ञायामगकारान्मूर्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीषेण । रोहिणीसेन । अगकारात्किम् । शत-
मिष्वक्सेन । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष substitution for स् under the above mentioned circumstances is optional

Thus रोहिणीषेण or रोहिणीसेन ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by न'? Observe मिष्वक् सेन where the preceding letter is न ॥

Note —These two sūtras 99 and 100 are really Gana-sūtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gana They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sūtras

All cerebral ए changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushamādi gana

१०२५ । अवष्टयत्तृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारक-
रागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अन्यदाशस्य दुगागमः स्यादाशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यदाशी । अन्यदाशा । अन्यदास्था । अन्यदास्थित । अन्यदुत्सुक । अन्यदुत्ति । अन्यद्वान । अन्यदीय ॥ अवष्टीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वाशी । अन्याशी । कारके छे च नात्र निषेधः । अन्यस्य कारक अन्यत्कारक । अन्यस्यायन्यदीय । गहादिराकृतिगण-
स्याच्छः ॥

1025 अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक् (दु), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय)

Thus अन्या आशी = अन्यदाशी अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था अन्य आस्थित = अन्यदास्थित, अन्य उत्सुक = अन्यदुत्सुक, अन्या ऊति = अन्यदूति, अन्य कारक अन्यस्कारक, अन्यो राग = अन्यद्वाराग ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यास्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीय ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गृहादि class (IV 2 138 S 1362) Gahādi is Akritigana

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe अन्यस्य आशी = अन्याशी, अन्येन आस्थित = अन्यास्थित &c With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c as अन्यस्य कर्तृक = अन्यत् कारक, अन्यस्येद् = अन्यक्षयश्च ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sūtra (अवधी and भवुदीया), implies this

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यर्थ । अन्यार्थ ॥

1026 दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows

As अन्यर्थ or अन्यार्थ ॥

१०२७ । को कत्तत्पुरुषेऽपि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजातदुत्तरपदे । कुत्तितोऽथ कश्च । कश्च । तत्पुरुषे किम् । कुट्टी राजा ॥
नौ च * ॥ कुत्तितोऽथ कश्च ॥

1027 कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member

As कश्च, कश्च ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कुट्टी राजा ॥

Note — Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel" ? Observe कुट्टाद्वान्न, कुपुरुष ॥

Vari — कत् is substituted before चय, as कश्चय = कुत्तितोऽथ ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कश्चय । कश्चय ॥

1028 कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्वथ कद्वद ॥

१०२६। तुर्ये च जातौ । ६। ३। १०३ ॥

कचृणम् ॥

1029 कत् is substituted for कु when तृण follows denoting a species

As कचृणा नाम जाति ॥ But कुक्षितानि तृणानि = कुचृणानि ॥

१०३०। का पथ्यक्ष्यो । ६। ३। १०४ ॥

कापथम्। काक्ष । अक्षशब्देन तत्पुरुष । अक्षिशब्देन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथम् and काक्ष ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *aksha*, and it is Bahuvrīhi also, if the second term is *aksha*

१०३१। ईषदर्थे । ६। ३। १०५ ॥

ईषज्जल काजलम्। अजावापि परत्वात्कादेश । काम्लम् ॥

1031 का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small'

As कामधुरम्, कार्लवृणम्। काजलम् "a little water" Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI 3 101 S 1027 because this sutra is *subsequent* in order, as काम्लम् ॥

१०३२। विशाषा पुरुषे । ६। ३। १०६ ॥

कापुरुष । कुपुरुष । अप्राप्ताविभाषेयम्। ईषदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्नित्यमेव । ईषत्पुरुष । कापुरुषः ॥

1032 का is optionally substituted for कु when the word पुरुष follows

Thus कापुरुष or कुपुरुष ॥ This is an *aprapta vibhakti* In the sense of 'a little ईषद', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior, as ईषत् पुरुष = का पुरुष ॥

१०३३ । कव चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णश्च उन्नरपदे को कव का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033 का and कव are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४ । पृषोदरादीनि यथोपादिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०८ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथाचारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्युः । पृषत उन्नर पृषोदरम् । तलोप । वारिवाहको बलाहक । पूर्वपदस्य च उत्तरपदादेश्च सत्वम् ॥

भवेद्गर्गमाद्भस सिहो वर्णावपर्ययात् । गूढोऽस्मा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णनाशात्पृषोदरम् ॥

द्विक्शब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा * ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणतीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो दाशनादादभ्येष्टुत्तरपदादे इत्थ च * ॥

दु खेन दादयत वृडाश । दु खेन नादयते वृणाश । दु खेन दभ्यते वृडभ । खल् चिभ्य । दम्भेर्नलोपो निपात्यते । दु खेन ध्यायतीति वृडभ । आतभेति क । ह्रवन्तोऽस्या सीदन्तीति वृसी । ह्रवच्छब्दस्य ह्र भविश सत्वेरधिकरणे उड् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034 The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages

The word यथोपादिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरो यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्भान यस्य = पृषोद्भानम् ॥ Here there is elision of द् ॥ So also वारिवाहक = बलाहक, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहक, जीवनस्य मृत = जीमृत, here वन has been elided, दावाना दायन = दमदानम्, here दन replaces दाव, and दान for दायन ॥ उर्ध्वं खमस्य = उर्ध्वखलम्, here उर्ध्व replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खन ॥ 'विशि ताश = पिशाच ॥

महा रौक्षि = मयूर ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयूर, and the final of ह is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वस्य, कपिस्य &c

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds —

VERSE

The word हस is formed by the augment of a letter, the word सिंह is formed by the transposition of letters, the word गूढोऽस्मा is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषोदर is formed by the destruction of letters

Note —हस is formed from the root हन् with the affix अच् (of Pachādi class III 1 134 S 2896), and the augment सक् हन् + सक् + अच् = हस ॥ From √हिस् is formed सिंह by the Pachādi अच् the letters ह and स change position *inter se*

Vart —तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतारम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vart —The final of दुर् is changed to ड before दास, नास, दम् and ध्ये and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals Thus दु खेन दास्यते, नास्यते, दम्भ्यते य = दूडास, दूयास, दूडम् ॥ In the last (दम्भ) there is elision of the nasal also These three words are formed by the affix खल् (III. 3 126 S 3305) दु खेन ध्यायति = दूद्य ॥ Here is added the affix क् to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada ड, by III I 126 S 2898

ब्रुवन्तोऽस्या सीदन्ति = वृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix उह् in the locative, and ब्रुव is replaced by वृ ॥ ब्रुनीनामसन वृसी "The seat of a sage is called bṛsī" (See Amarakośa II 7 46)

१०३५ । सहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035 In the following sūtras upto the end of the third pāda of the sixth Adhyāya, are to be supplied the following words —“In an uninterrupted flow of speech”

Note —Thus sūtra VI 3 135 S 3537 declares “अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns” Thus विद्माहिस्वा सपति शूर गोनाम् ॥ The word सहितायाम् should be read into that sūtra to complete the sense So that when the above words stand separately, we have विष्, हि, स्वा, सपति, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याऽविद्याष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रक्षुब्धस्वस्तिकस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णशब्दे परे लक्षणवाचकस्य दीर्घः । द्वियुगाकर्णः । लक्षणस्य क्रिम् । शोभनकर्णः । अविद्यादीनां क्रिम् । विटकर्णः । अष्टकर्णः । पञ्चकर्णः । मणिकर्णः । भिन्नकर्णः । छिन्नकर्णः । छिद्रकर्णः । क्षुब्धकर्णः । स्वस्तिककर्णः ॥

1036 Before कर्णे, there is the -substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are **व** , **अष्टन्** , **पञ्चन्** , **मणि** , **भिन्न** , **छिन्न** , **छिद्र** , **शुब** and **स्वस्तिक** ॥

Thus **द्विगुणाकण** ॥ The word **लक्षण** here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe **शोभनकण** ॥ Why we say 'with the exception of **विष्ट** &c'? Observe **विष्टकर्ण** ॥ **अष्टकर्ण** , **पञ्चकर्ण** , **भिन्नकर्ण** , **छिन्नकर्ण** , **छिद्रकर्ण** , **शुबकर्ण** , **स्वस्तिककर्ण** and **मणिकर्ण** ॥

१०३७ । नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितानिषु कौ । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

क्लिबन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । **उपानत्** । **नीवृत्** । **प्रावृद्** । **मर्नावित्** । **नीरुक्** । **अभीरुक्** । **कृतीषद्** । **परीतत्** । **क्ताविति** किम् । **परिग्रहन्** । **विभाषा** पुरुष इत्यता मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषानुवर्तते सा च व्यवास्थिता । तेन गतिकारकयोरेव । नेह । **पटुरुक्** । **तिग्मरुक्** ॥

1037 A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs **नद्** , **वृत्** , **वृष्** , **व्यध्** , **रुक्** , **सह** and **तत्** , when these roots take the affix **क्वि** ॥

Thus **उपानद्** (**उपानत्** Nom S), so also, **परीणत्** , **नीवृत्** , **उपावृत्** , (with **vrt**) **प्रावृद्** , **उपावृद्** , (with **vṛsh**) **मर्नावित्** , **हृद्यावित्** , **श्यावित्** , (with **vyadh**) **नीरुक्** , **अभीरुक्** (with **tuch**) **कृतीषद्** , (with **sah**) **परीतद्** (with **tan**) The nasal is elided after **णम्** before **क्वि** (VI 4 40 S 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after **तद्** also Why do we say 'when **क्वि** follows'? Observe **परिग्रहन्** ॥

In this sūtra we read the anuvṛtti of the word " vibhāṣā " (" optionally ") from the aphorism VI 3, 106 S 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten sūtras, but applies to this VI 3 116 S 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap' The option of this sūtra is, however, a vyavasthita vibhāṣā or a settled option Namely, it applies only when the upapadas are *gatis* or *kāraṇas* Therefore not here, **पटुरुक्** or **तिग्मरुक्** ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कोटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीना गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038 For the final vowel of **कोटर** &c a long vowel is substituted before **वन** , and so also of **किंशुलुक्** &c before **गिर** , when the compound is a Name

Thus **कोटर + वन** ॥ Now applies the following sūtra

Note — Thus **कोटरावणम्** , **मन्त्रकावणम्** , **सिद्धकावणम्** , **सारकावणम्** ॥

So also किञ्चलुकागिरि, भञ्जनागिरि, &c

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII 4 4 S 1039 But असिपञ्चवनम् and कुण-
गिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक 3 सिधक 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥

1 किञ्चलुक (किञ्चलक) 2 शास्व (सास्वक), 3 नड*, 4 भञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन 6 लोहित,
7 कुक्कुट ॥

१०३६ । वन पुरगामिश्रकासिधकासारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्य । ण । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्यान्तरपदस्य एभ्य एव णञ्च नान्यभ्य । इह काटरान्ता पञ्च शार्धाविधौ कोटरादयो
लोभ्या । तेषा कृतदीर्घाणा णत्वविधौ निर्देशो नियमाथ । भञ्जशब्दस्य तु विध्यर्थ । पुरगावणम् ।
मिश्रकावणम् । सिधकावणम् । सारकावणम् । काटरावणम् । एभ्य एवेति किम् । असिपञ्चवनम् ।
वनस्याग्रे अग्रवणम् । राजदन्तादिषु निपातनात्सप्तम्या षलुक् । प्रातिपदिकाथमात्र प्रथमा । किञ्चलुका
गिरि ॥

1039 The न of वन, is changed into ण, when prece-
by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhikâ, sârikâ, kotarâ, and
agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole
compound is a name

The words पूर्वपशन् and संज्ञायाम् of the sūtra VIII 4 3 S 857 are to
be read into this aphorism Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिधकावणम्, कोटरावणम् ॥
These are names of hells of various kinds अग्रवणम् (II 2 31 S 902) शारिका-
वणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by
VI 3 117 S 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sūtra refers to these
five words of the present sūtra Though the word अग्रवण = अग्रवनस्य is not
a Name, yet the rule VI 3 9, S 966 applies to it and the case affix
is not elided, because it is so read in Rājadantādi list (II 2 31 S 902)
The seventh-case affix is included in the meaning of a Prātipadika, hence
the word agre vanam is in the Nominative case So also किञ्चलुकागिरि ॥

The substitution of ण for न with regards to the first five words
would have taken place by the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VIII 4 3
S 857 The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word
वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or निश्चय rule, so far as the
five words up to kotrâ are concerned But with regards to agre it is a vidhi
The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and

no other Thus कुबेरवन, शतधारवनम्, अलिपन्नवनम् ॥ The word agrevanam is not a Name, and therefore sutra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sūtra is a vidhi or an original rule.

१०४० । चले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

बलप्रत्यये पर दीर्घं स्यात्संज्ञायाम् । कृषीबल ॥

1040 The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix बल ॥

Thus कृषीबल ॥ This is formed by the affix बलच् (V. 2 112 S 1919)

१०४१ । मतौऽह्चोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११९ ॥

अमरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वच किम् । ब्रीहिमती । सज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । बलयवती ॥

1041 The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c

Thus अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मत् (IV 2 85 S 1304) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII 2 11 S 1899 Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c' Observe अजिरवती खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe ब्रीहिमती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sūtra When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening As बलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हस, 5 कारण्डव (हसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

शरावती ॥

1042 The final vowel of शरा &c is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name

As शरावती, वशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is Name (VIII 2 11, S 1899) But not so after ब्रीहि &c as these belong to यवादि class (VIII 2 9 S 1897)

1 शरा, 2 वशा, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि, 6 मयि, 7 मुनि, 8 शशि, 9 हनु ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलो । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य दीर्घं स्याद्देहे । ऋषीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इक किम् । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलो किम् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपील्वारीनामिति वाच्यम् ° ॥ सारुवहम् ।

1043 The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह् ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, दुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vast,—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As सारुवहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य चञ्चमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं दीर्घं स्याद्वचन्ते परे न तु मनुष्ये । परीपाक । परिपाक ॥ अमनुष्ये किम् । निषाद ॥

1044 The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the kṛit-affix चञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being

Thus परीपाक or परिपाक ॥

Note —It does not take place, as प्रसेच, प्रसार ॥ It is lengthened before साह and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाद and प्राकार, ॥ Otherwise प्रसाद and प्रकार ॥ Optionally in वेश &c as प्रतिवेश or प्रतावेश, प्रतिरोध or प्रतीरोध ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निषाद "The caste Nishāda" It is formed by चञ् under sūtra III 3 121 S 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् पापम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word 'प्रतीहार' 'gate-keeper' is apparently an exception

१०४५ । इक काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य शर्धं स्यात्काशे । वीकाश । नीकाश । इक किम् । प्रकाश ॥

1045 A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As वीकाश, नीकाश, ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III 1 134 S 2896) Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाश where the Preposition does not end in इम् ॥

१०४६ । अष्टन सज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

उत्तरपदे दीर्घ । अष्टापदम् । सज्ञाया किम् । अष्टपुत्र ॥

1046 A long vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name' ? Observe अष्टपुत्र where the compound is not a name

१०४७ । चित्ते कपि । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचितीक ॥

1047 The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप् ॥

Thus एकचितीक ॥ The कप् is added by V 4, 154 S 891

१०४८ । नरे सज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

विश्वानर ॥

1048 The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name

Thus विश्वानर, but विश्वनर = विश्वे नरा यन्त्र when it is not a name

Note —The word viśva is understood here from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VI 3 128 S 37⁴

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्षी । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्र । ऋषौ किम् । विश्वमित्रो माणवक ॥

ह्रनो वन्तद्वह्नाकर्णकुन्धवराहपुच्छपरेषु दीर्घो वाच्य * ॥ आदन्त इत्यादि ॥

1049 The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्र 'the sage Viśvāmītra' Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi?' Observe विश्वमित्र 'a boy called Viśvamītra'

Vart —The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following वन्त द्वह्ना कर्ण, कुन्ध, वराह पुच्छ and पर —as आदन्त, आदह्, आकर्ण, आकुन्ध, आवराह आपुच्छ, आपर ॥

Note —The word द्वह्ना is read in the Vartika with a long final आ ॥ Some

read it as short final and say आवद् is a Bahuvrīhi where the final of व is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpuruṣa

१०५० । प्रनिरन्त शरेणुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूषाभ्योऽस्त्रायामपि । ८।४।५॥

एभ्योवनस्य णत्व स्यात् । प्रवणम् । कार्ष्यवणम् । इह पात्वरत्वाणत्वम् ॥

1050 The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pia, nir, antaī, śara, ikshu, plaksha, āmia, kâishya, khadira, and pīyūkshā

Thus प्रवणम्, कार्ष्यवणम्, ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्ष्य, and it is this व that causes the ण change

Note —The word vana is understood from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra VIII 4 4 S 1049

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८।४।६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्व वा स्यात् । दूर्वावणम् । दूर्वावनम् । शिरीषवणम् । शिरीषवनम् ।

अप्युपसर्गान्ते * ॥ नेह । देवदारुवनम् ॥

इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधेः वक्तव्य * ॥ इरिकावनम् । गिरिकावनम् ॥

1051 The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree

Note —When the pūrvapada is a word denoting औषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakośha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara) The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense because it has visible flowers and fruits both But the word vanaspati in the sūtra is taken here as synonymous with 'tree' in general See note below This is an optional rule

Thus —दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम्, Here दूर्वा is the name of औषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवन or शिरीषवणम्, is an example of vanaspati

Vari —This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ॥

Vart —Prohibition should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c As इरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

Note —Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति, yet in this sūtra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also

Kārika —Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, आषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुध ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

आरोप्य यदुद्यते तद्विधिवान्निमित्तात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य णत्व स्यात् । इक्षुवाहनम् । आहितात्किम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्वामिक वाहनमित्यर्थ । वहतेत्यदि वृद्धिरिहैव सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052 The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried

Thus इक्षुवाहनम् 'a sugar cart

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried" Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and the vṛddhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipātana of this sūtra.

१०५३ । पान देशे । ८ । ४ । ९ ॥

पूर्वपदस्यान्निमित्तात्परस्य पानस्य नस्य णत्व स्याद्देशे गम्ये । क्षीर पान येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उशीनरा । क्षुरपाणा प्राच्या । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्मणि ल्युट् ॥

1053 The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change, and the whole compound denotes a country or a people

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk" is formed by the affix ल्युट् III 3 113 S 2311 The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनरा = क्षीरपाण येषां 'the milk-drinking Uśīnaras' क्षुरपाणा प्राच्या 'the wine drinking Prāchyas'

Note —Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दक्षिपान the drink of the Dākshas

The words वृक्षान्तर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयो । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पानस्येव । क्षीरपानम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यादीना वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिखरी । चक्रनितम्बा । चक्रणितम्बा ॥

1054 Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition

Note —Similarly क्षीरपाण or क्षीरपान कल 'a vessel for drinking milk' this is an example of करण or instrument

Vart —Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c Thus गिरिनदी, or गिरिखरी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्बिभक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पृथपदस्थान्निमित्तत्परस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्य णो वा स्यात् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, माषवापिणौ । नुमि, ग्रीहिवापानि । विभक्तौ, माषवापेण । पक्ष, माषवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपद यत्प्रानिपदिक सन्तस्य च णत्वम् । नेह । गर्गाणां भगिनी गगभगिनी । अत एव नुम्बहण कृतम् । अङ्गस्य नुम्बधानात्तङ्गत्तो हि नुम् ननुत्तरपदस्य । किञ्च । ग्रहिण्यन्त्रित्यादौ द्विवनुमो णत्वायनपि नुम्बहणम् । मन्वनमित्यादौ तु नुम्नादित्वात् ॥

युवादेर्न * ॥ रस्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकानुत्तरपदे ण ॥ नित्यानित्युक्तम् । वृत्रहणौ । इदि मानयताति हरिमायी । नुमि क्षीरपाणि । विभक्तौ, क्षीरवेण । रस्यविजा ॥)

1055 Optionally ए is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prātīpadika) or is the augment नुम् or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound)

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'māsha sowing' formed by णिनि under III 2 81 S 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment, ग्रीहिवापानि or ग्रीहिवापानि nominative plural neuter The augment नुम् is here added by VII 1 72 S 314 from ग्रीहिवाप् वपयन्ति = ग्रीहिवाप with कर्माद्य अण्, the plural णि is added by VII 1 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case termination, माषवापेज or माषवापेन, ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Prati-padika' But here it means 'final in a prātipadika which is a second member of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change' Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाया भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga" But गर्गभगिनी if the word is derived from गर्गभग 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga" In this case, like the word मातृभोगीय fit to be possessed by a mother' the change will invariably take place The very fact that नुम् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference The नुम् is ordained with regard to an *anga*, so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound So the root हिवि takes नुम् and becomes हिविन् (Bhuādi root 622) This न् is changed to ख as in ग्राहण्वन् । But in मेन्वनम् no change takes place, as it belongs to kshubhnādi class (VIII 4 39 S 792)

The word माषवापिणी or णी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim — (II 2 19) "It should be stated that Gatis, Kārakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदाना कृञि सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्ते ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prātipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when the feminine affix is added

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end portion of the *full* compound word

Vart — Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c As रम्ययूना (VI 4 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ ग्रतिपदानि is a gati-samas, शार्वाही शरत् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाजुत्तरपदे ण. । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(इति ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदस्य तस्मिन् नित्यसमासे प्रातिपदिकान्तदुम्बिभाक्त्यस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निविताजुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं नकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055 A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is न् invariably in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment **नुम्**, or occurs in a vibhakti, and when the first member contains a cause of change

This sūtra has already been read as Sūtra 307 see page 171 It is repeated here to complete the context This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it See Sutra 307

Thus वृषहणौ 'the Vrtra-killer' = वृषहन्तवन्तौ with क्तिप् (III 2 87 S 2998) So also हरिं मानयति = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper" क्षरिपाणि "Drinkers of milk" क्षुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine' are examples of नुम् VII 3 88, क्षीरेण and रम्यादिना are examples of case terminations

Note —The word रम्यादि 'a beautiful bird', is a compound of रम्य and वि (रम्यञ्चासौ विभ्य) ॥ The नृ is Instrumental Singular (VII 4 120 S 244)

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sūtra while its anuvṛtti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule In fact, it shows that the anuvṛtti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further

१०५६। कुमति च । ८ । ४ । १३ ॥

कर्णवत्युत्तरपदे प्राग्वत् । हरिकामिणौ । हरिकामाणि । हरिकामेण ॥

1056 In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment **नुम्**, or occur in a vibhakti)

॥ the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic As हरिकामिणौ, नुम् —हरिकामाणि ॥ विभक्ति —हरिकामेण ॥

१०५७। पद्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । ३८ ॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि णत्व न स्यात् । माषकुम्भवापेन । चतुरङ्गवागेन ॥

असङ्घित इति वाच्यम् * ॥ आर्द्धगोमयेण ॥ शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

1057 The नृ is not changed to ण, when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न ॥

The word पदव्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada' Thus माषकुम्भवायेन चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, and अङ्ग, intervening, the change does not take place

Vart —It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita Prohibition does not apply to words like आद्वेगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

Note —Here गो takes the affix मयद् by 1V 3 145, S 1525 and the word गो is a Pada by I 4 17, S 230 and it intervenes between मय and the first word The author of Mahabhashya however does not approve of this Vartika According to him the पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि जाति । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

अत्र क्षुण्णिपात्यते । कुस्तुम्बुरु धान्याकम् । क्लीबत्वमसम्भ्रम् । जाति किम् । कुस्तुम्बुरुणि । कुस्तिस्तानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थ ॥

1058 The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुद् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander i.e. धान्याक, the seeds are also so called The exhibition of the word in the sūtra in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe कुस्तुम्बुरुणि = कुस्तिस्तानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थ ॥ The word कुस्तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree

१०५९ । अपरस्पर क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

क्षुण्णिपात्यते । अपरस्पर सार्था गच्छन्ति । सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थ । कियेति किम् । अपरस्पर गच्छन्ति । अपरे च परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थ ॥

1059 The word अपरस्पर is formed by the augment सुद् when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action'

Thus अपरस्पर सार्था गच्छन्ति = सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरस्पर सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥

Note —The सातत्य comes from सतत, by adding व्यञ्च् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भाव (V 1 123 S 1787) = सातत्य ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The स् of सस् is optionally elided before तत, on the strength of the Kārika —“the स् of अव्यञ्च् is elided before a word ending in a kṛtya affix, the स् of तुस् is elided before काम and मनस्, the स् of सम is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final अ of मास् is elided before पाक् or पचन ॥” As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्य = अवश्यकर्तव्य (2) भोक्तुस् काम = भोक्तु काम, भोक्तुमन ॥ (3) समहित = सहित, सम तत = सतत ॥ (4) मास् पाक्, मास् पचनम् ॥

१०६० । गोष्पद् सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुद् सस्य पत्न्य च निपात्यते । गाव पश्यन्तेऽस्मिन्देशे स गोभि सेवितो गोष्पद् । असेविते गोष्पदान्यरण्यानि । प्रमाणे गोष्पदमात्र क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गो पद् गोपदम् ॥

1060 The word गोष्पद् is formed by सुद्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity

Thus गोष्पदो देश = गाव पश्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभि सेवितो देश ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद् by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense So also गोष्पदमात्र क्षेत्रम् । Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land Why do we say 'a locality visited &c' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गो, दम् = गो पदम् ॥

Note —What is the use of the word असेवित in the sūtra, the word गोष्पद् will give अगोष्पद्, by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद् = अगोष्पद् ? The force of नञ् compound is, that of सदृश "like that but not that" As अजाह्नय means "a man who is [a Kshatriya &c not a Brahmana, but does not mean a stone &c" Therefore अगोष्पद् with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing" But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद् ॥

१०६१ । आस्पद् प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मयापनाय स्थाने सुद् निपात्यते । । आस्पदम् । प्रेति किम् । आपराधम् ॥

1061 The word आस्पद् is formed by सुद् when meaning 'a place or position'

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place' established position, rank dignity authority' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आपराधम् = आपदम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अद्भुते सुद् । आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीते । अनित्ये किम् । आश्चर्यं कर्म । शोभनम् ॥

1062 The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुद्, when meaning something 'unusual'

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix अत् to the verb चर with

the preposition **अव** and the augment **सुट्** ॥ Thus **आचर्य वदि स भुजीत** ॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have **आचर्य कर्म शोभनम्** ॥

१०६३ । वर्चस्कोऽवस्कर । इ । १ । १४८ ॥

कुत्सित वर्च **वर्चस्कम्** **भन्नमल तस्मिन् सुट्** । **भवकीर्यत इत्यवस्कर** । **वर्चस्के किम्** । **अवकर** ॥

1063 The word **अवस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "excrement"

That which has bad lustre is called **वर्चस्क** (**कुत्सित**) ॥ It applies to the ejected food To the root **कृ** is added the affix **अप्** (III 3 57 S 3232), the preposition **अव** and irregularly the **सुट्** ॥ Thus **अवस्करोऽन्नमलम्** ॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called When not having this sense, we have **अवकर** ॥

१०६४ । अपस्करो रथाङ्गम् । इ । १ । १४९ ॥

अपकरोऽन्य ॥

1064 The word **अपस्कर** is formed with **सुट्** meaning "the part of a chariot"

This word is also derived from **कृ** with the preposition **अप** and the affix **अप्** (III 3 57 S 3232) and **सुट्** augment When not having this meaning we have **अपकर** ॥

१०६५ । विष्किर. शकुनिर्विकिरो वा । इ । १ । १५० ॥

पक्षे विकिर । **वाचनेनैव सुद्धिकल्प सिद्धे विकिरमहण तस्यापि शकुनेऽन्यत्र प्रयोगे मान्तेति वृत्तिस्तत्र** । **भाष्यविरोधात्** ॥

1065 The word **विष्किर** is formed with **सुट्** optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being **विकिर** ॥

This word is formed by adding the affix **क्** (III 1 135 S 2897) to **कृ** with the preposition **वि** and the augment **सुट्** ॥ The word **विकिर** also refers to birds only, a kind of cock The phrase **शकुनिर्विकिरा वा** is added from the *Vārtika* and is no part of the original *sūtra* Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या **विष्किरा कुक्कुदाहते** ॥ "Though the *sūtra* **विकिरोवाशकुनौ** would have given the optional form **विकिर**, the specific mention of this form in the *sūtra* indicates that **विकिर** always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise **विकिर** would have

referred to something other than a bird"—this opinion of Kāśikā is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahābhāṣya

१०६६ । प्रतिष्कशश्च कशे । ६ । १ । १५२ ॥

कश गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि सुट् । नपोत्यन्ते षन्त्व च । सहाय पुरोयायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते । कशे किम् । प्रतिगत कशा प्रतिकशोऽथ । यद्यपि कशेरेव कशा तथापि कशेदिति धातोर्ग्रहणद्वयसर्गस्य प्रतेर्ग्रहणार्थम् । तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गात् ॥

1066 To the root कश 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कश ॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III 1 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति ॥ Thus माममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्व प्रतिष्कश 'I shall inspect the town to day, be thou my emissary' The word प्रतिष्कश means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary" Why do we say "to the root कश"? Observe प्रतिगत कशा = प्रतिकशोऽथ 'a horse guided by the whip' Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the root कश्, and not to a derivative word

१०६७ । प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी । ६ । १ । २५३ ॥

हरिश्चन्द्रग्रहणमन्त्रार्थम् । ऋषीति किम् । प्रकण्वो देश । हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवक ॥

1067 The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषि, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषि ॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI 1 151 S 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras Why do we say 'Rishis'? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देश, (कण्व पाप तत्पगत यस्मात्), हरिश्चन्द्रो माणवक (हरि चन्द्रो यस्य सुगन्धस्य) ॥

१०६८ । मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयो । ६ । १ । १५४ ॥

मकरशब्दोऽव्युत्पन्नस्तस्य सुडिनिश्च निपात्यते । वेण्विति किम् । मकरो ग्राह । मकरी ससृष्ट ॥

1068 The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'

When not having these meanings, the form is मकर ॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant, and the affix इति in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन् ॥ Why do we say "when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant" Observe मकरोग्रह "an alligator", मकरी समुद्र "an ocean"

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix भच्, the long आ being shortened Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते=मस्कर 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made' So also by adding इनि in the sense of तच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा, we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशील =मस्करी "a monk who has renounced all works" A mendicant always says 'माकुरुत कर्माणि शान्तिर्व श्रेयसी'—'Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end'

१०६६ । कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषचीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीर नाम नगरम् । अजत्येव तुन्दमस्याति अजस्तुन्द नाम नगरम् । नगरे किम् । कातीरम् । अजतुन्दम् ॥

1069 The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कानीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य), and अजतुन्दम् (अजत्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्करो वृक्ष । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कार करोतीति कारस्करो वृक्ष । अन्यत्र कारकर । कोचित् कस्कादिष्विव पठन्ति न सूत्रेषु ॥

1070 The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III 2 21)=कारस्कर ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकर ॥ Some do not make this a separate sūtra, but include it in the next aphorism Some read it in Kashkādī (VIII 3 48 S 144)

१०७१ । पास्करप्रभृतीनि च सज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि सञ्ज्ञाकानि निपात्यन्ते नाम्नि । पास्कर । किष्किन्धा ।

तद्बृहत्तो करपत्योश्चौरदेवतयो सुद तलोपश्च* ॥ ज्ञात्पूर्व चत्वेन वकारोपि बोध्य । तद्बृहत्तोई-कारतकारौ लुप्यते । करपत्योस्तु सुद । चौरदेवतयोरिति सञ्ज्ञायापाधि । तस्कर । वृहस्पति ॥

प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयो* ॥ प्रायश्चित्ति । प्रायश्चित्तम् वनस्पतिरित्यादि । आकानिगणोऽयम् ॥

1071 The words पास्कर &c are Names

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुद ॥ Thus पास्कर 'a country called Paraskara' किष्किन्धा 'N of a cave'

Vartuka — तस्कर 'a thief' and बृहस्पति N of a deity 'are formed by inserting सुट् in the compounds of कन् कर, बृहत् + पति and eliding त् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a deity'? Observe तस्कर, बृहस्पति ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Ganapātha merely for the sake of diversity, the word सञ्ज्ञा would have connoted that

Vart — Before the words चित्ति and चित्त is added the augment ब्रुह् when प्रायश्चिदम् precedes Thus प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्ति ॥

1 पारस्करो देवः, 2 कारस्करो बृहत्, 3 रयस्या नदी 4 किष्कु प्रमाणात् 5 किष्किन्धा युष्ठा 6 तद्बृहन्नतो करपत्याश्चरदेवस्यो सुट् सलपश्च (तस्कर चौर, बृहस्पति = देवता), 7 प्रातु तुम्पती गवि कर्तारि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौ) ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौ ॥ When the root तुप्तुम्प to injure' is preceded by the preposition प्र, there is added ब्रुह् to प्र when the agent of the verb is a cow Why do we say when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रस्तुम्पति वनस्पति ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट् is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated — प्रस्तुम्पति गौ, प्रस्तुम्पती गव्यौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गवः ॥

This is an ākritigana.

अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१६७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्धा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इह पदत्रयमाधिक्रियते । प्राग्दिश इति यावत् । सामर्थ्यं परिनिष्ठतत्त्वम् । कृतसधिकार्यत्वमिति यावत् ॥

1072 The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism

All the three words, *viz* (1) समर्थानां of the words in construction (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first', (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation that is to say up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book, before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभाक्त (V 3 1 S 1947) The word sāmārthya means the word form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation *i e* in its parinishthata state The word parinishthata means a completed word, *i e* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction Thus सु + इत्यित् - सूत्यित् ॥ Add इम्, and we have सौत्यिति and not सौ + इत्यात् = सासुत्यिति (S 1088) The anuvṛtti of वा however extends further than S. 1947

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr Bohtlingk "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional"

Note —The fifteen sūtras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas We shall take up the further explanation of this sūtra in S 1088

१०७३ । प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीव्यतीत्यत् प्रागणधिक्रियते ॥

1073 The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism tena divyati &c

Up to the aphorism IV 4 2 S 1550, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikāra sūtra or a paribhāṣa sūtra or a vidhi sūtra

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यात् प्राग्द्वितीयेष्वर्थेषु । वक्ष्यमाणस्य ण्यस्यापवादः ॥

Note —This is an exception to the aphorism, IV 1 85 S 1077 by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with 'pati'. The present sūtra enjoins अण् instead

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class —

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यज्ञपति 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादे । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

अिति णिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ॥

1075 The Viddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicator अ or ए follows

Note —As गार्ग्य from गर्ग + २३, so also वत्स्य ॥ वृत्ति (वृत् + इञ्), वृत्ति, औपगव (with अण् from उपगु) कापटव &c This debars the Viddhi of VII 2 115 S 204 and VII 2 116, S 2282 as स्वाङ् from स्वङ्, and जागत from जगत् ॥

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च तथा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि अश्वपतम् । गाणपतम् । गाणपत्यो मन्त्र इति तु ग्रामादिकमेव ॥

1076 The Viddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicator follows

Note —As नाडायन् with क्त्, so also चारायण (IV 1 99 S 1101), and आक्षिक and शालाक्षिक with ङ्क् (IV 4 1 S 1548)

Thus अश्वपति + अण् = अश्वपतम् (VII 2 117 S 1075) The इ of पति is elided by VI 4 142 S 311 So also गणपतम् ॥

The form गणपत्यं as used by Haradatta in गणपत्यो मन्त्र is wrong

Note —The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta

१०७७ । दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदारण्य । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

दित्यादिभ्यः पत्युत्तरपराद्यः प्राग्दीव्यतीयेत्यर्थेषु ण्यः स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्यः । अदितेरादित्यानां वा आदित्यः । प्राजापत्यः ।

यनाद्येति काशिकायाम् * ॥ आन्यः ॥

पृथिव्या आजौ * ॥ पार्थिवः । पार्थिया ॥

देवाद्यमजौ * ॥ देव्यम् । देवम् ॥

बहिषदिलोपो यञ्च * ॥ बाह्यः ॥

ईकक्च * ॥ बाहीकः ॥

स्थानोऽकारः * ॥ अश्वस्थानः । पृषोदरादित्वात्सस्य सः ॥

भवार्ये तु लुग्वच्यः * ॥ अश्वस्थायाः ॥

लोमोऽपत्येषु बहुवचनकारः * ॥ बाह्वाहीमोऽपवादः । उडुलोमाः । उडुलोमान् । बहुषु । केम् ॥ औडुलोनि ।

गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् * ॥ गव्यम् । अजादिप्रसङ्गे । केम् । गोभ्यो हेतुभ्यः आगतं गोरूप्यम् । गोमयम् ॥

1077 The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dīvyatī &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya, and that which has the word पति as its final member

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः, 'the son of Diti' आदित्य 'the descendant of Aditi' The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to Aditya. आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्राजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्यः, so also सैन्यपत्यम् ॥

Vart —So also after the word यन, as, आन्यः ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kāsika and not in the Mahābhāṣya

Note —In the Chhandas, after the words वाच्, मति, and पितृमत् Comes the affix ण्य ॥ As, वाच्यम् (Vs, 13 58) मत्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

Vart —The affixes अ and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + अ = पार्थिवः, पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिवः ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV 1 4, S 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV 1, 15 S. 470.

Vart —The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god' As देव्यम् or देवम् 'divine'

Vart —There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यञ्, as बहिस् + यञ् = बाह्य 'external'

Vart —And the affix ईकञ् may be employed As बहिस् + ईकञ् = बाहीक 'external' (VII 2 118, S 1076)

Note —In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहीक the difference being in the accent (VI 1 197 S 3686)

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its णि portion is elided This very fact indicates by implication, that the णि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ bha In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the णि of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI 4 144 (the णि of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule Thus from the अग्न्या आरात् we get आराती &c, here the णि is not elided

Vart —Of the word स्थामन् the णि is replaced by अ, as अश्च + स्थामन् अश्चस्थाम ॥ The स is changed to त् as the compound belongs to Prishodarādi class

Vart —But there is elision of the Taddhita affix अ after स्थामन् when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अश्चस्थामा ॥ The word अश्चस्थामन् means अश्चस्येव स्थामद्यत् "whose strength is like that of a horse" It is a Bahuvrīhi

Vart —The णि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow, as उडुलामा, उडुलामान् ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness ओडुलामि, (IV 1 96 S 1096)

Vart —When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो let the affix यन् be substituted for it- Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI, 1 79 S 63), Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य or आगत = गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Note —These affixes ण्य &c taught in this sūtra will come to the exclusion of all the other affixes here-in-after taught which are employed in especial senses Thus अण is employed especially to denote a descendant But after the words णिति &c अण् will not be employed, but ण्य as दैत्य 'a descendant of 'दिति' ॥ So also वानस्पत्यम् (= वनस्पतीनाम् सहृद्), to the exclusion of IV 2 37 S 1243 &c, In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परकार्थम् (I 4 2 S 175) does not hold here

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेय ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दितो, the feminine of the word दिति

formed by the affix डीष् (IV I 45, the word विति being formed by the Kiv-affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take डीष् in the feminine) To the feminine word इतः is added डक् and we get ऐतेय ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविहितस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows Others consider the form ऐतेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahabhāṣya or any Vārtika

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

‘औत्स ॥

आग्निकलिभ्या डक् वक्तव्य * ॥ अग्निरपत्यादि आग्नेयम् । कलियम् ॥

1078 The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-divyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV I 83 S 1073 as well as the especial affixes here in-after taught Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्स आह्वान ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class

I उत्स, 2 उद्गान, 3 विक्र, 4 विनद, 5 महानद, 6 महानस 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तिलुन, 10 वक्त्र्यास, 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पक्षि, 14 जगती, 15 विष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उद्यानर, 20 शीष्म, 21 पालुक्य, 22 उदस्थान देशे, 23 पृषदा, 24 मङ्गकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यदिन, 27 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्त्वत्, 30 कुरु 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुम्भ, 35 सुवर्ण, 36 देव, 37 शीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Note —The word शीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean ‘a metre of prosody’ Therefore it is not so here शीष्मा विष्टुप् ‘The Graishmi Trichtup metre’ But शीष्म ‘belonging to summer’ The word छन्दस् here means ‘metre,’ and not Veda The word वक्त्र्यास = वक्त्र्य अस, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians) Thus the compound will be गोवक्त्र्य ॥ The Paribhāṣā ग्रहणवत्ता प्रातिपदिकेनतस्त विधिप्रतिषेध does not apply here Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूह) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a ‘place’ as औदस्थानो देश, otherwise औदस्थनि ‘the son of Udashāna’ The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning ‘a share’, otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽण ॥

Vat —The affix ‘dhak’ always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prāgdivyatiya (See IV. 2 8, S 1209) आग्नेयम् and कलियम् meaning ‘born of Agni’ and ‘of Kali’ respectively

Here ends the section of affixes that denote patronymics &c in general.

१०७६ । स्त्रीपुसाभ्यां नञ्सनञौ भवनात् । ४ । १ । ८७ ॥

धात्यानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुसाभ्यां क्रमात्तन्मञ्जौ स्तः । स्त्रीय । पौल । वत्यर्थे न । स्त्रीपुवच्चेति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुवत् ॥

1079 The affixes नञ् and स्तञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhānyānām bhavane kshetie khañ" (V 2 1 S 1802)

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रीणम् 'feminine'.

Note —The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter 1 of the Fifth Book, are various. Therefore, the word स्त्रीणम् will have all those various significations, thus, it will mean either स्त्रीपुमव (IV 3 53 S 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूह (IV 2 37 S 1243) 'a collection of females', or स्त्रीभ्यः ज्ञात (IV 2 74 S 1453) 'what has come from females', or स्त्रीभ्यो हित (V 1 5 S 1665) 'suitable for females' &c

Similarly पुस + नञ् = पौलवम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V 1 115 S 1778. For Panini himself uses the form पुवत् (and not पौव) in sūtra VI 3 34, S 881 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, I 2 66 S 932 the affix नञ् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत् । The forms स्त्रीव स्त्रीता पुस्त्व and पुस्त्वा are exceptional. See V 1 121 S 1783. The स् of पुस् is elided before नञ् by VIII 2 23 S 54, had it not been elided, on affix नञ् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two

१०८० । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये । ४ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं यस्तद्विज्ञेऽजाविरनपत्यर्थं प्राग्दीव्यतीरस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पञ्चषु कपालेऽसकृतं पुरोडाशं पञ्चकपालं । द्विगोर्निमित्तस्येति किम् । पञ्चकपालस्येव षण्ण पञ्चकपालम् अजादि किम् । पञ्चगर्गकृत्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । द्वयोर्मित्रयोरपत्य द्वैमित्रि ॥

1080. A Tadhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedant to tena dīvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग् दीव्यत of IV 1 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चषु कपालेषु सकृतं = पञ्चकपालं the sacrificial rice cake 'prepared in five cups.'

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound' The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II 1 51 The affix will not, herefore be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैह = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups"

Note —Or the genitive case in द्विगो may be taken as sthāna shashti, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक् elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu Of course when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a prātipadikā like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत = पञ्चकपाल ? This is not so, there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृत, पञ्चकपाल्या संस्कृत, and पञ्चकपाल (a Samahara Dvigu) A Samahara and a Taddhita Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in पञ्चभ्यो गर्भेभ्य आगत = पञ्चगर्भस्यम् or पञ्चगर्भस्यम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while upa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic"? Observe द्वैमित्रि a descendant of two Mitras' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu

Note —Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati?" Observe द्वैपारायजिकः ॥

Note —How do you explain the non elision of the affix in त्रैविद्य, पाञ्चनदः and बाहुकुल ? The word त्रैविद्य does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीत but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रैविद्या, त्रिविद्यानधीते = त्रैविद्य ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु नदः but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समहार = पञ्चनदः, पञ्चनदे नव = पाञ्चनदः ॥ So also with बाहुकुल ॥

१०८१ । गोत्रेऽलुगाचि । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

अजातौ प्राप्तीव्यतीये विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्यात् । गगर्जा छात्रा । वृद्धाच्छ ॥

1081 The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sūtras II 4 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dīvyati &c (IV 4 2)

Thus the plural of गर्ग्य is गर्गा (II 4 64 S 1108). But the disciples of गगा will be formed by the affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) which is a prāgdīvyatiya affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गर्ग्य as if there was no elision. Thus गर्ग्य + छ ॥

Here applies the next sūtra

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

इल परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते परे न त्वाकारे । गर्गीया । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम् । गर्गेभ्यो हित गर्गीयम् । अचि किम् । गर्गेभ्य आगत गगरूप्यम् ॥

1082 The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गर्ग्य + छ = गर्गीया (VII 1 2 S 475) and not गर्गीया

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas'

Note —Here the affix छ (V 1 1 S 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sūtra V 1 5 S 1665 not one of the prāgdīvyatiya senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गर्गारूप्यम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य, a prāgdīvyatiya affix taught in sūtra IV 3 81 S 1461 does not begin with a vowel, therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गर्ग्य

१०८३ । यूनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ६० ॥

प्राग्दीव्यतीये अजादो प्रत्यये विवक्षिते युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । ग्लुचुकस्य गोत्रापत्य ग्लुचुकायनि । वक्ष्यमाण किम् । तता यू-यण् । ग्लौचुकायन । तस्य छात्रोऽपि ग्लौचुकायन । अपोलुकि वृद्धस्वाभावाच्छोन ॥

1083 There is *luk*-elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV 1 163) when a prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally, having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prāgdīvyatiya affix to be added to the word form thus remaining

Thus the Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनि (IV 1 160S 1184) with the affix क्तिन् to be taught hereafter. The Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायन (IV 1 83 S 1073) with the affix अण् the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लौचुकायना by (IV 2 112 S 1333 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि). When अण् is elided the word ग्लौचुकायन becomes ग्लुचुकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vriddhi letter now, there is no adding of छ in the sense of pupils, for छ is added by IV 2 114 S 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vriddhi letter.

१०८४। पैलादिभ्यश्च । २ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् । पीलाया वेत्यण् । तस्मादणा द्व्यच इति क्तिञ् । तस्य लुक् । पैल पितृ पुत्रश्च ॥

तद्राजाच्चाण ॥ द्व्यसमगधेत्यणन्तादाङ्गशब्दादणा द्व्यच इति क्तिञ् लुक् । आङ्ग पितृ पुत्रश्च ॥

1084 And after the words पैल &c, there is the लुक् elision of the युवन affix.

पील+अण्=पैल (IV 1 118 S 1121) 'The Gotra descendant of Pīla' पैल + क्तिञ् (IV 1 156 S 1180) The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix क्तिञ् is elided, so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word.

Note —Some say that the 'Paila &c, words are formed by the affix इञ्, (IV 1 95 S 1095) and then the luk elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085. They would limit the scope of the present sūtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prāchyas not being indicated.

1 पैल 2 शालाङ्गि 3 सात्यकि 4 साग्यकानि 5 राहवि 6 रावशि-
7 औदञ्जि 8 औदत्रजि 9 औदमधि 10 औदव्यजि 11 औदमाज्ज-
12 औदभृजि 13 देवस्थानि 14 पैङ्गलायनी 15 राहचलि 16 भौलिङ्गि-
17 राजि 18 औदन्धि 19 ओङ्गाहानि 20 औज्जहान 21 औदशुजि 22-
तद्राजाच्चाण

G sūtra —The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadrāja affix अण् ॥ Thus the word आङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अण् under IV 1 170 S 1188 to अङ्ग, to this is added क्तिञ् under IV 1 156 S 1180. This क्तिञ् is elided. As आङ्ग meaning both father and son.

१०८५। इञ्. प्राचाम् । २ । ४ । ६० ॥

भोजे य इञ् तदन्तायुवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् त्यात् तच्चेदोत्र प्राचा भवति । पद्मागारदापत्यम् । अत

इम् । यमिजोऽथेति फक् । तस्य लुक् पात्रागारि पिता पुत्रश्च । प्राचा किम् । दाक्षि पिता । दाक्षायणः पुत्रः ॥

1085 After a word ending with the Gotra affix इम् (IV 1 95 S 1095) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prāchya (Eastern) is denoted

पात्रागर + इम् = पात्रागारि 'the Gotra descendant of Pannāgāra', after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) is elided by the present rule, and so पात्रागारि is both the father and the son. Why do we say प्राचाम्? The word प्राचाय here qualifies the word Gotra understood, and does not mean that it is an optional rule, 'in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians'. When the Gotra of Prāchya is not denoted, there is no elision. Thus दाक्षि the Gotra descendant of Dakṣha, and दाक्षायण 'son of Dakṣhi' (Yuvan)

१०८६ । न तौत्त्वलिभ्य । २ । ४ । ६१ ॥

तौत्त्वल्यादिभ्य परस्य युवमस्यस्य लुक् न स्यात् । पूर्वेषां प्राप्त । तौत्त्वलि । तत् इमि फक् । तौत्त्वलि पिता । तौत्त्वलायन पुत्रः ॥

1086 After the words तौत्त्वलिः and the rest, there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix

तौत्त्वलि formed by इम् added to तौत्त्वलि is the name of the father and तौत्त्वलायन is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103)

1 तौत्त्वलि 2 धारणि 3 पारणि 4 रावणि 5 वैलीपि 6 वैवति
7 वार्कलि 8 नैवात 9 नैवकि 10 वैवमिभि 11 वैवमति 12 वैवयति 13
चाफइकि 14 वैवकि 15 वैकि 16 वैक्कि 17 आनुहारति 18 आनुराहति
19 पाष्करसादि 20 आनुरोहति 21 आनुति 22 प्रादोहनि 23 नैमिभि 24
प्राडाहति 25 बान्धकि 26 वैशीति 27 आसिनासि 28 आहिति 29 आसुरि
30 नैमिभि 31 आसिबन्धकि 32 पौष्पि 33 कारेणुपाति 34 वैवणि 35 वैरकि
36 वैहति ॥

१०८७ । फक्फिओरन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ९१ ॥

युनिलुङिति नि ये लुकि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थं सूत्रम् । कात्यायनस्य छात्रा कात्तीया । कात्यायनीया । यस्कस्यापस्य यास्क । शिवायण । तस्यापस्य युवा यास्कायनि । अणो अच इति फिञ् । तस्य छात्रा यास्कीया । यास्कायनाया ॥

1087. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added

By the Sûtra IV 1 90 S 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present Sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes कक् and किञ् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कत is कात्थ (IV 1 105 S 1107), the Yuvan of कात्थ is formed by कक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) कात्थायन ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kâtâyâna will be कात्तीया or कात्थायनीया ॥ Similarly of the affix किञ् (IV 1 156 S 1180) Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV 1 112 S 1115) The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV 1 156 S 1180) The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीया ॥

१०८८ । तस्मात्पत्यम् । ४ । १ । ६२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तात् कृतसन्धे समर्थारपत्येऽयं उक्ता वक्ष्यमाणश्च प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगोरपत्य औपगवः । भाविदुष्टिरन्त्योपधावृद्धी बाधते ॥

तस्येवमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गं शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भानन । कृतसन्धे किञ् । सौत्थिति । अकृतस्युपरिभाषया सादुपस्थितिर्मा भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषया नह । वक्ष्यगोरपत्यं चैवस्य । प्रयनात्किञ् । अपत्यवत्-
चकात्षष्ठ्यर्थे ना भूत् । वामहणाद्वाक्यमपि । देवयज्ञीति दृष्टान्त्यतरत्वामहणादुपुत्ते समासोऽपि ।
उपगवपत्यम् । जातिस्वान् ङीष् । औपगवी । आश्वपत । दैत्य । औत्स । औत्थ । पौत्थ ॥

1088 (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1 83 S 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction)

Note —This Sâtra points out the meaning of the affixes, and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) e g अण्, ण्य अञ् &c and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्, or by adding अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved

Note —उपगु + अण् = औपगु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI 4. 146 S 847 causing guna of final उ, and VII 2 115 S 254 requiring the vṛddhi of the final The following discussion shows why guna takes place to the exclusion of vṛddhi though subsequent औगुर्ण VI 4 146 S 847 ("for उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted guna before a Taddhita affix") is debarred

by the *subsequent* sūtra अचोऽङिति VII 2 115 S 254 ('before the affixes having an indicatory अ or ञ्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end vowel of a stem') for guṇa will find scope in विश्व &c So let there be vṛiddhi of the final इ of उपयु ॥ This is one objection

Note —But if vṛiddhi is not allowed, and इ is gunated to ओ, and we have by sandhi उपयो+अ=उपयव्+अ then arises another difficulty, for the अ of य now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत उपधाया VII 2 116 S 2282

Ans To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिबुद्धिरन्त्यो षवावृत्ती वायेते "the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII 2 117 S 1075 debar the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII 2 115 S 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ required by VII 2 116 S 2282",

Note —Because rule VII 2 117 S 1075 is *subsequent* to these two The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in नौ (the affix नु being णिच् by VII 1 90 S 284 causes vṛiddhi of नौ by VII 2 115), and पाचक with ण्वल् added to पच् respectively where VII 2 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सौश्रुत from सुश्रुत ॥ But in स्वाह from स्वह् and आमत from अगत the rules VII 2 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII 2 117, and in their case the vṛiddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII 2 117 S 1075) is *subsequent* This we do on the maxim सकृदिति &c as well as by the inference of finding the word बुष्करसत् in the list of Anuṣatikādi VII 3 20

Note —For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII 2 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII 2 116 S 2282), then we would have got the form पोष्करसाहि regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII 2 116 and 117, S 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuṣatikādi class But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously

Verse —The general sūtra tasyedam (IV 3. 120 S 1500) would have included the particular case of tasyāpatyam (what is the necessity of the latter). It is made in order to prevent the application of Vṛiddhāch chhah (IV 2 114 S 1337) For अ of S. 1337 excludes the अण् of S 1500 in case of Vṛiddha words, but it is intended that it should not exclude that, even in Vṛiddha, hence the present sūtra The sense of apatya can be included in the word sesha of S 1392 and so the अण् of tasyedam can come in the sense of apatya. The separate present sūtra has for its object to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words (like bhānu)

Note —The tasyedam would certainly have included tasyāpatyam, for *idam* may be anything apatya &c. The necessity for making a separate sūtra for apatyam is this. The Vriddhāch chhah excludes the अण् of tasyedam, so that in case of Vriddha words we have छ instead of अण् ॥ But छ does not come after Vriddha words in the sense of apatya. Hence this separate sūtra. If it be said that neither the अण् of tasyedam nor its exception the छ of Vriddhāch chha can ever come in the sense of apatya, for they come in the śaishika senses only and apatya is not included in the śaishika sense, we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of apatya also in the śaishika sense, of sūtra IV 2 92 S 1392. Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this sūtra is really to make अण् applicable to Vriddha words. Thus the son of भानु (a Vriddha word) will be भानव् by the अण् of this sūtra, and not भानवी by छ of S 1337, which would have been the case had this sūtra not existed, and had tasyedam IV 3 120 S 1500 been requisitioned to denote apatya also.

By the general rule samartha-pada vidhih (II 1 1 S 647), the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction. Thus the words उपगोरपत्यम् "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence —वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्य चैत्रस्य "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra"

Why do we say "after the *first* word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case. Thus in इन्द्रोदेवता अस्य हविष = ऐन्द्रि हवि, the affix is added to Indra in the first case in construction, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य = औपगवोदेवदत्त or देवदत्तो-स्पत्यमस्योपगो = देवदत्तिरुपगु should not be formed.

By force of the word वा in IV 1 82 S 1072 we can have a sentence also As उपगोरपत्यम् ॥

And by drawing in the anuvṛtti of anyatarasyām from the sūtra IV 1 81 S 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative As उपगवपत्यम् ॥

The Patronymic being a jāti word takes ङीष् in the feminine. As औपगवी ॥

So also आश्वपत । दैत्य । औत्स । औत्त । औत्त । औत्त ॥

Note —In explaining IV 1 82 S 1072, we have used the words कृतक-निष्कार्यत्वम् "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly. Thus ह्र + उत्थित = ह्रत्थित, वि + ईक्षमाण = वीक्षमाण ॥ If the affix be not added to the form ह्रत्थित, but to ह्र + उत्थित, so also not to वीक्षमाण but to विईक्षमाण that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be सौ उत्थिति =

सावृत्थिति and बायीक्ष्माणि by force of बायीक्ष्माणि बलीय maxim, but the proper forms are सौत्थिति and वैक्ष्माणि ॥

Q The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antarāṅga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vriddhi operation, which though an āṅga rule, is after all bahirāṅga with regard to sandhi, what is the necessity of using the word सन्त्यर्थ at all in the sūtra IV, 1, 52 S 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धि ?

Ans The very fact that Pāṇini has used the word सन्त्यर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim प्रकृतव्यूहा पाणिनीया "The followers of Pāṇini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears" (See p-30) Therefore had Pāṇini not used the word सन्त्यर्थ in the sūtra IV, 1, 52, S 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the antarāṅga operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahirāṅga vriddhi and the forms would have been सावृत्थिति and बायीक्ष्माणि ॥ To prevent this सन्त्यर्थ has been used.

Kārikā तस्येवमित्यपत्येऽपि बहिर्भाष्यं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गं शेष एवासीत् वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note—The Karikā should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येवमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sūtra तस्येवम् (IV 3 120 S, 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इवम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, सवृद्ध, विकार &c. Therefore अन् will come, by force of that sūtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sūtra tasyāpatyam? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sūtras अन् इवम् &c (IV 1 95 S 1095), then why make a separate sūtra and not join it with the last? Ans बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sūtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sūtra वृद्धाच्छ (IV 2 114 S 1337). That sūtra supersedes तस्येवम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of अन् where the base was a Vriddham word But that is not desired Hence the separate sūtra

If it be objected that "the अन् or tasyedam, and its apavāda the the affix छ of vriddhāch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2 92 S 1312 as the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance, and so the above objection does not arise" To this the answer is

Ans उत्सर्गः शेष एवासीत् ॥ This sense of apatya is an utsarga śeṣha The meaning is this Had there been no yoga vibhāga i e had tasyā-

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sūtra with अत इम् something like तस्यापत्यम् अत इम् (IV 1 95 S 1095), then it will govern those bases only that end in अ and the bases like बाहु &c (IV 1 95 and 96 S 1095 and 1096), and not bases like उपगु, and therefore with regard to the base उपगु there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the śaishika तस्येदम् ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances. It will be an utsarga śesha i.e. the remainder not covered by a general rule the general rule here by supposition being अत इम् &c. Therefore अण् of तस्येदम् with the force of apatya, will come after Upagu, but it will be debarred in the case of बाहु &c by the rule वृद्धाच् छ ॥ But if we make tasyāpatyam a separate sūtra, then there being no śesha, the छ will never come under any circumstances.

Obj If it be said that for bases like उपगु &c, which are not Vriddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of छ, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sūtra. To this we reply

Ans वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् The necessity of this sūtra is in the case of Vriddham bases like बाहु, इयामगु (इयामा गावो ऽस्य) &c

Therefore there must be this separate sūtra. Thus भानोरपत्यम् = भानव ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sūtra "tasyāpatyam" is made for the sake of Vriddham bases, Otherwise "tasyedam" would have been sufficient for bases like Upagu &c

Note —Now we take up the farther explanation of the sūtra samarthānām prathamād vā ' (IV. 1. 82 S 1072) Its explanation was postponed till now

The maxim समर्थं पदविधि (II 1 1 S 647) applies here also. Thus वस्त्रं उपगोरपत्यं चैव "the garment of Upagu, the son of Chaitra". Here the two words उपगोरपत्यम् are not in construction, for उपगो governs वस्त्रं and अपत्यम् is governed by चैवस्य, and so there is no affix

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations. In the sūtra तस्यापत्यम् there are two words, तस्य and अपत्यम्, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam. Therefore, when searching for the base to which the affix is to be added, we shall take तस्य ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word प्रथमात् at all.

Ans The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the name of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word. Thus the sūtra tasyāpatyam

is really ambiguous, for it literally means "let the affix *अण्* &c come in the sense of "His son" The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case, or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu, then *देवदत्त* is *उपगोरपत्यम्*, then by *tasyāpatyam*, the affix might be added either to *उपगु* or to *देवदत्त* ॥ To prevent this, *प्रथमात्* is used in the sutra

Moreover as in the case of *इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविष* 'Indra is the devatā of this offering' we add the affix to *इन्द्र* denoted by the genitive case under the rule *सास्थ्यदेवता* (IV 2 24 S 1226), and get the form *इन्द्र* as applied to *हवि*, similarly *उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य* "Upagu is the son of this Devadatta" we will have *औपगवो देवदत्त* "Devadatta Aupagava" i e "Devadatta whose son is Upagu", or in *देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगो* "Devadatta is son of this Upagu", we shall have *देवदत्तिरुपगु* "Upagu whose son is Devadatta" Now this is not intended We cannot have *औपगव* in the sense of 'He whose son is Upagu', nor *देवदत्ति* in the sense of "He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence, thus we may say *उपगोरपत्य*, instead of the taddhita formed word *औपगव* ॥

Note —The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (*samāsa*), as *उपगवपत्यम्* 'the son of Upagu' In fact, the *samāsa* rule here is not superseded by the Taddhita rule, as it otherwise would have been by I 4 2, S 175 because the *anuvṛtti* of *अन्यतरस्याम्* is understood here from sutra IV 1 81, S 1201 so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the *samāsa* rules will find scope The word *औपगव* being a *जाति* denoting word (because *jāti* includes *गोत्र* च *चरये* सह see *Kārikā* to IV 1 83 S 518, therefore its feminine will be by *जीह* (VI 1 83) As *औपगवी* ॥

१०८६ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गात्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षित पौत्रादि गोत्रसङ्गत्वात् ॥

1089 A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra

Note —When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra Thus the son of 'Garga' will be *गार्गि*, and the son or grandsons &c of *गार्गि* with reference to Garga will be *गार्ग्य* ॥ Similarly *वात्स्य* ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called Gotra Thus *कौञ्जि*, *गार्गि* ॥

Note —Q The word अपत्य has been read uselessly in this sūtra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sūtra could have been well stated as pautra pravṛiti gotram'

Ans Yes Therefore in explaining the sūtra, the author has said "apatyatvena vivakshitam" "when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant." Why do we say "when it is intended to express"? As a matter of fact, even grand sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गि formed under the शेष rule गर्गस्त्वैम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here

Others say that the force of vivakshita is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship Therefore औपगन्ध though formed by अण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word

१०६० । जीवति तु वश्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वश्ये पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रादेर्यदपत्यं चतुर्थ्यादि तद्युवसत्तमेव न गोत्रसङ्गम् ॥

1090 But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only

Note —The word वश्य means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line' One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वश्य ॥ When such a *vanśva* is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर्बद्ध अपत्य 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra however this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c " Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made Thus गर्ग being the head, we have गार्ग्य ॥

अपत्यम्—	{	गार्गिः (son or putra)
		गार्ग्य (Gotra)
		गार्ग्यायण (Yuvan) if Garga or Gargi &c be alive)

The force of the word तु, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well

१०६१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

येषु भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयान् चतुर्थ्यादिर्युवा स्यान् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c

Note —Even when a ब्रह्म like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vanśya) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive, thus . गार्ग्यायण ॥

The word ब्रह्म is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vanśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises This sūtra applies to cases when Vanśya is not meant Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gargya, similarly Vatsyāyana, Dākshyāyana, and Plākshāyana

१०९२ । धान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

आतुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्य जीवदेव युवसज्ञ वा स्यात् । एक जीवतिग्रहणमपत्यस्य विज्ञापणम् । द्वितीय सपिण्डस्य । तरङ्गनिर्देश उभयोदत्कर्षार्थः । स्थानेन वयसा चोत्कृष्टे पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यायण । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविर इति किम् । स्थानवयोन्युने गार्ग्य एव । जीवताति किम् । द्युते द्युतो वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ गोत्रस्यैव वृद्धसज्ञा प्राच्यम् । गोत्रस्य युवसज्ञा पूजाया गम्यमानायाम् । तत्रभवान् गार्ग्यायण । पूजेति किम् । गार्ग्य ॥

युवश्च कुत्साया गोत्रसज्ञेति वाच्यम् * ॥ गार्ग्यो जातम् । कुत्सेति किम् । गार्ग्यायण ॥

1092 The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛtti of जीवति also from IV 1 163 S 1090 This जीवति of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतरे is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*, such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c when alive

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यायण or गार्ग्य ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only Why do we say

'when alive?' When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapinda is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्य only

Vārtika —The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended

The word Vridhha is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायण or गार्ग्य "you honored Gārgyāyana or Gārgya "

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, गार्ग्य ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vārt —The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्म or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्म ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायण ॥

१०६३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्यय स्यात् । उपगोर्गोत्रापत्य औपगव । गार्ग्य । नाडाद्यन ।

गोत्रे स्वैकोनसख्याना प्रत्ययाना परम्परा ।

यद्वा स्वद्व्युनसख्येभ्योऽनिष्ठोत्पत्ति प्रसज्यते ॥ १ ॥

अपत्य पितुरेव स्यात्तत प्राचामपीति च ।

मत्तमेनेन सङ्गान्यै सूत्रमेतत्तयोत्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पत्ते हि उपगोस्तृतीये वाच्ये औपगवादिम् स्यात् । चतुर्थे स्वजीवज्ज्येष्ठे वृत्तवशे औपगवे फक् । इत्थं फगिभ्यो फगिभ्यो परम्पराया मूलाच्छततमे गोत्रे एकोनशत प्रत्यया स्युः । पितामहादीनामर्पाति मुख्यपत्ते तु तृतीय वाच्ये उपगोरणा इटे सिङ्गऽपि अण्यन्तादिभ्यो स्यात् । चतुर्थे फगिति फगिभ्यो परम्पराया द्यततमे गोत्रेऽष्टनवतिरनिष्टप्रत्यया स्युः । अतो नियमार्थमिदं सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तरसूत्रेऽप्युक्तम् ॥

1093 One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low-so-ever) is to be indicated

Note —The word Gotra is defined in sūtra IV 1 162 'and means the offspring beginning with the grandson There would have arisen' the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons, the present sūtra declares a restriction Thus the son of गर्ग is गार्ग (IV 1 93) The son of गार्ग (or in other words the grandson of गर्ग) is गार्ग्य (IV 1 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix Now the son of a गार्ग्य will also be called गार्ग्य, no

new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix *यञ्* will be added to the word *गर्ग्य*, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of *गर्ग्य* will be formed by adding the affix *यञ्* not to the base *गर्ग्य* (which would have been the case were IV 1 92 S 1088 strictly applied), but to the base *गर्ग* ॥ So that one base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

Thus the Gotra descendant of *उपगु* is *औपगव*, of *गर्ग* is *गार्ग्य*, of *नड* is *नाडावन* ॥

Note —The word *गोत्रे* in the sūtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class, i.e. all gotra descendants. The word *एक* is a numeral. If the sūtra be translated thus —“when a Gotra descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only”—then in the case of gotra descendant the *first* word only takes the affix, and not any other. On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not one affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant. Hence the author has explained by saying “One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c.” The word *apatya* is read into the sūtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section.

Others explain the word *एक* as equivalent to *प्रथम* or first; and the *first* means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix. They explain the sūtra thus. “The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra.”

Thus the son of *Upagu* is *Aupagava*, the gotra descendant will be also *Aupagava*. The gotra-affix will be added to *Upagu* and not to *Aupagava*. Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix *अण्* also, just as the immediate descendant (i.e. son) is formed by *अण्*, and not by *इञ्* ॥ For though *औपगव* ‘son of *Upagu*’ is a word which ends in *अ*, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix *इञ्* ought to be added by IV 1 95 S 1095, yet *अण्* is added by force of this sūtra. There is no *specific* Gotra affix for this word *उपगु* ॥

Similarly *गार्ग्य* formed by *यञ्* of IV 1 105 S 1107. Here *यञ्* is specifically ordained to denote Gotra descendants, and therefore, there is not *इञ्* added by IV 1 95 S 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i.e. son) is to be denoted. Thus here we have two forms, the son of *Garga* is *गार्ग*, while the grandson and lower descendants will be *गार्ग्य* ॥ Thus *गार्ग्य* denotes not only the grandson of *Garga*, but the son of *Gārgya* as well. The word denoting the son of *Gārgya* (the grandson of *Garga*) will not be formed by *कञ्* added to *गार्ग्य*, because of the restriction of this rule since one affix only can be added. The affix *कञ्* would have been added by IV 1 101 S 1103 in denoting the son of

Gārgya, for he is a Yuvan as Gargyāyana. But when he is considered as a Gotra descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gārgya.

Similarly नादायन formed by क् under IV 1 99 S 1101. Here also क् is specifically ordained to come after Nadādi words, and therefore the general affix इम् (IV 1 95 S 1095) is precluded which now finds its scope in denoting the immediate descendant i.e. the son of Nada. Thus Nādi is son of Nādā while Nādayana is the grandson of Nada. The son of Nādayana will be Nādayana and not Nādāyani, with the इम् of IV 1 95 S 1095, because of the restriction of this sūtra which says only one affix is to be added.

Verse —“ In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant or two less in number the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base ”

“The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only, and in relation to older (than father) also,” according to diversity of opinions. Hence the necessity of this sūtra, as well as of the next sūtra, to remove these anomalies.”

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say “a grandfather’s apatya”), when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इम् to औपगव, (thus giving the form Aupagavi “the grand-son of Upagu”). Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vansya) are dead, the affix क् is added (and we have औपगवायन) ॥ (The son of Aupagavāyana will be by ॥, Aupagavāyani, his son will be Aupagavāyana and so on). Thus by the constant recurrence of क् and इम् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninety nine affixes.

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु, i.e. औपगव will express the grandson also of Upagu. and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इम् will also come after अण् ending औपगव ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be क् and then will commence the recurrence of क्, इम् क्, इम् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes.

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule, has this sūtra been enunciated.

This must be understood in the next sūtra also

Note —Objection How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sūtra useless? P

Ans —No The following considerations show the necessity of this sūtra. Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or *propositus* his son will be second, his grand son will be third, and so on. The first or the *Propositus* takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added, in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on, so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety nine affixes will be added. Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगव ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इम् = औपगवि ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + फक् = औपगवायन ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवायन will be औपगवायन् + इम् = औपगवायनि and then will commence the recurring series. Thus 1 Upagu, 2 Aupagava, 3 Aupagavi, 4 Aupagavāyana, 5 Aupagavāyani, 6 Aupagavāyana, 7 Aupagavāyani, 8 Aupagavāyana, 9 Aupagavāyani &c. Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has *two* affixes, अण्, and इम्, the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इम् and फक्, the fifth has four affixes अण्, इम्, फक् and इम् and so on. Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे स्वैकोनसंख्यानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (paramparā) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted." This is one anomaly to remove which the present sūtra has been made.

Though as a matter of fact the final अ and इ would have been always elided by वस्त्विति च (VI 4 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इम्, yet the *number* of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent.

Another necessity of this sūtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the base or *prātipadika* in the case of son is Upagu, in the case of grandson or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base, in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* *prātipadika* and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety eight new *prātipadikas*, i.e. always *two* less than the degree of descent. Therefore the verse says यद्वा स्वद्वयून संख्येभ्यो ऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिं प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishta) arises in the case of those *prātipadikas* which are less by two than the degree of descent." Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable *prātipadika* i.e. Aupagava i.e. the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu. In the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable *prātipadika* i.e. affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu, and so on. Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sūtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*.

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word *apatya*. In one view the word *अपत्य* is restricted to the *son* of the father only and not to grand sons &c. This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines *apatya* thus —

आत्मजस्तनय सुत सुत पुत्रस्त्रिया स्वमी ।
आहुदुहितर सर्वेऽपत्यं तान् तयो सने ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree *Gotra* descendant

The other and *siddhanta* view is that *apatya* not only means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand daughter and lower descendants also. Thus *apatya* is not only of father, but of those who are older (*prachām*) than father also, i.e. of grand father and great-grand father &c. In other words the word *apatya* should be taken in its etymological sense i.e. “he who prevents the fall (*patan*) of another”—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the *fall* of ancestors from heaven “न पतन्त्यनेनेति”—*अपत्यम्*” or यन्निमित्तं यस्यापतनं, तत् तस्यापत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c. prevent the fall of grand-father &c. so they are also called *apatya* (fall preventer) of grand father &c. In fact, it is in this wider sense of a “descendant,” that the word *apatya* is used by Panini himself in the *sutra* *apatyam* *pautra* *pravriti* *gotram* (IV 1 162 S 1089)

१०९४ । गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

यून्यपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्ययः स्यात् । स्त्रिया तु न युवसज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवपत्यं गार्ग्यायण । स्त्रिया गोत्रत्वादेक एव प्रत्ययः ॥

1094. When a descendant of the description denoted by *Yuvan* (IV 1 163 S 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (*gotra*) but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*, and no new affix is added

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the *Yuvan* of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायण (IV 1 101 S 1103). Similarly वात्स्यायन, दाक्षायण, प्लाक्षायण, औपगवि, नाडायनि ॥

Why do we say “but in the Feminine the word is not termed *Yuvan*”? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दक्षि (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायण (*Yuvan*). Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षि and प्लाक्षायण ॥ In short, *Yuvan* affixes are not added in the Feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also

What is here prohibited : e is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *nyama* rule, there will be no *nyama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the Sātra should be divided in two, e, g गोत्राद् युनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियात् (2) After a Gotra formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan

१०६५ । अत इञ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तत्प्रकृतिकान्प्रत्ययान्तादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽयं । दाक्षि ॥

1095 The affix इञ् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant

This debarbs अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं=दाक्षि 'a descendant of Daksha'

Note —Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ by I 1 69 and 70 S 14 and 15) ? The descendant of शुभया or कीलालपा (words which end in long अ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sūtra is दाशरथि, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with. As "प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली" 'Give Sita to the son of Daśaratha'

१०६६ । बाह्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

बाह्विः । औडुलोमि । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1096 The affix इञ् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'bāhu' &c

Thus बाह्वि "a descendant of the clan of Bāhu" The words 'Bāhu' &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable, or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. So also औडुलोमि ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण) ॥

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपबाहु, 4 निबाहु, 5 शिबाहु, 6 वदाहु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपनिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 वृडा, 11 गलाका, 12 मृषिका, 13 कुशला, 14

भगला (छगला) 15 पुवका, 17 सुमित्री, 18 हुमित्री, 19 पुष्करसह, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 वञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितीजस सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 34 माष, 35 श्याविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 भृङ्खलतेतिदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीर्त, 44 कृष्ण 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्ग, 52 उदक सज्ञायाश्च 53 सम्भूयाम्भसो सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽवन् ॥ तेन । 57 सात्वकि 58 आङ्धिच 59 ऐन्द्रशर्भि 60 आञ्जधेनवि इत्यादि ॥

Vārt —The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहव् ॥

Vārt —The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word forms when denoting Proper Names Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father in law' is श्वशुर्य, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरि ॥

Note —The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix Thus आम्बि, ऐन्द्रशर्भि, आञ्जधेनवि, आञ्जधन्वि, औडुलोमि ॥

१०९७ । सुधातुरकङ् च । ४ । १ । ९७ ॥

आदिञ् । सुधातुरस्य सौधातकि ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालविम्बाना चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1097 The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the च्च of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix

Thus सुधातुरस्यञ् = सौधातकि 'the descendant of Sudhâtri'

Vārt —The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास वरुड निषाद, चण्डाल and विम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added Thus वैयासकि, वारुडकि । नैषादकि, चाण्डालकि, वैम्बकि ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sūtra

१०९८ । न खाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच् । ७ । ३ । ३ ॥

पदान्ताभ्या अकारवकागभ्या परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्या पूर्वौ क्रमादेशावागमौ स्त वैयासकि । वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ्, ए् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in श् or च्,

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि "the son of Kunja" Here इञ् is added by IV 1 95 S 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant

११०१। नडादिभ्य फक् । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नाडायन । चारायण । अनन्तरो नाडि ॥

1101 The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड् and the rest

Thus नाडायन (नड् + फक् = नाड + आयन VII 2 118 S 1076 and VII 1 2 S 475) Similarly चारायण 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara' But the son of नड् will be नाडि (IV 1 95)

The word शलकु is changed to शलक before this affix Thus शालकायन ॥ The word शालकि occurs in पैलादि class II 4 59, S 1084 The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालकि is a common name for 'father' and 'son' It takes इञ् by IV 1 96, S 1096 as belonging to Bahvādī class which is an Aṅga-gāṇa The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e.g. अग्निशर्मायण = वार्षगण्य, otherwise the form will be अग्निशर्म ॥ The word कृष्ण will form काष्ण्यायन when a Brāhmaṇa is meant, otherwise कार्ष्णि, so also राण्यायन = वासिष्ठ, otherwise राणि ॥ The word क्रौष्टु is changed to क्रोट् as क्रौष्टायन ॥

1 नड्, 2 चर (वर) 3 बक, 4 भुज 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 समक, 10 शलकु शलङ्क च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक, 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 कारय 29 कात्थ 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिशु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार 37 क्रौष्टु क्रोट् च, 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग 40 सप्तम्भ, 41 शिशपा, 42 अश्व, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस 46 सुमत 47 मिमत, 48 ऋक्, 49 जलधर, 50 अश्वर 51 युगधर, 52 ईसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पियड, 56 पचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बंदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अन्न, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जतू, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजन, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्यरा, 81 अशक, 82 थाम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

११०२। हरितादिभ्योऽञ् ४ । १ । १०० ॥

भ्योऽन्तेभ्यो धुनि फक् । हरितायन । इह गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्याद्यून्ययम् । नहि गोत्रादपरो गोत्रप्रत्यय । विदाद्यन्तर्गण्यो हरितादि ॥

1102 The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c when they end in the affix अञ् (IV 1 104)

The words हरित &c form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV 1 104 S 1106 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारिव (हरित + अञ्) ॥ The son of हारिव will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV 1 95 Thus हरित + फक् = हारितायन "the son of Hārita or the great grandson of Hārita" In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes, because according to the general rule IV 1 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan affix

११०३ । यमिओञ्च । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यमिओ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनातीत्युक्तेरापत्यस्येति बलोपो न । गार्गायण । दाक्षायण ॥

1103 The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गग + यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) = गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्यायण " दत्त + इञ् = दाक्षि, दाक्षि + फक् = दाक्षायण ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक् but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV 3 10 S 1380 to denote proximity to a sea As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वीप्य ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV 2 80 S 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतगन् &c, the force of the affix being चातुरधिक ॥ Thus सौतगन् ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । शरद्वच्छुनकदभार्द्रिगुवत्साप्रायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । अमिओरपवाद । आयौ बिदादी । शरद्वत्तायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शरद्वतोऽन्य । शौनकायनो वात्स्यश्चेत् । शौनकोऽन्य । दाक्षायण आमायणश्चेत् । दाक्षिरन्य ॥

1104 The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'śaradvat', śunaka' and

‘darbhā’, when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Āgrāyana respectively

The first two words शरद्वत् and शुनक belong to बिदादि class, and therefore would by IV 1 104 S 1106 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead. This debars the affixes अञ् and इञ् ॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here

Thus शारदातायन = भार्गव otherwise शारद्वत् (formed by अञ्) शौनकायन = वात्स्य, otherwise शौनक, दार्भायण = आमायण otherwise हर्षि, formed by इञ् (IV 1 95)

११०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजिवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फग् वा । द्रौण्यायन । द्रौणि । पार्वतायन । पार्वति । जैवन्तायन । जैवन्ति । अनादिदिह द्रौण । अश्वत्थाम्यनन्तरे तूपचारात् ॥

1105 The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words ‘Drona,’ ‘Paivata,’ and ‘Jivanta’

This debars इञ् of IV 1 95. Thus द्रौण्यायन or द्रौणि, पार्वतायन or पार्वति, जैवन्तायन or जैवन्ति ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Drona, called द्रौण्यायन and not द्रौणि in the phrase “अश्वत्थामा द्रौण्यायनः” ? The द्रौण here does not refer to the Drona of the Mahabharāt, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रौण्यायना ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Draunāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनृत्यान्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

एभ्योऽञ् गोत्रे ये त्ववानृषयस्तेभ्य अनन्तरे । छत्रे स्वार्थे ष्यञ् । बिदस्य गोत्रापत्ये वैदः । अनन्तरो वैदि । बाह्वादेराकृतिगणत्वादिञ् । पुत्रस्यापत्य पौत्र । दौहित्र ॥

1106 The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant

The word *anantarya* in the sūtra is formed by the affix *अन्त्य* without changing the sense. In fact *अनन्तर्* is equal to *अनन्तर* 'an immediate descendant'. Thus the Gotra descendant of Bida will be *बैदि*, but the immediate descendant will be *बैदि* formed by *इम्* of IV 1 96 S 1096, as it belongs to *Bāhvādi* class which is an *Akṛitigana*. Similarly the son of a son (putra) will be *पौत्र* ॥ So also *दौहित्र* ॥

Note —This Sūtra consists of four words *अनृषि* "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage", *अनन्तर्ये* 'in expressing an immediate descendant' *बिदादिभ्य* "after Bidādi words" *अम्* "the affix *अम्*". Thus of the words falling in Bidādi class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दुहितृ daughter,' नानाद् 'sister in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix *अम्* is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अम् = पौत्र 'grand son' दुहितृ + अम् = दौहित्र "daughter's son". But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix *अम्* makes the Gotra descendants. Thus बिद + अम् = बैदि 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of Bida'.

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase *अनन्तर्ये* should be thus construed. The word 'anrishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word *अनन्तर्य* is the same as *अनन्तर*, the affix *अम्* being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पौत्र &c denote the immediate (*anantara*) descendants of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (*gotra*), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means —'after a Bidādi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'an' is added in denoting an immediate descendant'.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus बिद forms *बैदि* 'a descendant of Bida' by IV 1 96 S 1096 *इम्* and not by *कृष्यन्* of IV 1 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the *Akṛitigana* of *Bāhvādi*.

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किदर्भ), 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋषिबेण (ऋषिबेण), 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्वध्व, 13 मियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्), 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शनिक, 25 अश्वत्थान, 26 श्यामक, 27 श्यामक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 द्यापय्य, 30 हरित, 31 किदास, 32 बहस्क, 33 अर्कजुष (अर्कजुक), 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर), 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 शुडाकु, 46 सुपाकु, 47 शुदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्द, 52 परस्त्री परशु च। 53 किलातप, 54 सम्बक् श्यामक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix यञ् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्य=पारशव (the son of a Brahman begotten on a Sudra woman, who though married to the Brahman is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race)

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकादि (VII 3 20 S 1438) and कल्याणयादि (IV 1 126 S 1131) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैयेय with double vridhi of both members by VII 3 20 S 1438, which does not take place in the पारशव ॥

११०७ । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्यं । वात्स्य ॥

1107 The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c

Thus गार्ग्यं, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्य &c

गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजासे, 4 सस्कृति, 5 अञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदधत्, 8 प्राचिनयोग, 9 अर्गास्त, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शख, 15 शद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवद, 20 मन, 21 धनञ्जय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण, 25 लोहित, 26 शसित, 27 बभ्र, 28 वल्यु, 29 मयडु, 30 गयडु, 31 शकु, 32 लियु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मक्षु, 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीशु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनाथी, 41 सतु, 42 कथक, 43 कन्यक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 ततु, 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तयड, 50 वतयड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 धृत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति, 60 कयव, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुशिडनी, 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्यवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित, 69 वृषगण, 70 रङ्गगण, 71 शशिडल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 74 कुङ्गल, 75 कुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जातूकर्ण, (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मज्जित, 81 अशमरथ, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पूतिमाष, 94 स्युरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 नितिच, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिषणज, 94 भडित, 95 भण्डित, 96 दल्ल, 97 चेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 विष्मल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलेहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटीशु, 108 सहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्थु, 111 श्रुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रुक्ष, 114 प्रचुल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

Note —The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ष् after यञ् in the feminine by IV 1 18, S 476, how then the form मानवी

in मानवी प्रजा? The affix यञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्य which is a name of Parasūram the son of Jamadagni or why Vyāsa the son of Parāśara is called पाराशर्य? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोप i.e. by superimposing of Gotra form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by क्यञ् (IV 1 114 § 1117) i.e. जामदग्न्य and पाराशर्य. In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies —

११०८। यञञोश्च । २। ४। ६४ ॥

गोत्रे यद्यञस्तमञ्त च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक्स्यात्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गर्गा । वत्सा । विदा । ऊर्वा । तत्कृते इति किम् । प्रियगार्ग्या । स्त्रिया तु गार्ग्य स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वैप्या । औत्सा । प्रवराच्यायप्रसिद्धनिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । पौत्रा । दौहित्रा ॥

1108 And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) and अञ् (IV 1 104 S 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine

गर्ग+यञ्=गार्ग्य, plural गर्गा 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga'. So also वत्सा 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa', the singular being, वात्स्य ॥ Similarly, विद+अञ्=वेद (IV 1 104 S 1106), plural विदा, similarly और्व singular, ऊर्वा plural

Why do we say tat krite bahutve when the plural is of that word alone? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrīhi compound. Thus, प्रियगार्ग्या 'those to whom Gārgya is beloved,' प्रियवेदा 'those to whom Baida is beloved' Here the Plural is not of the word Gārgya, but of those who love Gārgya

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine. Thus, गार्ग्य is the feminine plural of गर्गी ॥

Why do we say "when these denote Gotra descendants"? Otherwise there will be no elision. Thus द्वीप+यञ्=द्वैप्या 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्या, here the affix यञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra. So उत्स+अञ्=औत्स 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्सा ॥ Here the Gotra is taken in the sense of a founder of a class, Pravara, i.e. what is read in pravara list and is not a Grammatical Gotra. Hence this अञ् is not elided in पौत्रा, दौहित्रा ॥

११०९ । मधुवस्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयो । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मण । माधवोऽन्य । बाभ्रव्य । कौशिकऋषि । बाभ्रवोऽन्य ।
बभ्रवश्चैव भार्गवादिषाडग्निसङ्घे नियमार्थमिदम् । भार्गवादिषाडफल तु लोहितादिकार्यार्थम् । बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

1109 The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु, when the words so formed mean 'a Brâhmana' and 'a Kauśika' respectively

Thus माधव्य = ब्राह्मण 'Brâhmana' Otherwise माधव "son of Madhu"
बाभ्रव्य = कौशिक Rishi Otherwise बाभ्रव ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâṛī class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sūtra also The present sūtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz बभ्रु takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted Its being read in the Gargâṛī class serves another purpose as it belongs to the sub class लोहितादि, the rule IV 1 18 S 476 becomes applicable to it, so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ ॥ Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

Note —In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Ganapâtha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra

१११० । कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् स्यात् । काप्य । बोध्य । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कापेय । बौधि ॥

1110 The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्य 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras' So also बौध्य ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेय (IV 1 122 S 1125) 'the gotra descendant of Kapi' so also बौधि formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvaḍī (IV 1 96 S 1096) class

Note —The word कपि occurs in Gargâḍī class The present sūtra declares a restriction i e the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant It is included in the Gargâḍī class also for the purpose of applying IV 1 18 S 476 Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi"

११११ । वतण्डाच्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातण्ड्य । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गगादौ शिवादौ च पाठाद्यङ्गणौ । वातण्ड्य
वातण्ड ॥

1111 The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a
Gotia descendant after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a
descendant, of Anguasa

Thus वातण्ड्य = आङ्गिरस , otherwise वातण्ड ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV 1 105 S 1107)
and in the Sivādi class (IV 1 112 S 1115) It would have taken both affixes
यञ् and अण् ॥ The present sutra declares that when it means an Aṅgīrasa
than वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class and when it does not mean
Anguasa, then it takes both those affixes e g वातण्ड्य and वातण्ड any
decendant of Vātandā

१११२ । लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतण्डाच्चोति विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । शाङ्गिरवादित्वात् ङीन् । वतण्डी । आनाङ्गिरसे
तु वातण्ड्यायनी । लोहितादित्वात् ष्फ । अणि तु वातण्डी । ऋषित्वाद्भक्ष्यमाण व्यङ् न ॥

1112 'The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine
after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant
of Angirasa

Thus from वतण्ड we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine As the word
belongs to Śaraṅgaravādi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV 1 73

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन्
(IV 1 73 S 527) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vātandā of the clan
Angirasa" Why do we say "of Angirasa?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed
with 'shpha' under lohītādi rule (IV 1 18 S 476) When वतण्ड takes
अण् under Sivādi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed
with अङ्, yet in the feminine, there is not व्यङ् substitution (IV 1 78 S
1198), because Vātandā is a Rishi-Name

१११३ । अश्वादिभ्य फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । अश्वायन ॥ पुंसि जाते * ॥ पुसीति त्वं प्रकृतिवर्षणम् । जातस्य गोत्रापत्य
जातायन । पुसीति किम् । जाताया अपत्य जातेय ॥

1113 The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a
Gotia descendant, after the words अश्व &c

The anuvritti of āngirasa does not extend to this phorism. Thus
अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + श्रायन (VII 1 2 S 475) = आश्वायन (VII 2 17 S 1075)
'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Asva'

Note — Similarly आशमायन ॥ There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e.g. आश्वेय, वैल्य, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yavan affix. The word आश्वेय is formed by अश्वि + ढक् (IV 1 1 122 S 112), वैल्य = विलि (ः R 1 1 11) + ञ्यङ् (IV 1 171 S 1189), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV 1 10 S 1107). The word शय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, i.e. शायायन otherwise शायि, with इञ् or शाय with अण् ॥

Vārtika — The word जान takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted as जातस्थापत्य = जातायन but जानाया अपत्य = जातेय with ढक् ॥

The word आश्वेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhāradvāja ॥ आश्वेयायन, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II 4 28, S 3, 99 leaving the form आश्वेय ॥

The words भारद्वाज आश्वय or the above list mean that when a person born in Atreya Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायन, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाज with अञ् of IV 1 104

1 अश्व 2 अश्वम् 3 शख 4 शङ्खक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर)
9 खण्डजार 10 वस्त 11 पित्रूल 12 भण्डिल 13 भडिल 14 भण्डित 15 भडित 16
प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 चान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलाक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट
25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम 33
वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आश्वेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 मीष्म 41
अई 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 अपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्य
50 (वैल्य) प्राच्य 51 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुति जाते 54 अर्जुन 55 सुमनस् 56 दुर्मनस्
58 नम 59 (मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आश्वेय भारद्वाजे 62 भारद्वाज आश्वेये 63 उत्स 64
आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिद्ध 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 मीवा
73 कुल 74 काण 75 नड 76 वीक्ष्य 77 वह 78 खेड 79 नत्त 80 ओजस,
81 नम ॥

१११४ । भर्गाञ्जैर्गते । ४ । १ । १११ ॥

गोत्रे फञ् । भार्गयिणञ्जैर्गते । भार्गिरत्य ॥

1114 The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traiṇaita

Thus भार्गवण = वैगर्त , otherwise भार्गि (IV 1 95 S 1095)

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । शिवस्यापत्यं शैव । गाङ्ग । पञ्चे तिकादित्वान् फिम् । गाङ्गायानि ।
सुभ्रादित्वाद्ढक् । गाङ्गेय ॥

1115 The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c

The anuvritti of the word गोत्रे (IV 1 98 S 1099) does not extend this sutra The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes The affix अण् debars इम् &c Thus शिव+अण्=शैव 'a descendant of Śiva'

Note —The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इण् by IV 1 153, the present sutra prevents that It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV 1 152 S 1176 Thus तक्षन्+अण्=ताक्षण ॥ तक्षन्+ण्य=ताक्षण्य ॥ The अ is elided by VI 4 134

The word गगा occurs in this class, as well as in the Śubhrādi class (IV 1 123 S 1126) and the Tikādi (IV 1 154 S 1178) There are thus three forms of this word —गाग , गागायानि with फिम् and गागेय with ढक् ॥

The word विषाशा occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjādi class (IV 1 98 S 1099) It has thus two forms वैषाश and वैषाशायन्य with chphañ

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river the affix ढक् (IV 1 121 S 1124) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV 1 113 S 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names However it is not so, because of this prohibition The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV 1 113 S 1116), as त्रैवेण but this is replaced by त्रिवण ।

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुगर 9 ककुम्
(ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्बान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 सधि 14 हुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कडोड
17 कोहड 18 कह्य 19 कहय 20 रोध 21 कापिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खजन 23 वतण्ड
24 वृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरहृद 26 जलहृद 27 परिल 28 पविक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका
32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मजीरक 37 38 मजिरक 39
वृष्णिक 40 खजार 41 खजाल 42 कमार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विभ्रवर्ण 47
रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तच्चाक 54 नभाक
55 ऊर्जनाभ 56 जरत्कार 57 पृथा 58 उच्छेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका

62 आर्यधेत (अर्यधेत) 63 सुषिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खट्वरक
 68 तक्षत्र 69 ऋषिषणे 70 गगां 71 विषाक्ष 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 दुह्य 75 अय स्थूण
 76 वृणकर्ण (वृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी
 83 अचो नद्या 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक 87 कबोध 88
 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६ । अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्य । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अवृद्धेभ्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । ठकोऽपवाद । यामुन । नामद । चिन्तिताया अपत्य
 चैन्तित । भावृद्धेभ्य किम् । वासवदत्तय । नदीत्यादि किम् । वैन्तेय । तन्नामिकाभ्य किम् । शोभनाया
 अपत्य शौभनेय ॥

1116 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vriddham words, and when they are used as names and not as adjectives

ऽक (IV 1 120 S 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases. The present sutra is an exception to that

Note —The word Vriddham in the sutra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sutures like IV 1 166, S 1092 but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i.e. a word whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (1 1 73 S 523). The word अवृद्धाभ्य shows the orthography of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदीमानुषीभ्य declares the meaning of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base i.e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river. The word तन्नामिकाभ्य applies both to the base and the affix

Thus यमुना—यामुन 'a son of the Yamunā' नर्मद 'son of the Narmadā'. These are all names of rivers. Similar चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word'? Observe वासवदत्तय formed by ऽक (IV 1 120 S 1123). Why do we say being 'names of rivers or women'. Observe वैन्तेय ॥ Why do we say "when it is a name?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्य = शौभनेय "the son of a beautiful woman"

१११७ । ऋण्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

मृषयो मन्त्रद्वार । वासिष्ठ । वैश्वामित्र । अन्धकेभ्य, आफल्क । वृष्णिभ्य वासुदेव । अनिरुद्ध । शौरिरिति तु बाह्वादिवादिम् । कुरुभ्य, नाकुल । साहदेव । इम एवायमपवादो मध्येपवाद न्यायात् । अत्रिशब्दास्तु परत्वाद्दृक् । आनेय ।

1117 The affix **अण्** comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru

This debars the affix **इश्** ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishtha, Visvāmītra &c Thus **वासिष्ठ वैश्वामित्र** ॥ So also **आफल्क**, **रान्धस** being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, and **वासुदेव**, **आनिरुद्ध** being persons belonging to the family of Vrishni The word **क्षौरि** however, is formed by **इश्** because it belongs to Bāhvādi class And **नाकुल**, **साहदेव** being persons belonging to the family of Kuru

This sūtra debars **इश्** only, on the maxim **मध्येऽपवाद** ॥ The word **अत्रि** is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins **अण्**, but IV 1 122 S 1125 enjoins **ढक्**, thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I 4 2 So that the Patronymic of **अत्रि** will be formed not by **अण्** but by **ढक्** ॥ Thus **आत्रेय** ॥

Similarly **उग्रसेन** a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic **औग्रसेन्य** IV 1 152 by **ण्य**, and not by **अण्**, so also **वैश्वक्सेन्य** 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vrishni family, so also **भैमसेन्य** 'son of Bhīmasena' a person of Kuru family

१११८ । मातुस्तस्यासभद्रपूर्वाया । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

सख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेशः स्यादप्रत्ययश्च । द्वैमातुर । सामातुर । पाण्मातुर । भाद्रमातुर । आदेशार्थं वचनं, प्रत्ययस्तुतसर्गणं सिद्धं । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽप्यपक्षः । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । सख्येति किम् । सौमात्र । शुभादित्वद्वैमात्रेय ॥

1118 The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word **mātri** when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words **सम्** or **भद्र**, and the letter **उ** is substituted for the final **ऋ** of **mātri**,

Thus from **द्विमातृ** we have **द्वैमातुर** "the son of two mothers i.e. the son of one and adopted by another" (**द्विमातृ** + **अण्** = **द्वैमातृ** + **उ** + **अ** = **द्वैमातृ** + **उ** + **इ** + **अ** I 1 51 S 70) Similarly **पाण्मातुर**, **सामातुर** and **भाद्रमातुर** ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short **उ** for the **ऋ** of **मातृ** for the word **मातृ** would have taken the affix **अण्** by the general rule IV 1 83 S 1073 The sūtra contains the word **पूर्वाया** in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word **मातृ** denotes a female

Thus समिमीते = समाम् 'he who measures together' Its patronymic will be सामात्र 'son of a fellow-measurer', because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c" Observe सौमात्र 'son of Sumatṛi' The word वैमात्रेय is formed by IV 1 123 S 1126 as belonging to Subhrādi class

१११९। कन्याया कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

ढकोऽपवादोऽण् तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनादेशश्च । कानीनो व्यास कर्णश्च । अमृताया एवा-
पत्यनित्यर्थः ॥

1119 The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyā'

Thus कन्याया अपत्य = कानीन 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyāsa This debars the ढक् of IV 1 121

Note — The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् या पुत्रयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्व जहाति, यया कुन्ती, यया सत्यवती ॥

११२०। विकर्णशुक्लच्छगलाद्रत्सभरद्राजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपत्येऽण् । वैकर्णो वात्स्य । वैकर्णिरय । शौक्लो भारद्वाज । शौक्लिरय । छागल अभिय । छागलिरय । केचित्तु शुक्लेत्याबन्त पठन्ति तेषा ढक् प्रत्युदाहरणम् । शौक्लेय ॥

1120 The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुक्ल, and छागल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Ati respectively

Thus वैकर्ण = वात्स otherwise वैकर्णि ॥ शौक्ल = भारद्वाज, otherwise शौक्लि ॥ छागल = अभिय, otherwise छागलि ॥

In some texts the word शुगा ending with the feminine affix आप् is used and not शुग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शाङ्गेय, by IV 1 120 S 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाज ॥

११२१। पीलाया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तन्नामिकाण बाधित्वा द्वाचइति ढकि प्राप्ते पत्तेऽण् विधीयत । पीलाया अपत्य पैल । पैलेय ॥

1121 The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by IV 1 113 S 1116, but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV 1 121 S 1124 as it is a disyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पैल or पैलेय 'son of Pīla'

११२२ । ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

चादण् । पक्षे इम् । माण्डूकेय । माण्डूक । माण्डूकि ॥

1122 The affix ढक् comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डूक + ढक् = माण्डूकेय, मण्डूक + अण् = माण्डूक, मण्डूक + इम् = माण्डूकि (IV 1 95)

११२३ । स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक स्यात् । वनेतेय । बाह्वादिस्वात्सौमित्रि । शिवादिस्वात्सापन्न ॥

1123 The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes दाप् &c,' That is, words ending in long अ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ढक् = वनेतेय (IV 1 2 S 183). So also सापण्येय "the son of Viratā or Suparnā". But the son of सुमित्रा will be सौमित्रि as it belongs to Bāhvādī class (IV 1 96 S 1096). Similarly the son of सपत्नि will be सापन्न as it belongs to Śivādī class (IV 1 112 S 1115-)

But ऐडबिड and दारद formed by अण् meaning sons of इडबिड and दरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not end in feminine affixes

The affix ढक् comes after षड्वा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus बाडवेय = वृष "bull". Here 'dhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be बाडव 'the son of a mare'

The feminine words कुञ्जा and कौकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्च "the son of a curlew" कौकिला 'the son of a cuckoo'

११२४ । झञ्च । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥

झञ्च स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादप्य ढक । तन्नामिकाणोऽपवाद । दात्तेय । पार्थ इत्यञ्च तु तस्मैदमित्यण् ॥

1124 The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels

This debars the अण् of IV 1 113 S 1116

Thus दत्ताया अपत्य = दत्तेय 'the son of Dattā' But the son of पृथा is however, पार्थ by अण् of IV 3 120 S 1500

Note —Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe यासुने "son of यमुना", which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic

११२५। इतश्चानिञ्। ४। १। १२२॥

इकारान्ताद् व्यचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विञ्जन्तात्। दौलेय। नैधेय॥

1125 The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvritti of 'strî' does not extend to this aphorism The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvritti of the word द्व्यच of the last sūtra Thus दौलेय 'the son of Duli' नैधेय 'the son of निधि' ॥

Note —Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षि "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Note —Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायण 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a disyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095), so also प्लाक्षायण ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीच 'son of मरीचि' ॥

११२६। शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १२३॥

ढक् स्यात्। शुभ्रस्यापत्य शौभ्रेय॥

1126 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्य = शौभ्रेय ॥

Note —This debars इञ् and other affixes The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक् as it is an

आकृतिगण ॥ For though the words गगा पाडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गगनेय, पाण्डवेय &c

1 शुभ्र 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलायल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभू, 7 लेखाभू, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशु, 13 शालूक 14 अजवस्ति 15 शकाधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक्र 19 विश 20 देवता 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र 24 ज्ञातल (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्ड 27 विलि 28 अतिथि 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्ड, 32 शाताहर 33 पवष्टुरिक 34 सुनामन् 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्नासिष्ठे । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 मृकण्ड, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदत्त 49 सुवत्स, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्र, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुवारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशिन 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदष्टिन्, (अनुदष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलिवर्दिन्, 71 वेम, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अशमन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शतावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मयष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकशु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कष्ट 88 मृकण्ड, 89 रुद 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥ The word Pravahana (59) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sutra 1129 in forming its derivative

११२७ । विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे । ४ । १ । १२४ ।

अपैत्ये ढक् । वैकरणेय । कौषीतकथ । अन्यो वैकर्णि । कौषीतकि ॥

1127 The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kâśyapa

Thus वैकरणेय and कौषीतकेय = काश्यप, otherwise we have वैकर्णि and कौषितकि formed by IV 1 95

११२८ । भ्रुवो वुक् च । ४ । १ । १२५ ॥

चाङ्ढक् । भ्रौवेय ॥

1128 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied

Thus भ्रू + ढक् = भ्रू + वृक् + ढक् (I 1 46 § 36) = भ्रूर् + ढक् = भ्रौवेय. (VII 1 2)

११२६ । प्रवाहणस्य ढे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्यान्नादेशेचो वृद्धिः, पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ढे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं प्रवाहणेयम् । प्रवाहणेयम् ॥

1129 Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of प्रवाहण, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (1 e प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेयम् or प्रवाहणेयम् ॥

Note —The affix ढक् IV 1 123 S 1126 is added, here Similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्यास्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्य (VI 3 39 masculation prohibited) Or we may translate the sūtra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vriddhi", and omit the rest. The masculation will still be prohibited by VI 3 41, S 842 (जाते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य च । ७ । ३ । २९ ॥

ढान्तस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्यादेशेचो वृद्धिः, पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं प्रवाहणेयम् । प्रवाहणेयम् ॥ बाह्यतद्धितनिमित्ता वृद्धिर्वाश्रयेण विकल्पेन बाधितुं न शक्यते इति सूत्रारम्भः ॥

1130 Even in a new derivative from प्रवाहणेय itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicator य्, ण् or क्, there is vriddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्यं = प्रवाहणेयम् or प्रवाहणेयम्, ॥ In other words, the external vriddhi might have been caused by इय् is not able to supersede the internal optional vriddhi dependent upon ढ ॥ Hence a separate sūtra

११३१ । कल्याणयादीनामिन्ङ् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

एवामिन्ङादेशः स्यात् ढक् च । काल्याणिनेय । बान्धकिनेय ॥

1131 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix

Note —In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ् for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV 1 120 S 1123 But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ढक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिनेय 'the son of Kalyāṇi'
So also बान्धकिनेय ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुसृष्टि (अनुसृष्टि)
7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी 9 ज्येष्ठा 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२ । कुलटाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मान्न विकल्प्यते ढक् तु नित्य पूर्वैर्यैव । कौलदिनेय । कौलदेय । सती भिक्षुक्यत्र
कुलटा । या तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यदति तस्या क्षुद्राभ्यो वेति पक्षे ढक् । कौलदेर ॥

1132 The affix ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलटा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix

The word कुलटा has another meaning also of a nun Literally it means one who wanders (अवति, from one family (कुल) to another i. e. "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman" This sutra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलटा would have always taken ढक् by the general rule IV 1 120 S 1123 Thus कुलटा + ढक् = कुलटिन् + ढक् = कौलदिनेय, or कौलदेय 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar' This word कुलटा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV 1 131 S 1137 Thus कौलदेर ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलदेर and कौलदेय and never कौलदिनेय ॥

Note — See Amarakosha II 6 26

११३३ । हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

हृदोद्यन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरचानादेरचो वृद्धिर्मिति यिति . किति च । सहृदोऽपत्य सौहार्द
सुभगायाऽपत्य सौभागिनेय । सक्तुप्रधाना सिन्धव सक्तुसिन्धव । तेषु भव साक्तुसिन्धव ॥

1133 The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicator ण्, ज् or क् ॥

As सहृदोऽपत्य = सौहार्दम्, सौभागिनेय (= सुभगाया अपत्य), ॥

Note — The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyāṇa class (IV 1 126 S 113) and the affix ढक् and इनङ् augment are added सुभग also occurs in Udgātri class (V 1 129) That word, however, does not get the Vriddhi in the second member, as मृते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धव (=सक्तुप्रधाना सिन्धव) we have साक्तुसैन्धव (=सक्तुसिन्धु भव) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhādi class, and सैन्धव is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder

The words सुहृद् and दुहृद् are anomalously formed by V 4, 150
The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or an ocean'

११३४ । चटकाया ऐरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपारिभाषया स्त्रिया अपि । चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्य चाटकैर ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुक्त्वन्त्य * ॥ तयोरेव स्य्यपत्य चटका । अजादित्वाद्वाप् ॥

1134 The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the Patronymic

Thus चाटकैर 'son of Chatakā'

Vart —It should be rather stated that the word चटक (masc) takes the affix ऐरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chataka, it would be extended to the feminine chatakā also, by the maxim lingavishishta &c Thus चाटकैर 'son of Chataka'

Vart —In forming a descendant denoting a female there is *luk* elision of the affix Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the दाप् being added, as it belongs to the Ajadi class IV 1 4,

११३५ । गोधया दक् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

गोधेर । शुभ्रादित्वात्पत्ये दक् । गोधेय ॥

1135 The affix 'दक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + दक् = गोधेर ॥

Of the affix 'dhrak,' the letter ह् is replaced by एच् (VII 1 2 S 475), क् causes Vriddhi (VII 2 118 S 1076) and makes the udatta accent fall on the final (VI 1 165 S 3712) Thus the real affix is एश्चर, but the च् is elided by VI 1 66 S 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śubhrādi class IV 1 123, S 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'dhak' as well Thus गोधेय ॥

११३६ । आरगुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गोधार । रकासिद्धे आकारोच्चारणमन्यतो विधानार्थम् । जडस्थापत्य आहार । पण्डस्थापत्य पाण्डार ॥

1136 The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गंधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians

Thus गंधार ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गंधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गंधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as जाडार, पाण्डार ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only

११३७ । क्षुद्राभ्यो वा । ४ । १ । १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीना शीलहीनाश्च क्षुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा ढक् । पत्ने ढक् । काणेर् । काण्येय । दासेर् । दासेय ॥

1137 'The affix ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects

The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. The anuvṛtti of ढक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. This sūtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेर् 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काण्येय, दासेर् or दासेय 'son of a female slave'

११३८ । पितृष्वसुहृण् । ४ । १ । १३२ ॥

अयोपवाद । पितृष्वस्रीय ॥

1138 'The affix 'हृण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + हृण् = पितृष्वस्रीय, 'the son of the father's sister' The ह्र affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९ । ढकि लोपः । ४ । १ । १३३ ॥

पितृष्वसृरन्यलोप स्याद्ढकि । अत एव ज्ञापकात् ढक् । पितृष्वसेय ॥

1139 The final vowel of 'पितृ-वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added

Thus पितृवसु + ढक् = पितृवसेय ॥ This sūtra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृवसु takes the affix 'dhak' also

११४० । मातृवसुश्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृवसुर्धुक्क तस्यापि स्यात् । मातृवसीय । मातृवसेय ॥

1140 So also, after the word 'मातृ-वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics

Whatever has been taught in the sūtras IV I, 132, 133 S 1138, 1139 above, as regards pitṛisvasi, apply to मातृवसु also As मातृवसीय or मातृवसेय 'the son of a mother's sister'

११४१ । चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds

This debarb अण् &c Thus कमण्डलु + ढक् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra

११४२ । ढे लोपोऽकट्वा । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कट्वभिन्नस्योवर्णान्तस्य स्य लोप स्यात् ढे परे । कामण्डलेय । कमण्डलुशब्दश्चतुष्पाज्जाति-विशेषे ॥

1142 The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix ण्य (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kadīū'

Thus कामण्डलेय, but काट्वेयो मन्त्रमपश्य ॥ Here the word कमण्डलु means a certain quadruped

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो ढक् स्यात् । अण्डकोरपवाद । गार्हपत्य । मित्रयोरपत्यम् । कृष्यणि प्राप्ते ढक् ॥

1143 The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'गृष्टि' &c

This debars अण् and ढक् &c Thus गार्ह्येय, हार्ह्येय ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last sūtra. The present sūtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विभि, 6 कुट्टि, 7 अजवस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ॥

The word मित्रयु also belongs to this class and takes ढञ् instead of अण् of R̥ṣhi (IV 1 113 S 1116) Thus मित्रयोरपत्यम् = मित्रयु + ढञ् ॥ Now the following sūtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of मित्रयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरिय । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषा यकारादेरिय आदेशः स्यात् । अति प्लुत किति च तद्धिते परे । इति इयादेशे प्राप्ते ॥

1144 When a Taddhita affix with an indicative अ, ए or क follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As केकय (= केकयस्यापत्य), with the affix अञ् (IV 1 168 S 1168) similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with डुञ् (V 1 134 S 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sūtra V 1 134 S 1799 means a R̥ṣhi name for in ordinary parlance the name of a R̥ṣhi is called Gotra. Similarly प्रलयेयम् (= प्रलयादागत) ॥ As प्रलयेयमुदक ॥

Thus मित्रयु + ढञ् = मैत्र + इय् + एय ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेय, which is wrong. Hence the following sūtra

११४५ । दारिडनायन हास्तिनायनाथवोरुक् जैह्वाशिनेय वाशिनायनि औणहत्य धैवत्य सारवैश्वक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ६ । १७५ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति युलोप । मैत्रेय । मैत्रेयौ ॥

1145 The following are irregularly formed, 1 Dāndināyana, 2 Hāstināyana, 3 Âthavānika, 4 Jaihmâsineya 5 Vâsināyana 6 Bhāunahatya, 7 Dhaivatya, 8 Sâlava, 9 Aikshvâka, 10 Maitreya and 11 Huanmaya

Note — These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दारिडनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class. The affix is फक् (IV 2 91 S 1310). If they do not belong to that class the affix is added irregularly दण्डिनोऽपत्य =

दाण्डिनाथन &c The final इन् is not elided (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantādi class (IV 2 63 S 1273) The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan He who studies that work is called Atharvanika the final is not elided before the इक् affix (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशित्र् and वासित्र् are Jāhmasineya and Vāsināvanī, the former with the affix ढक् of the Subh rādi class (IV 1 123 S 1126) and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV 1 107 S 1181 The finals of the stems are not dropped (6 and 7) These are derived from धूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix व्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भूणहन्तो भाव, धीवन्तो भाव ॥ इन् takes त before affixes having an indicator ण् or ञ् by VII 3 32 S 2074 it might be said त would be added to धूणहन् before व्यञ् by that rule That rule is however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes That rule does not apply to cases like धौणष्ठी वार्चन ॥ The त in Bhiannhatya is therefore an irregularity (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरयवा भव, = सारवमुदक ॥ (9) The son of ईश्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV 1 168 S 1186), the final उ is elided, or ईश्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भव = ऐकाक with अण् (IV 2 132 S 1356) Accent on the first or the final The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐकाक and the other ऐश्वार्क, the sutra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sutra gives ऐश्वार्क without any accent (eka-sūti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुति स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishtyādi class IV 1-136, S 1143 and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु + एय, Here VI 4 146 S 84 requires Guna, but VI 4 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of ड, but VII 3 2, S 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI 4 148, S 311 before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI 4 22 S 2183, however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI 1 97 S 191, the single substitute being the form of the subsequent The dual is मैत्रेयौ ॥ The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयव (the plural of मित्रयु), as it belongs of Yaskādi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sūtra

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII 3 2 S 1144 It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidādi class (IV 1 104 S 1106), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII 3 2 S 1144) + अ = मैत्रेय ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskādi class (II 4 63 S 1146) for then by II 4 63, S 1146 अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयव in the plural So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ् affix, as proposed, then the सव derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV 3 127, S 1507 and not with डुञ् under IV 8 126 S 1506, but

we require लुम्, as मैत्रेयक सच ॥ (11) हिरण्मेय from हिरण्य with मयद् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकार = हिरण्मय ॥

११४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यस्य लुक् स्यात्तत्कृते बहुल्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । मित्रयव ॥

1146 After the words यस्क &c there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word takes the plural, but not in the feminine

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयव ॥

Note — यस्क + अण् = यास्क, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson In the plural, the affix is elided and the form यस्का, 'the descendants of Yaska'

यस्कादयः ॥

1 यस्क ॥ 2 लङ् ॥ 3 द्रुह्य ॥ 4 अयस्थूण ॥ 5 अय स्थूण ॥ 6 वृणक्त्यर्थ ॥ 7 सदा मत्त ॥ 8 कम्बलहार ॥ 9 बहिर्योग ॥ 10 कर्णाटक ॥ 12 पिण्डि अङ्घ्र ॥ 13 वकसत्य ॥ 14 वकसव्य ॥ 15 विभ्रि ॥ 16 कुद्रि ॥ 17 अजवस्ति ॥ 18 मित्रयु ॥ 19 रक्षोमुख ॥ 20 अङ्गारय ॥ 21 उत्कास ॥ 22 कटुक ॥ 23 मयक ॥ 24 सन्यक ॥ 25 पुष्करद् ॥ 26 पुष्करसद् ॥ 27 विषपुड ॥ 28 उपरिमेखल ॥ 29 क्रोष्टुकमान ॥ 30 क्रोष्टुमान ॥ 31 क्रोष्टुपाद ॥ 32 क्रोष्टुमाय ॥ 33 शीर्षमाय ॥ 34 श्वरप ॥ 35 पदक ॥ 36 वयुक ॥ 37 भलन्वन ॥ 38 भण्डिल ॥ 39 भण्डिल ॥ 40, भडित ॥ 41 भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्टगोतमाङ्गिरोऽयश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तत्कृते बहुल्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । अत्रय । भृगव । कुत्सा । वसिष्ठा । गोतमा । अङ्गिरस ॥

1147 And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix when the word takes the plural but not in the feminine

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि + टक IV I 122 S 1125) the descendant of अत्रि is अत्रय the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular भार्गव, plural भृगव, singular कौत्स, plural कुत्स, so, वसिष्ठा, गोतमा, अङ्गिरस ॥

In all these the affix has been elided. Thus वृगु + अण् = भार्गव 'the descendant of Bhrigu'. Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes इङ् and अण् are elided, not in any other number, so we have in singular अत्रेय भार्गव dual अत्रेयौ, भार्गवौ, plural अत्रेय, वृगव &c

Note —But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural. Thus प्रियात्रेया or प्रियभार्गवा ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided. Thus —अत्रेयस्त्रिय ॥

११४८ । बहुच इज प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

बहुच, परो य इज् प्राच्यगोत्रे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पन्नागारा । युधिष्ठिरा ॥

1148 There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इज् (IV I 95 S 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural

The plural of पन्नागारि is पन्नागार, there being elision of इङ्, so also मयरेषणा plural of मान्यरेषणि, so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरि is युधिष्ठिरा 'the descendants of Yudhishtira'

Note —But वैत्रि and पौष्पि not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैत्रय and पौष्पय ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prāchyas and Bhāratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided. Thus बालाक्य plural of बालाकि हस्तिनास्य plural of हस्तिनासि ॥

Though the Bhāratas are Prāchyas its specification here is to indicate that, wherever Prāchyas will be used, it will not include Bhāratas as in V 4 60 S 2131. Here the Yuvan affix of Bhāratas will not be elided. Thus आर्जुनि father, आर्जुनायन son

११४९ । न गोपवनोदिश्य । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

इभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । विदोद्यन्तर्गणोऽयम् । गोपवना । दौमित्रा ॥

1149 After the words गोपवन, &c, there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural

This prevents the application of II 4 64 S 1108 Thus गोपवन+अम्=गोपवन्, plural गोपवन्ता, singular गोपव, plural गोपवन्ता ॥ The गोपवन &c, belong to Bidādi class *vide* IV 1 104 S 1106 and are the following —गोपवन शिशु बिन्दु भजन् अश्व, अवतान श्यामक and आपर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c, should not be taken in this sub-class In the case of हरित &c, the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II 4 64 S 1108 Thus हरिता किंदासा &c

११५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुव्ये लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्य फिञ् तस्य लुक् । तिककितवा ॥

1150 After the words तिक-कितव &c when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural

Thus तिक+फिञ्=तैकायनि (IV 1 154 S 1178) Its plural is तैकायनय । तैकायनय + कैतवायनय = तिककितवा ॥ There is elision of फिञ् ॥

So also बाखरि plural बाखरय (IV 1 95 S 1095)+भण्डीरय = बंखरभण्डीरय there is elision of इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095) The following is a list of such compounds

1 तिककितवा 2 वङ्खरभण्डीरया 3 उपकलमका (औपकायना + लामकायना, IV 1 99 S 1101 elision of फक्) 4 पफकनरका (पाफकय + नारकय IV 1 95, elision of इञ्) 5 वकनखयुदपरिणद्धा, 6 उब्जककुभा (औब्जय IV 1 95 S 1095 + काकुभा IV 1 112, S 1115 then the elision of इञ् and अण्) 7, लङ्कशान्तशुखा (the elision of इञ् IV 1 95 as in 4) 8 उत्तरसलङ्कदा or उरसलङ्कदा (औरसायन IV 1 154 + लामकय IV 1 95 S 1095 elision of फिञ् and इञ् ॥ 9 भट्टक कपिल्ला (elision of इञ् as in 4) 10 कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दरा (elision of इञ्) 11 अग्निवेश-हासेरका (अग्निवेश IV 1 105 S 1107 + हासेरकय IV 1 95, S 1095 elision of both यञ् and इञ्) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुव्ये लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे चाद्वन्द्वे च । औपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नडादिभ्य फक् तस्य लुक् । उपकलमका । औपकायनालामकायना । आष्टककपिल्ला । आष्टकिकापिल्लय । उपका । औपका । लमका । लामकायना ॥

1151 After the words उपक &c there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika kitavādi of the last sūtra. According to the Kāshikā the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional. As, उपकलमका, or औपकायन-लामकायना ॥ भ्राटककपिष्ठला, or भ्राटकि कापिष्ठलय ॥ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दरा ॥ But the plurals of औपकायन, the Gotra derivative of उपक (IV I 99 S 1101) is उपका or औपका (or औपकायना) of लामकायन is लमका or 'लामकायना, of भ्राटकि is भ्राटका or भ्राटकय or भ्राटकायना ॥ The plural of कापिष्ठलि is कपिष्ठला or कापिष्ठलय ॥ The plural of काष्ण्योजिन is कृष्णार्जिना, or काष्ण्यार्जिनय ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दर is कृष्णसुन्दरा or काष्ण्यसुन्दरय ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone. They are as follow —

- 1 पण्डारक ॥ 2 अण्डारक ॥ 3 गडुक ॥ 4 सुपर्यक् ॥ 5 सुपिष्ट ॥ 6 मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7 खारीजड ॥ 8 शलावल ॥ 9 पतञ्जल ॥ 10 कठेरणि ॥ 11 कुपीतक ॥ 12 काशकृत्स्न ॥ 13 निराघ ॥ 14 कलशीकण्ठ ॥ 15 क्षमकण्ठ ॥ 16 कृष्णपिगल ॥ 17 कर्णाक ॥ 18 पर्णक ॥ 19 जटिलक ॥ 20 वधिरक ॥ 21 जन्तुक ॥ 22 अनुलोम ॥ 23 अर्द्धपिगलक ॥ 24 प्रतिलाम ॥ 25 प्रतान ॥ 26 अनभिहित ॥ 27 चूडारक ॥ 28 उवङ्क ॥ 29 सुधायुक ॥ 30 अबन्धक ॥ 31 पदञ्जल ॥ 32 अनुपद ॥ 33 अपजग्ध ॥ 34 कमक ॥ 35 लेखाध ॥ 36 कमन्दक ॥ 37 पिञ्चल ॥ 38 मसूरकर्ण ॥ 39 मदाघ ॥ 40 कदामत्त ॥ 41 क्षमकण्ठ ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् । २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्याऽणो यञ्श्च बहुषु लुक् स्याद्वशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य वधासखन-
गस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावदेवौ स्त । अगस्त्य । कुण्डिना ॥

1152 There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural, and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision.

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्त्य (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्य is कुण्डिना ॥ The affix अण् (IV I 114 S 1117) after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV I 105 S 1105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided.

११५३ । राजश्वशुराद्यत् । ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राज्ञो जातावेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥

1153 The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debarb अण् and इञ् respectively

Vārt —In the case of राजन् the affix यत् would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jāti) Thus राजन् + यत् ॥ Now applies the following sūtra which prevents the elision of अन् before यत् ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणो । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यावौ तद्धिते परे अन् प्रकृत्या स्यान्न तु भावकर्मणो । राजन्य । श्वशुर्य । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्राणां
बुत्पन्नो राजन् ॥

1154 The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one

Thus राजन्य (IV 1 168 S 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class' This is the special meaning of the word, it does not mean 'the son of a Rājā' So also श्वशुर्य 'son of the father-in-law'

As the word Jāti is used in the vārtika under IV 1 137 S 1153 a son born of a Śūdrā wife by a Kshatriya will be राजन् ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्प्रकृत्या स्यादिति द्विषो न । अभावकर्मणो किम् । राज्ञ् कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155 The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise

As सामान्, वेमन्, सौत्वन, जैत्वन, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन and जित्वन् ॥

Thus सामन्तु साधु = सामान्य, ब्राह्मण्य ॥

Why have we used the words 'when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation' in the sūtra VI 4 168 S 1154 ? Observe राज्यम् meaning the 'royalty,' the state of being a king or the avocation But राज्ञो भाव कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to the Purohitādī class and takes यक् (V 1 128)

११५६ । सयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्मकृत्या स्यादणि परे । चक्रिणोऽपत्य चाक्रिण ॥

1156 The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण् when a conjunct consonant precedes it

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्य = चाक्रिण ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्यऽवर्मण । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्मकृत्या न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसाम । मपूर्व किम् । सौत्वन । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृतश्चर्मणो रथ । अवर्मण किम् । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्य चाक्रवर्मण ॥

वा हितनाम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ हितनामोऽपत्य हैतनाम । हैतनामन ॥

1157 In a stem in अन् with a preceding म्, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus भाद्रसाम from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म्' ? Observe सौत्वन, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic' ? Observe चर्मणा परिवृतो रथ = चर्मण, the अन् not being changed by VI 4 167 S 1155 Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन्' ? Observe चक्रवर्मणाऽपत्य = चाक्रवर्मण ॥

Var. — Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनामोऽपत्य = हैतनाम or हैतनामन ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्य । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यने अनपत्येऽणि । ब्राह्म इति । ततोऽजातौ । अनपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणष्टिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्य ब्राह्मण । अनपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी औषधि ॥

1158 ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jāti'

This sūtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्म, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Patronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it. Thus ब्राह्म इति ॥ (2) अजातौ but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jāti, for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्य = ब्राह्मण 'a Brahman'. When jāti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided. As ब्राह्मी औषधि ॥ ब्राह्मोऽहत्त ब्राह्म स्यालीपाक ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste' ? Observe ब्राह्मोनारद Nārada the son of Brahman'

११५६ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अणि विलोपो निपात्यते । औक्ष पत्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । उक्ष्योऽपत्यम् ॥

1159 From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant

As औक्षपत्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant? Observe औक्ष्य = उक्ष्योऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided by VI 4 135 S 1160 as given below

११६० । अपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

अपूर्वो योऽन् तस्य हनारेश्च भव्यातो लोपोऽणि । औक्ष्य । ताक्ष्य । भौण्य । धृतराज्ञाऽपत्य धार्तराज्ञ । अपूर्वोति किम् । सामन । अणि किम् । ताक्ष्य ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन् the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्ष्य, ताक्ष्य, भौण्य, धार्तराज्ञ ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामन and वैमन from सामन् and विमन् formed with the affix अण्, here neither the अ of मन् nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI 4 167 S 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far

Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्ष्य formed by the affix ण्य under IV 1 152 S 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan

११६१ । क्षत्राद्य । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

क्षत्रिय । जातानित्येव । क्षत्रिय ॥

1161 The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattra

Thus क्षत्रिय 'a Kshatriya' This is also a class name The son of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रि ॥

Note —The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes क्षाप and क्षमप् (I 1 22)

११६२ । कुलात्क्ष । ४ । १ । १३९ ॥

कुलीन । तन्तासपि । उत्तरसूत्रेऽपूर्वपराक्षितिलिङ्गात् । भाष्यकुलीन ॥

1162 The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'

Thus कुलीन ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sūtra it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'dhakafi' That indicates by implication that the present sūtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also Thus आन्यकुलीन ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यङ्ङकञौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादित्येव । पक्षे ख । कुल्य । कौलेयक । कुलीन । पदग्रहण किम् । बहुकुल्य । बाहुकुलेयक । बहुकुलीन ॥

1163 The affixes 'यत्' and 'ङ्ङकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I 4 14)

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound Thus कुल्य, कौलेयक ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also Thus कुलीन ॥ The word कुल्य has udātta on the first syllable (VI 1 213)

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I 4 14 S 29 The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V 3 68 S 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes Thus बहुकुल्य, बाहुकुलेयक and बहुकुलीन ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादञ्सञौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवर्तते । पक्षे ख । माहाकुल । माहाकुलीन । महाकुलीन ॥

1164 The affixes 'अञ्' and 'सञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahākula'

The word anyataisyām 'optionally' of the preceding sūtra is understood here also So we have ख also in the other alternative

Thus माहाकुल, माहाकुलीन and महाकुलीन ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV 1 139 S 1162

११६५ । दुष्कुलाद्ढक् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

प्रथमपक्षे ख । दौष्कुलेय । दुष्कुलीन ॥

1165 The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula'

Thus दौष्टुलेय ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ण also Thus दुष्कुलीन ॥

०१६६ । स्वसुशुः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्रीय ॥

1166 The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars ञ ॥ Thus स्वस्रीय 'the sister's son'

११६७ । भ्रातृव्यञ्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

चाच्छ । अणोऽपवाद । भ्रातृव्य । भ्रात्रीय ॥

1167 The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well This debars ञ ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्य or भ्रात्रीय 'the brother's son' The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svaṭa

११६८ । व्यन्स्वपत्ने । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातृव्यन् स्यादपत्ये प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायेन शत्रौ वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्य शत्रु । पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणेति वृषचासत् ॥

1168 The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy

The word सपत्न means 'enemy' The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् s in accent (VI 1 185 and VI 1 197) Thus भ्रातृव्य शत्रु nephew who is an enemy पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy" Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhratrivyā means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning According to Kāśnikā, this bhātrivyā with acute on the first, never means nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple the force of the affix is not that of a patronymic

११६६ । रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169 The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c

This of course debars ठक् &c Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिक 'the son of Revati' So also अश्वपालक (VII 3 50 S 1170) The ठ is replaced by इक by the next sūtra

1 रेवती 2 अश्वपाली 3 मणिपाली 4 द्वारपाली 5 वृक्षवज्जिह्व 6 वृक्षवक्षु,
7 वृक्षमाह 8 कण्ठमाह, 9 वण्डमाह 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरमाह,

११७० । ठस्येक । ७ । ३ । १५० ॥

अङ्गात्परस्य ठस्येकादेशः स्यात् । रैवतिक ॥

1170 For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिक 'the son of Revati'

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रिया कुम्भने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

मोत्र या स्त्री तद्वाचकाच्छब्दवान् णट्कौ स्त कुम्भायाम् । सामर्थ्याद्युनि । गार्ग्या अपत्य
गामो गार्गिको वा जातम् ॥ भस्याडे तद्धिते इति पुनश्चावाङ्मास्यश्चक्ष्णट्कौ । यस्येति श्लोप ।
आपत्यस्येति यलोप ॥

1171 And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant

By the force of the word ण in the sūtra, we get the affix ठक् also When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy, hence such an epithet is a कुम्भा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet' Thus गार्गी is a female gotra descendant Her son will be called गार्ग, as गार्ग जातम् ॥ By the vārtika भस्याडे &c (VI 3 35 S 836), there is masculinisation, and so the affixes ण and ठक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sūtra VI 4 148 S 311 the ण of गार्ग्य is elided Then by VI 4 151 S 1082, the ण is elided Thus we get the form गार्ग ॥ So also गार्गिक ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायन and ग्लौचुकायनिक ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix

Note —Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant' Observe कारिकेयो जात्म (formed by ठक् IV 1 120 S 1123) Why 'do we say female descendant? Observe औपगविर्जात्म ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माखवक् which is to be explained 'as गार्ग्या अपत्य पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहारेण्यल-
क्षणाद्येय प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाठक् सौवीरषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

सुवीरदेशोक्तवा सौवीरा । वृद्धास्तौवीरगोत्राद्युनि बहुल ठक् स्यात् कुत्सायाम् । भागवित्तेर्भा-
गवित्तिक् । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायन ॥

1172 When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras

Thus भागवित्तिक् 'the son of Bhâgavittî' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) as भागवित्तायन, ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायन only

११७३ । फेइछ च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

फिञ्जन्तास्तौवीरगोत्रापत्ये छ ठक् च कुत्सने गम्ये । यमुन्दास्यापत्य यामुन्दायनि । तिकावित्त्वात् फिञ् । तस्यापत्य यामुन्दायनीय । यामुन्दायनिक । कुत्सने किञ् । यामुन्दायनि । औत्सर्गिकस्याप्ये-
ष्यत्तन्निधेति लुक् । सौवीरेति किञ् । तैकायनि ॥

1173 When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra

Thus the son of यमुन्दा will be यामुन्दायनि formed by the affix फिञ् (IV 1 154 S 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikâdi class The son of Yâmundâyanî will be either यामुन्दायनीय or यामुन्दायनिक ॥

Why do we say 'contempt'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनि will be यामुन्दायनी ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनी + ० (II 4 58 S 1276) = यामुन्दायनी ॥

So also when persons of Sauvîra country are not meant, छ is not added Thus तैकायनि ॥

Note —The फे of the sūtra refers to फिञ् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vriddham', the anuvṛtti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to a Kārikā, three फिञ्न्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra, viz यमुन्द्, सुयामा and वाष्वायनि ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshāyani

११७४ । फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौविरेषु । नेह यथासख्यम् । अल्पाक्षरस्य परनिपाताङ्गिणादिति वृत्तिकार । भाष्ये तु यथासख्यमेवेति स्थितम् । फाण्डाहृत । फाण्डाहृतायनि । नैमत । नैमतायनि ॥

1174 The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvīra country, after the words Phāntāhṛita and Mīmata

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvira is understood here also The rule of I 3 10 S 128 does not apply For according to Kāśikā the reason is this "By the rule of composition in II 2 34, S 905 the word निमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत, ought to have been placed first Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I 3 10 S 128 does not apply here So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively" But according to the Mahābhāṣya The rule I 3 10 S 128 applies, and ण and फिञ् are added respectively Thus फाण्डाहृत or फाण्डाहृतायनि, नैमत or नैमतायनि ॥

Note —When not denoting Sauvira Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायन and नैमतायन (by फक् ॥ See IV 1 101 S 1103 and IV 1 99 S 1101) The word निमत belongs to the Nadadi class (IV I 99)

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणा । वावद्व्या ॥ साम्राज क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्य । साम्राजोऽन्य ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य, ॥ So also नाग्य ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV 1 172 S 1190 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present sūtra and sūtra IV 1 172 S 1190, but the difference in these two words is this The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV 1 172, S 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV 1 172 S 1190 is a Tadrāja affix (see II 4 62 S 1193), but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural As कौरव्या ब्राह्मणा ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikādi class (IV 1, 154 S 1178), and it takes as such the affix फिञ् ॥ As कौरव्यायनि ॥ So also वावद्व्या ॥

Note —The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakāra. Rathakāra is a caste a little lower than the twice born. See Yajnyavalkya Smṛiti, V 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ण्य not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

Note :—The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्य. There will not be punvadbhava as required by VI 3 34 S 83 &c. For had there been punvadbhava, then by भ्रूयदे तद्धिते all Bha bases will become punvad before a taddhita affix except ह. Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = केशिन्य + ण्य. At this stage rule VI 1 144 S 1059 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have केश् + ण्य = केश्य. But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

Note —The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore the form वेन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

Note —The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvādi class, a subdivision of Gargādi (IV 1 105 S 1107). Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य will be formed by the affix भण् (IV 2 111 S 1332). As वामरथ्य + भण् = वामरथ (VI 4 151 S 1082). The plural will be वामरथा (II 4 65 S 1147). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV 1 16 S 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV 1 17 S 478). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायन (IV 1 101 S 1108). So also it will take झण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV 3 127 S 1507) as वामरथ्यानि. But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvādi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udatta on the first syllable (VI 1 197 S 3686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by यञ्, that is, it will have udatta on the last syllable.

Vārt —The word सम्राज् takes the affix ण्य when denoting a Kshatriya. Thus साम्राज्य, otherwise साम्राज, ||

1 कुटु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग K), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक K), 5 रथकार, 6 वावदूक, 7 सम्राज क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति K), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्), 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रजाजी, (इन्द्रजालि K), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 हानोष्णीभि, 18 गणकारि, 19 केशोरि, 20 कुटु, 21 शलाका (शालाका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक K), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 भञ्ज, 27 र्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शृण्णाय, 31 द्यावनाय, 32 द्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडभीकार, 36 पथिकार*, 37 मुट, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्क, 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्ह, 44 हत्, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी K), 47 वामरथस्व कण्वादिबन्धवर्जम् || (18 a Vārtika) 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्काण्डक, 51 वातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिहार ||

११७६ । सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

एभ्यो ण्य । एति सज्ञायामिति सस्य ष । हारिषेण्य । लक्षण्य । कार शिल्पी तस्मात्
तान्तुवाय्य । कौम्भकार्य । नापित्य ॥

1176 The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c Thus हारिषेण्य (स is changed to ष by VIII 3, 99 S 1023) लक्षण्य तान्तुवाय्य, कौम्भकार्य नापित्य ॥

११७७ । उद्दीचामिञ् । ४ । १ । १५३ ॥

हारिषेणि । लक्षणि । तान्तुवायि । कौम्भकारि । नापितात् परत्वात् फिञ् । नापिताय
नि ॥ तक्ष्णोऽय उपसङ्गानम् ॥ तक्ष्ण । पक्षे ताक्ष्ण्य ॥

1177 According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans

Thus हारिषेणि, लक्षणि, तान्तुवायि कौम्भकारि ॥ The word नापित् being a Vriddha, non gotra word, will take फिञ् under IV 1 157 S 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायान् ॥

Vārtika —The affix अण् comes after तक्ष्ण carpenter' (IV 1 112 S 1115 and VI 4 65 S 1160) Thus it will have तक्ष्ण or ताक्ष्ण्य but will not take इञ् ॥

११७८ । तिकादिभ्य' फिञ् । ४ । १ । १५४ ॥

तैकार्यानि ॥

1178 The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c

Thus तैकार्यानि, ॥

The word वृष occurs in this class In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्ष्यायणि ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya because it is immediately preceded by the word औरव=उरसा सेते=उरश क्षत्रिय, his son will be aurasa with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV 1 168 S 1186), But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV 1 150 S 1174

Vart —The pronouns 'tyad &c' optionally take the affix **फिम्** ॥
Thus त्यादायनि or त्याद, यादायनि or याद, तादायनि or ताद ॥

११८१ । उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

आम्रागुप्तायनि । प्राचा तु । आम्रागुप्ति । वृद्धात्किम् । दात्ति । अगोत्रात्किम् । औपगवि ॥

1181 According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vṛddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant

Thus आम्रागुप्तायनि "son of आम्रागुप्त", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आम्रागुप्ति ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दात्ति 'son of दत्त' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगवि ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

अपत्ये फिम् वा । वाकिनस्यापत्यं वाकिनकायनि । वाकिनि ॥

1182 The augment **क्** (Kuk) is added to the words Vākina &c when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows

Thus वाकिनकायनि ॥ This debars इम् &c But if the anuvṛtti of वदीचा is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule In that case we have in the alternative —वाकिनि ॥

1 वाकिन 2 गौधेर (गारेष्ठ K) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K) 4 आक, 5 लङ्का,
6 चर्मिर्वर्मिलापत्र ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ११९ ॥

अस्माद्वा फिम् सिद्धस्तस्मिन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकाययि । गार्गी-
पुत्राययि । गार्गीपुत्रि ॥

1183 The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pūtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows

Note —The anuvṛtti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sūtra Of course a word ending in पुक् cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant Hence a word ending in पुक् having Vriddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिम् by IV 1 157 S 1181, the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कृक optionally

Thus we have three forms — गार्गीपुत्रकायणि or गार्गीपुत्रायणि or गार्गीपुत्रि ॥

११८४ । प्राचा।मवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनि ॥

1184 According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vriddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant

Thus ग्लुचुकायनि or ग्लौचुकि 'son of Gluchuka'

Note —Why do we say, "not having a Vriddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्ति ॥ The words प्राचा, बहुल and अन्यतस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed Why two are used in this sūtra viz प्राचा and बहुल? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बहुल is used to express the non-uniformity of sūtra construction In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as शक्ति, प्लाक्षि ॥

११८५ । मनोजातावज्यतौषुक च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

समुदायार्थो जाति । मानुष । मनुष्य ॥

1185 The affixes अञ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment पुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jāti)

Thus मनु+पुक्+अञ्=मानुष "a man or man kind", So also मनुष्य formed with यत् ॥

Note —These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषा "men" When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानव 'son of Manu', as in मानवीप्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, where न is changed into ण denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदक्षत्रिययोर्वाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दायिडनायनेति सूत्रे गोपातनाहिलाप । ऐश्वर्यकौ ।
ऐश्वर्यकौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्वाजमाचक्षाणस्तद्वाज इत्यन्वयस्तत्तात्पर्य-
मर्थान् । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चाल ॥ पूरुरण् वक्तव्य * ॥ पौरव ॥ पाण्डोर्दण् * ॥ पाण्डव ॥

1186 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descen-
dant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses
also a tribe of Kshatriyas

Thus ऐश्वर्यक, dual ऐश्वर्यकौ, plural इश्वर्यकव are Kshatriyas who live in
that country The final ड of इश्वर्यक is elided before this affix अञ् and we get
the form ऐश्वर्यक because this anomalous form is so shown in VI A 174
S 1145

Note —Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not
of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the
accent Thus द्वौह्य 'the son of Dīhiya', पौरव 'the son of Pūru' Why do we
say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्थापत्य = पाञ्चालि,
(IV 1 95 S 1095) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana', so also वैदेहि ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the
progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to
denote the king there of Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चाल 'the king of the
Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas' So also वैदेहि,
'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'

Vart —Let the affix अण् come after पूरु ॥ Thus पौरव ॥ "The king
of the Pūrus" The word pūru is not the name of a country The form
would have been evolved by Pragdivyatiya अण्, the present vartika is made
in order to give it a tadāja designation

Vart —The affix 'ḍyan' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is
the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe Thus पाण्डव, otherwise
it will be पाण्ड ॥ See IV 1 74

Note —The words Pañchāla &c originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes
only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes,
because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by
IV 2 81 S 1293 Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe
as well as the country called Pañchāla It will make practically little difference
to consider words like Pañchāla &c as original (not derivative) name of countries
as well as of Kshatriyas In fact, Panini himself considers them in the same light
in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own
sūtra IV 2 81 S, 1293 These words when denoting a country are always in the
plural, as पञ्चाला, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular

११८७ । साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६६ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽञ् । वृद्धेदिति व्यङ्गोऽपवाद । साल्वेय । गान्धार । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ।

1187 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhârî'

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV 1 171 S 1189 they having a Vṛddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyan', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेय 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धार 'the son of Gândhârî or the king of Gândhârî?' The vârtika under sūtra IV 1 168 S 1186 given above applies here also, i.e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

११८८ । अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादया । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अङ्गोऽपवाद । अङ्ग । अङ्ग । वाङ्ग । सौङ्ग । मागध । कालिङ्ग । सौरमस । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1188 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आङ्ग, वाङ्ग, सौङ्ग, मागध, कालिङ्ग, and सौरमस 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजानि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c

११८९ । वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ज्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

वृद्धात् । आम्बुद्ध्य । सौवीर्य । इत् । आवन्त्य । कौसल्य । अजादस्यापत्य आजाद्य ॥

1189 The affix 'ज्यञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vṛddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛddha words, आम्बुद्ध्य, सौवीर्य 'the sons or kings of Ambaśthā and Sauvīra' Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्य 'the sons or kings of Avanti' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्य and अजाद्य, which are neither Vṛddha nor end in short इ ॥

११६० । कुरुनादिभ्य रय । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्य । नैषध्य । स नैषधस्यार्थपतेरित्यादौ तु बौधिकोऽङ् ॥

1190 The affix रय comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also

This debars 'an' and 'añ' Thus कौरव्य, नैषध्य 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha' The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note —How do you explain the form नैषधोर्हति नैषधम्? This is an ārchas or Vedic form How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपते सुताया? This is a poetic license, or the षप् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika an of IV 2 92 S 1312

११६१ । साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्य । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जनपदस्तदवयवा उदुम्बरादयस्तेभ्य प्रत्यग्रथादिभ्यस्त्रिभ्यश्च इष् । अमोऽपवादः । औदुम्बरि । प्रात्यमयि । कालकूटि । आशमकि ॥ राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1191 The affix इष् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva, and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūta', and 'Āśmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेय (IV 1 121 S 1124) formed by ढक्, also साल्व formed by अष् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्व which is the name of a country

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakārāḥ, Yugandharāḥ Bhulingāḥ, and Śaradandāḥ The patronymic from these will be औदुम्बरि, तैलखलि माद्रकारि, यौगन्धरि, भौलिङ्गि and शारदाण्डि ॥ So also the affix 'णि' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c As प्रात्यमयि, कालकूटि and आशमकि ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of' As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahābhāṣya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍa, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसि, आजमीडि and आजकन्दि ॥

११६२ । ते तद्राजा । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अमादय एतत्सज्ञा ह्यु ॥

1192 These (viz the affixes अङ् IV 1 168 S 1186 &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note —The affixes treated of in these six affixes 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV I 168 S 1186, for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan See II 4 62 S 1193 The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms

११६३ । तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् । २ । ४ । ६२ ॥

बहुष्वर्येषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्तदयकृते बहुत्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । इक्ष्वाकव । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कथं तर्हि कौरव्या पञ्चव । तस्यामेव रघो पाण्ड्या इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्ड्ये च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रघूणामन्वय वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभि कथञ्चिदिति तु रघुयदुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षणया ॥

1193 There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV I 174 S 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the tadrāja-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine

आङ्ग = अङ्ग + अण् (IV I 170 S 1188) 'a prince of Aṅga', plural अङ्गा 'the princes of Aṅga' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛidhi vanishes with it too (I I 63 S 263) but आङ्गस्य 'the princesses of Aṅga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Aṅga' But मित्रवर्गस्य he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural मित्रवर्गा 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision

Thus इक्ष्वाकव the princes of Ikshvāku tribe, plural of ऐक्ष्वाक, the तद्राज affix अङ् (IV I 168 S 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चाला (plural of पाञ्चाल) the princes of the Pañchalās

Why are the tadrāja affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्य and पाण्ड्य in the following phrases — "कौरव्या पञ्चव" ॥ "तस्यामेव रघो पाण्ड्या" ॥

The affix व after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the tadrāja affix व, but the तत्रसाधु (IV 4 98 S 1650) affix यत् ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्य or पाण्ड्ये च साधव = कौरव्या or पाण्ड्या ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatya affixes added to them can never get the designation of tadrāja, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in 'रघूणामन्वय वक्ष्ये' ॥ "निरुध्यमाना यदुभि कथञ्चित्" ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been राघवाणा and यद्वै ? Ans Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु ॥ So the words have taken no apatya affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural

११९४ । कम्बोजाल्लुक । ४ । १ । १७५ ॥

अस्मात्तद्वाजस्य लुक । कम्बाज । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ चोल । शक । अजलक्षणस्याणो लुक । केरल । यवन । अत्रो लुक । कम्बोजा समरे इति पाठ सुगम । दीयादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थः । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणमादित्यण् ॥

1194 After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrāja affix

Namely, the affix लुक् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual Thus कम्बोज 'The king of Kamboja' कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas"

Vārt —It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after Chola' &c Thus चोल 'the king of the Cholas' Here as well as in शक the अण (IV 1 121 S 1124) that comes after a disyllabic word is elided So also शक, करल, यवन ॥ The elision in the last two is of अज् ॥ "कम्बाजा समरे" is a better reading than कम्बोजा समरे ॥ If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that कम्बोजा is formed by अण of the sūtra IV 3 93 S 1473 in the sense of 'whose native land is Kamboja', and as it is not a Tadrāja, it is not elided in the plural

११९५ । स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १७६ ॥

तद्वाजस्य लुक स्यात् । अवन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरु ॥

1195 In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrāja is elided after the words Avanti, Kuntī and Kuru

That is to say the affix 'nyañ' (IV 1 171 S 1189) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kuntī', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female Thus अवन्ती कुन्ती and कुरु 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kuntī or Kuru' The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV 1 66 S 521

Note —Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्य, कौरव्य and कौन्त्य ॥

११९६ । अतश्च । ४ । १ । १७७ ॥

तद्वाजस्याकारस्य स्त्रिया लुक स्यात् । शरसेनी । मन्त्री । कथं मन्त्रीभूताविति । इत्थ एव पाठ इति हरदत्त । भर्गादित्थ वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196 In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrāja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided,

Thus *m* शौरसेन *f* शूरसेनी, *m* माद्र, *f* मद्नी ॥

The word *मद्र* of the *sūtra* should not be construed by the rule of *tadanta vidhi* (I I 72 S 26) If so construed it will mean "a *Tadrāja* affix ending in *अ* is elided" There have been taught five *Tadrāja* affixes, namely 'अ (अ)', 'अन् (अ)', 'न्यान् (अ)' 'न्या (अ)' and 'न (इ)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in *अ*, therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine But this is not the meaning of the author, for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous *sūtra*, for then the present *sūtra* would have covered the case of 'Avanā', 'Kuntī', and 'Kuru' But the very fact of this *sūtra* IV 1 176 S 1195 indicates by *ज्ञापक*, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here Therefore the feminine of *आम्बुद्वय* is *आम्बुद्वया*, of *सौवीर्य* is *सौवीर्या* ॥

How do you explain the form *मद्नी* in *मद्नीसुतो*? According to Haradatta it is wrong, the proper form is *मद्नीसुतो* ॥ Or the form *मद्नीसुतो* is valid under the *Bhargādi* class (IV I 178 S 1197) and so the *Tadrāja* affix is not elided

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्य १४ । १ । १७८ ॥

एभ्यस्तद्राजस्य न लुक् । प्राच्याली । वैदर्भी । आग्नी । वाङ्मी । नागधी । एते प्राच्या । भार्गी । कौकेयी । केकयीत्यत्र तु जन्यजनकभावलक्षणे पुत्रोणे ङीष् । युधा । युक्ता । आभ्या द्व्यश्च इति ङक् । तत स्वार्थे पश्चादियौधेयादिभ्योऽगमावित्यम् । भार्गवरवायम् इति ङीष् । अतश्चेति लुकि तु ङगन्तत्वात् ङीप्पुञ्जनिर्गुणित्त्वर स्यात् । यौधेयां शौकेयी ॥

1197 The *Tadarāja* affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c

This *sūtra* debar the elision of the *Tadrāja* affix *अ* (required by the last *sūtra*) Thus *प्राच्याली* *वैदर्भी* *आग्नी* *वाङ्मी*, *नागधी* these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the *Sarasvatī* river Similarly of *भर्ग* &c Thus *भार्गी*, *कारुणा* *कौकेयी* ॥ The form *केकयी* without *vriddhi* is formed by the feminine affix *ङा* added to *केकय* with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter So also of *यौधेय* &c Thus *यौधेयी*, *शौकेयी* and *शौकेयी* ॥ The forms are thus derived To *युधा* and *युक्ता* is added the affix *ङक्* because they are dissyllabic words (IV I 121 S 1124) Then is added to them *अम्* without change of signification, by V 3 117 S 2070 This *अम्* is a *Tadrāja* affix by virtue of V 3 119 S 2072 Thus we get *यौधेय* and *शौकेय* ॥ Their feminine is formed by *ङीप्* as they end in the affix *अम्* ॥ (IV I 73 S. 527) Now had we elided the affix *अम्* (V 3 117 S 2070) which is a *Tadrāja*, by the last *sūtra* IV I 178 S 1196, the words would have been *ङक्* ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in *ङीप्* which being *anudatta* would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udatta by VI 1 161 S 3651 and so ङीप् would become udatta and the feminines would be final acute. But it is desired that the final should not be udatta. Hence अम् is not elided. Thus we have दौधेयी and दौक्केयी with udatta on the initial as formed by ङीप् (VI 1 197 S 3686), and not दौधेयी and दौक्केयी ॥

The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhrāja (V 3 112 to 119). The word दौधेय is formed by such an affix (V 3 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV 1 177 S 1196 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V 3 112 to 119 S 2066 &c. Thus the Tadrāja affix अण् in (V 3 117) added to पशुं &c. is elided in the feminine e.g. m पार्श्व- f पशु m बाहुर f अहुरी- &c.

1 भर्ग, 2 ककुष (ककुष K) 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 दुस्थाल, 7 वरस् (वरस and वरस K) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 दौधेय, 2 दौक्केय, 3 दौक्केय, 4 द्यावाणेय (द्यावाणेय K), 5 धौतैय (धौतैय K) 6 जिनर्त, 7 भरत, 8 वशीनर ॥ K 9 धौतैय ॥

११६८ । अणिओरनार्थयोगुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

अणादीनामन्यसुत्तम तस्य समीपसुपोत्तमम् । गोत्रे यावणिओ विहितावनार्थो तदन्तयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्रातिपदिकयोः स्त्रिय प्यङ्गवेस स्यात् । निर्विशयमाणास्यादेशा भदन्तीत्यणिओरेव । षडावितो । यङ्भाप् । कुसुदगन्धेरपत्य स्त्री कौसुदगन्ध्या । वाराह्या । अनार्थयो किम् । नासिष्टी । वैश्वामित्री । गुरुपोत्तमयो किम् । औपगधी । जातिज्ञत्तणो ङीप् । गोत्रे किम् । अहिच्छन्ने जाता आहिच्छन्नी ॥

1198 Of the affixes अण् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (प्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long आ under IV -1 74 S 528, provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable

Note —The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words (1) अणिओ 'of an and in,' (2) अनार्थयो 'of non rishi,' (3) गुरुपोत्तमयो 'having a heavy vowel as upottama i.e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word uttama meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix tamap, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like शक्ति &c.

Paribhāṣā —Substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule. (See p 117) Therefore the substitute व्यङ् replaces अण् and इम् only

Of the substitute व्यङ् the letter ण् and इम् are indicative, the real affix is य्, the letter य् differentiating this affix from व्यङ् and the letter इ् affording a common hold for both

In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाद् by IV 1 74 S 528 Thus कुसुदगन्धि 'having the smell of the white lotus', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus कुसुदगन्धि + अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) Now we replace this affix by व्यङ् and have कुसुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in Sūtra अतइम् IV 1 75 S 529) as वाराहि gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Note —Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to बिदादि gana, and therefore by IV 1 104 it would take the affix अम् in forming the gotra patronymic this affix अम् is not replaced by व्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV 1 15 S 470), for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non īshi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non īshi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामिनी ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औषगदी which is formed by ङीष् denoting jāti (IV 1 63 S 518) Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahichhatra',

११९९ । गोत्रावयवात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिन्नता कुलाख्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिमो स्त्रिया व्यङ्देशेन स्यात् । अयुरुपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भ । पौष्टिक्या । भौष्टिक्या ॥

1199 After a word denoting a non-principal gōtra, व्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long

The phrase अणिमो of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अयुरुपोत्तम ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i.e. names of kulas or कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक मुणिक सुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list (Bravara adhyāya) भौष्टिक्या and भौष्टिक्या ॥

Note —The word अवयव in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like वैवद्व्या याज्ञद्व्या ॥ These

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the कौट्यादि class of the next aphorism. In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so.

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhāraya sahnāsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्याय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । कौट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

स्त्रिया व्यङ् प्रत्यय स्यात् । अयुरूपोत्तमाथोऽनभिर्मर्यादात्मन् । कौट्या । व्याख्या । सूत युवत्याम् * ॥ सूत्या ॥ भोज क्षत्रिये * ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200 The affix व्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words कौटि and the rest

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix कण् or इम् ॥ In fact व्यङ् is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus कौट्या 'a female krauṭi', So also व्याख्या 'a female vyādi'

1 कौटि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिचलि, 5 आपत्ति, These are formed by इम् (IV 1- 95 S 1095) 6 क्षौपयत्, 7 चेटयत् (वेटयत्), 8 सैकयत् (शैकयत्) 9 वैल्वयत् (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the suffix कण् ॥ 10 सौधानकि ॥ This is formed by इम् with the substitute अकङ् (IV 1 97 S 1097) added to सुधाह् ॥

11 सूतयुवत्याम् *Vārtika* —The word सूत takes व्यङ् when denoting a grown up maiden, as सूत्या, otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by दाप्, or सूती by ङीप् denoting a jāti

12 भोजक्षत्रिये । *Vārtika* —This debarb ङीप् of jāti as भाङ्या, (otherwise दाप् as भोजा भाजयतीति), 13 दौत्तिक, 14 कौटि, 15 भारिकी, 16 भौलिकी, 17 शात्मलि, 18 शाभास्याल, 19 कापिष्ठांल 20 गोकक्ष्य (गौलक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by च of Gargādī class

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुभिकाण्ठविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ ।

१ । ८१ ॥

एभ्यश्चतुर्थ्यं व्यङ्वा । भगोच्चार्यनिद गात्रेऽपि परस्वात्मवर्तते । पक्षे इतो ननुप्याते ङीप् । दैवयज्ञ्या । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201 The affix व्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुभि and कारण्डेविद्धि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इम्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by that sūtra, it would have come

by IV 1 78 but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV 1 87 S 1079. In the alternative when अह् is not added, ह्रीह् will be added by rule IV 1. 65 S. 520.

अथ तद्वित् चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII

THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्त रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रज्यतेऽनेनेति रागः । कषायेण रक्ते वस्त्रं काषायम् । माङ्गिजम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्ते वस्त्रम् ॥

1202 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रज्ज् means to change the white color into another color. That by which a thing is colored is called राग 'color' तेन 'by which', i.e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also माङ्गिजम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्ते वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

Note —In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हरिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्या पादौ" the words काषायौ and हरिद्रौ are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV 2 12 S 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence (IV 1 82 S 1072) as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

१२०३ । लाक्षारोचनाट् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिक । रौचानक ॥ शकलकर्दमाभ्यामुपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ शाकलिक । कार्दमिक । आभ्यामण-पीति वृत्तिकार । शाकल । कार्दम ॥ नील्यां अट् * ॥ नील्या रक्त नीलम् ॥ पीताल्कम् * ॥ पीतकम् ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनान्ध्यामम् * ॥ हरिद्रम् । माहारजनम् ॥

1203 The affix ट् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lākshā, and rochanā, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्त वस्त्र = लाक्षिकम्, so also रौचनीकम्, *Vārtika* — So also after शकल and कर्दम ॥ Thus शाकलिक and कार्दमिक ॥

According to the opinion of the author of Kāśikā the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दम । Thus शाकल and कार्दम ॥

Vārt — The affix अन् comes after नीली as नील्या रक्त = नील वस्त्र ॥ This debars अण् ॥

Vārt — The affix कन् (I 3 8 S 195) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्त = पीतकम् ॥

Vārt — The affix अन् comes after हरिद्रा and महारजन, as हरिद्राम् and महारजनम् ॥

१२०४ । नक्षत्रेण युक्त काल । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येण युक्त पौषमह । पौषी रात्रि ॥

1204 The affix अण् already ordained by IV 1 83 S 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism

Note — A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction

Thus पुष्य + अण् = पौष (VI 4 149, S 499) e g पौषमह and पौषीरात्रि "the night in which the moon is in the Pushya"

Note — Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रि ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमा ॥

१२०५ । लुब्धविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य लुप्स्यात् षष्ठिदण्डात्मकस्य कालस्यावान्तरविशेषश्चेन्न गम्यते । अथ पुष्य । कथं तर्हि पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषीति । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्य इति निर्देशेन पौर्णमास्यामथ लुब् नेति ज्ञापितत्वात् । श्रवणशब्दात् अत एव लुप् युक्तवद्भावाभावश्च । अबाधकान्यापि निपातनानि । आदयो ॥

1205 The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 daṇḍas (24 hours) such as night &c. A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kāla) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing in asterism. To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (aviśeṣha). To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically. This can be done by affixes. Thus अद्य पुष्य to day belongs to the asterism Pushya meaning that to day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya, but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

If the full day of 24 hours, being aviśeṣha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full* moon day? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्या पञ्चमी, &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full* moon day, for then we must say अद्यपौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्या पौर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I 26) by the present sūtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full*-moon in that asterism. This rule we deduce by inference from the sūtra IV 2 23 S 1225, where Pāṇini has exhibited the words Phālgunī, Kārtikī, and Chaitrī without the elision of the case affix.

The words Phālgunī &c there mean "the day in which the full-moon is in the asterism Phālgunā, Kṛttikā, or Chitrā." That sūtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon asterism, see IV 2 21 S 1221.

That sūtra IV 2 23 S 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism श्रवणा there is *lup* elision of the day denoting affix, even where such day is the full moon day. For the full-moon day would have been श्रावणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sūtra shows it as श्रवणा ॥ The word श्रवणा means that Purnamāṣī day when the full moon is in Śravanā. Not only this but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by *lup* after श्रवणा yet the rule I 2 51 S 1294 does not apply. That rule declares that where there is a *lup*-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original. The form ought to have been श्रवण and not श्रवणा had I 2 51 S 1294 applied, as we find मूल and श्रवण in मूलेनावहयेद् देवी श्रवणेन विसृजयेत् see II 3 45 S 642.

The form श्रावणी without *lup* elision is also valid, on the maxim अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipātanās) are also non-determinants: i.e. they do not debar the regular forms." Therefore the irregular श्रवणा

and the regular *श्रावणी* both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in *Śravanā*" are valid

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours. Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism (1) As *पौषीरात्रि* 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya' *पौषमहर्* "the day in which &c" (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also. As *अद्यपुष्य* "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya." In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full. There the affix must be added. As *अद्यपौषी* "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also. In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is *full*. As *पौषो मास* "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya"

१२०६ । सज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम् । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमारम्भ । श्रवणा रात्रि । अश्वत्थो मुहूर्त । सज्ञाया किम् । आदण् । आश्वत्थी ॥

1206 The affix above ordained is elided by *lup*, after the words *Śravanā* and *Aśvattha*, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time

This sūtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or *prahara* &c

Thus *श्रवणा रात्रि*, *अश्वत्थो मुहूर्त* "the night called *Śravanā*, the *Muhūrta* called *Aśvattha*" Why do we say 'when it is a Name or *Sanjñā*?' Observe *श्रावणी* or *आश्वत्थी* ॥

१२०७ । द्वन्द्वच्छ । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नचनद्वन्द्वयुक्ते काले छ स्यात् विशेषे सत्यसति च । तिस्यपुनर्नसवीयमह । राधातुराधीया रात्रि ॥

1207 The affix *छ* comes after the *Dvandva* compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms, whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रि, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥

Note —So also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, will debar IV 2 4 S 1205 which ordains lup (1 4 2 S 175) Kāśikā, Or the ह्र is not elided on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद “an apavāda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it” Therefore अण् which precedes IV 2 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not ह्र which succeeds it.

१२०८। दृष्ट साम। ४। २। ७ ॥

तेनेलेव। वसिष्ठेन दृष्ट वासिष्ठ साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽण् दिङ्मावक्तव्य * ॥ उच्यते दृष्टमौशनसम्। औशनसम् ॥

1208 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of “seen”—the thing seen being the Sāma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्ट = वासिष्ठ साम “the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Vasīṣṭha”

Vārt —The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory ड when the sense is that of “the Sāma Veda seen” Thus उच्यते दृष्ट साम = औशनसम्, or औशनसम् (the force of दिङ् being to elide the दि portion, VI 4. 143 S 316)

१२०९। कलेर्दक्। ४। २। ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्ट कालेय साम ॥

1209 The affix दक् comes, in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word ‘Kali’, being in the instrumental case in construction

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्ट साम = कालेय ॥ “The Sāma Veda revealed to Kali” This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini

Vārt —The affix ‘dhak’ comes always after अग्नि and कलि, not merely in the sense of the Sama Veda seen Thus अग्निना दृष्ट साम = आग्नेयम् ‘the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni’ अग्नौ भव = आग्नेयम् ‘who stays in Agni’ (IV 3 53 S 1428) अग्नेरागत, “what has come from Agni” = आग्नेयम् (IV 3 74) &c Similarly कालेयम् means ‘the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c,

Vārt —The affix अण् in the sense of ‘born’, is optionally treated as दिङ् provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV 3 11, S 1381 is reordained by IV 3 16 S 1387 The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV 4 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV 1 83 , but it is debarred by इञ् of IV 3 11 § 1381, and is re-ordained in IV.3 16 Thus शतभिषजि जान् = शतभिष or शतभिषञ् ॥

Vārt —The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तार्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt —Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt —The affix वुञ् IV 3 126 has the force of 'the Sama-Veda seen' when it comes after a Gotra word Thus औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kâpaṭava' The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana The following Kārikā sums up the above vārtikas

दृष्टे सामगि जाते च द्विरण्डिका विधीयते ।

गिरासीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्कवादस्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाङ् इयङ् इयौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन दृष्ट साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे यस्येति लोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ ङितौ ॥

अहण माऽतदर्थे भूत्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

1210 The affixes इयत् and इय come after the word Vâmadeva, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्ट साम = वामदेव्य or वामदेव्यै ॥ The indicatory त् in 'dyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI 1 185 S 3729)

Kārika —Why the affixes य and यत् have an indicatory ङ, when the elision of the final दि would have taken place by यस्येति च (VI 4 148 S 311) even? Ans They are ङित् in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udâtta when a negative particle is added to it It serves the purpose of regulating नञ् accent

Q The final अ of वामदेव्य would have been elided by the rule VI 4 148 S 311, without making this affix ङित्, then what is the use of making this affix ङित्?

Ans Well, the author here indicates by jñāpaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz Paribhasha, निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it" तदनुबन्धकमहणे नातनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it"

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule VI 2 156 S 3890 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case Therefore अवामदेव्य is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI 2 2 S 3786) As अवामदेव्य ॥

१२११। परिवृतो रथः । ४। २। १० ॥

वस्त्रे परिवृतो वाजो रथः । अथ किम् । वस्त्रेण परिवृत कायः । समन्ताद्भेदितः परिवृत उच्यते । तेनेह न । छात्रे परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211 The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

Thus वस्त्रे परिवृतो रथः = वाजः "a chariot surrounded with cloth" Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृत कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' The word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रे परिवृतो रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils"

१२१२। पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि । ४। २। ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृतः पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वाचकः । अस्वर्थाद्येनैव सिद्धे वचनमणो निवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

1212 The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

This debar **अण्** ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket' The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix **इनि** of V 3 115, which has the sense of *matup*, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix **अण्** ॥

१२१३। द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् । ४। २। १२ ॥

द्वीपिनो विकारो द्वैपः । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एव वैयाघ्रः ॥

1213 The **अञ्** comes after the words 'dvaipa' and *vaiyāghra* 'being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin' So also वैयाघ्रः ॥

Note:—This affix **अञ्** debar **अण्**, the difference between these two being in accent only.

१२१४। कौमारापूर्ववचने । ४। २। १३ ॥

कौमारस्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वत्वे निपातनमिच्छ । अपूर्वपति कुमारी पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः पतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिः कुमारी पतिरुपपन्ना कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214 The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'

Thus कौमार पति = अपूर्वपति कुमारीपुत्र 'the husband of a virgin' i.e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow) So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपति कुमारी पतिपुत्र "a virgin wife" i.e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow) In both these cases the word refers to the woman

Note —The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्यान् भाव = कौमार, तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

शराव उद्धृत शराव भोदन । उद्धरतिरिद्धोद्धरणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थः ॥

1215 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i.e. a word in the seventh case in construction अमत्र means 'vessels' उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner' Thus शरावेपूज्जित = शराव भोदन "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish" That is, the uchchishta or leavings of food already eaten, or the remainder of food that remains after dinner So also नाह्निक, कार्पण ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another Hence the Locative In other words uddhṛita means here "placed"

Note —Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाशावदधत्त भोदन 'boiled rice placed on the hand'

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sutras upto IV 2 20 § 1223 inclusive

१२१६ । स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

तत्रैवेव । समुद्रायिन येन व्रत गम्यते । स्थण्डिले शेते स्थाण्डिला भिक्षु ॥

1216 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थाण्डिले शयितु व्रतमस्य = स्थाण्डिल 'a person who 'as taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i.e. an ascetic or a Brahmachari

Note —Why do we say 'vow' ? Observe स्थाण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्त 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'

१२१७ । सस्कृत भक्षा । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तादण स्यात्सस्कृतेऽर्थे यत्सस्कृत भक्षाधेत्ते स्यु । चाट्टे सस्कृता चाट्टा यथा । तद्वत् कपालेषु सस्कृतोऽष्टाकपाल पुरोडाश ॥

1217 The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'

Thus चाट्टे सस्कृता भक्षा = चाट्टा 'barley fried in the pan' Similarly अष्टाकपाल पुरोडाश here अण् is elided by IV 1 86 S 1080

Note —Why do we say 'if it means food' ? Observe पुष्पपुटे सस्कृतो मालायुग ॥

१२१८ । शूलोखाद्यत् । ४ । २ । १७ ॥

अणोपवाद । शूले सस्कृत शूल्य मासम् । उखा पात्रविशेष । तस्या सस्कृतम् उख्यम् ॥

1218 The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case

This debars अण (IV 1 83) As शूले सस्कृत = शूल्य 'roasted on a spit'—i.e. meat So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot' For accent see VI 1 213 S 3701

१२१९ । दध्मष्टक् । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

दध्नि सस्कृत दाधिकम् ।

1219 The affix टक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction

Thus दध्नि सस्कृतं = दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'

Note —This form will be evolved by IV 4 3 S 1551, but the दाधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना सस्कृत i.e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd, while the दाधिक of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'

१२२० । उदभितोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १९ ॥

उक् स्यात्पक्षेण ॥

1220 The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word **उदम्बित्** ending in the locative case in construction

Thus **औदम्बित्कम्** (VII 3 51), or **औदम्बितम्** by **अण्** ॥ The word **औदम्बित्कम्** is thus formed **उदम्बित् + उक्** ॥ Here applies the following rule

१२२१ । इत्सुसुकान्तात्क । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य **उस्य क** स्यात् । उदकेन भवति वर्धते इत्युदम्बित् । तेषां सस्कृत औदम्बित् । औदम्बित । इत्सुसो प्रतिपसेक्तयोर्महणात्नेह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिक । उषा चरति औषिक ॥

शेष उपसख्यानम् * ॥ दोभ्यां चरति दौष्क ॥

1221 **क** is substituted for **उ** after a stem ending in **इस्, उस्, उक्, (उ, ऊ, ऋ) & द्** ॥

This word *udaśvit* literally means that which grows by water. It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd. Thus **औदम्बित्क**, or **औदम्बित** by **अण्** ॥ The **इस्** and **उस्** are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, **आशिषिक** (= **आशिषा चरति**), **औषिक** (= **उषा चरति**) ॥

Vart —So also after **दोस्**, as **दौष्कः** (दोभ्यां चरति) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीराद्धञ् । ११ । २ । २० ॥

अथ सस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते ननु भक्षा इति । तेन यवाग्न्यापि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222 The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food', and therefore the derivative applies to **यवाग्नू** (which is not an article of food ?)

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **क्षीरे सस्कृता** = **क्षैरेयी यवाग्नू** 'milky gruel'

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इतिशब्दात्सज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मास ॥

1223 The affix **अण्** comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word **इति** in the *su ra* indicates that we should read **सज्ञायाम्** here

Note —The word **स** means 'that' It is in the nominative case, therefore By IV 1. 82 § 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction".

अस्मिन् 'in it' i e in the sense of a seventh case पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night" The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word सज्ञायाम् in the sūtra. It does not occur in the original sūtras of Panini, but is added by the author of the Kāśikā from a Vārtika, and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i e if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of, a month, a half-month or a year."

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मास 'the month Pausa i e that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'

Note — Similarly पौषाऽद्धमास and पौष सवस्तर ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् इत्यरात्रे, because daśvātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and सज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word सज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

Note — The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way — पुष्यो मा = पूर्णमा, पूर्णमास इत्यम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word मा means "moon."

१२२४ । आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थादृक् । ४ । २ । २२ ॥

अमे हायनमस्या इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञादेराकृतिगणत्वादण् । पूर्वपदात्सज्ञायामिति जत्वम् । आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मास । अश्वत्येन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्य । निपातनात्पौर्णमास्यामपि लुप् । आश्वत्यिक ॥

1224 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'āgrahāyanī' and 'aśvattha' ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-moon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ The word āgrahāyanī is a Bahuvrīhi, meaning agre hāyanam asyāh 'that which has the year (hāyana) before it'—or with which the year commences. It takes the affix अण्, because it belongs to Prajñādi class which is an ākritigana (V 4 38 S 2106). Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = आग्रहायण ॥ The ण is changed to ज by VIII 4 3 S 857. Thus आग्रहायणीको मास: 'the month called Āgrahāyana i e in which the moon is full in the asterism of Āgrahāyana, Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha. The affix denoting time is elided as nīpātana. From it we have आश्वत्यिक ॥

१२२५ । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभू । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यश्चा पक्षेऽण । फाल्गुनिक । फाल्गुनी मास । श्रावणिक । श्रावण । कार्तिकिक । कार्तिक । चैत्रिक । चैत्र ॥

1225 'The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phālgunī', 'Śravanā', Kārtikī' and 'Chaitrī' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms

Thus फाल्गुन or फाल्गुनिक श्रावण or श्रावणिक, कार्तिक or कार्तिकिक, चैत्र or चैत्रिक ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अम् which also comes in the alternative

१२२६ । साऽस्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्र हवि । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तज्यमानद्रव्ये उद्देश्यविशयो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्र । अग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयति तु वैधिकेऽर्थे सर्वव्याप्तीति ठक् ॥

1226 'The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his"

सा = 'after a word in the first case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case' वृत्ता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity' Thus इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम् हवि 'oblation sacred to Indra' Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Paśupati' So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no aff- is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रो मन्त्र the word andra means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered The affix is added, therefore, to, denote the mantra by which a devatā is praised, and who is referred to while the offering is thrown into fire (Mantra stutyā = mantrena stutyā Stutyā is a feminine word in apposition with devatā, and formed by kyap and t̥āp See III 1 109 S 2857) And in अग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयति the affix ठक् is added by IV 2 33 S 1236 in the śaisika sense to agni It is added by analogy

Note —The whole phrase साऽस्य देवता governs up to sūtra IV 2 35 S 1238 Though the word स was understood in this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtra IV 2 21 S 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtti of सज्ञा does not

extend to it. The affix ordained by this sūtra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Puruḍasā &c. offered in a sacrifice'

१२२७ । कस्यत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कस्यदस्य इति शेषः स्थापत्यसन्नियोगेन । यस्येति लोपात्परम्बादिवृद्धिः । कोऽब्रह्मा देवतास्य काय इति । श्रीदेवनाम्न्य आश्रयम् ॥

1226 The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = काय "oblation sacred to Ka" As काय इति ॥ Similarly आश्रय from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrī" The rule VI 4 148 S 311 required the elision of इ before अण्, but it is prevented by the rule of vṛddhi VII 2 117 S 1075 which is subsequent to it

१२२८ । शुक्राद्धन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228 The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra

This debars अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् इति. (VII 1 2 S 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra' Thus शुक्रियोऽध्याय ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्त्रपात्रन्तृभ्यां घ. । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपान्नप्त्रियम् । अपोनपात् अपान्नपाद्य देवता । प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन तूक्त रूपं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपान्नपातेऽनुब्रूहीति प्रेष ॥

1229 The affix घ comes after the words 'aponap-
tri' and 'apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रिय इति or अपान्नप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपान्नपात् are the names of two deities, these words irregularly assume the form ending in न्त् when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form As in the directory sentence अपोनपाते अपान्नपातेऽनुब्रूहि ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविभागो यथासख्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रीयम् ॥ अपानप्त्रीयम् ॥

शतरुद्राद्यश्च * ॥ आच्छ । शत रुद्रा देवता अस्य शतरुद्रियम् । शतरुद्रीयम् । घच्छयो
त्रिधानसान्ध्याद्वादिगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति न लुक् ॥

1230 Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity',

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपानप्रीय or अपानप्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapāt or Appānnapāt'

Note —This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I 3 10 S 128. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to 1 3 10 S 128 would have been "the affix घ comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri". But this is not what the author intended, Hence two distinct sūtras

Vārt —The word सतरुद्र takes घ and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity' e.g. सतरुद्रीयम् and सतरुद्रीय ॥ The luk elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV 1 88 S 1080 does not take place here, for then the Vārtika would have become useless. The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word satarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

११३१ । महेन्द्राङ्गणौ च । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

चाच्छ । महेन्द्रिय हवि । माहन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रीयम् ॥

1231 The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रीयम् हवी = माहन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'

१२३२ । सोमाङ् ट्यण् । ४ । २ । ३०

सौम्यम् । दिव्वाङ्डीप् ॥ सौमी ऋक् ॥

1232 The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity"

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of अण् causes Vṛddhi. The ङ causes the affixing of डीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्य हवि, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) = सौम + ई (VI 4 150 S 472) = सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वायुतुपिबुषसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । ऋतव्यम् ॥

1233 The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vāyu', 'ritu', Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity"

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम् ॥ The next form पिबु + यत् requires the following sūtra for its evolution,

१२३४ । रीङ्ङित । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अकृयकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्चौ च परे ऋदन्ताङ्गस्य रीङादेशः स्यात् । यस्येति च । पिब्यम् उषस्यम् ॥

1234 री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Krit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix चिर्च ॥

The anuvṛtti of किति is, however, not understood in this sūtra, that of चो and अकृतसार्वधातुकयो is present. The कित् and कित् not being understood here, we have पितादवताभस्य=पितृयम् which is thus formed विन् + यन् = पित्री + ये = पितृ + य (ई being elided by VI 4 148 S 311) So also उपस्यम् ॥

Note — Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेकीर्षते from कृ विक्षेपे, with यह ऋतद् धातो and हलिच lengthening निजेगित्यते from कृ and गु ॥

१२३५ । आवापृथिवीयम् । आवापृथिव्यम् । सुनासीरीयम् । सुनासीर्यम् ॥ ४ । २ । ३२ ॥

आवात् । आवापृथिवीयम् । आवापृथिव्यम् । सुनासीरीयम् । सुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235 The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvâ-Pṛithivî', 'Sūnâsira', 'Marutvat', Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debarb अण् and ण्व ॥ Thus आवापृथिवीयम् or आवापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth' सुनासीरीयम् or सुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Sūna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)' (VI 3 26 S 922 for the lengthening of the अ of सुन) मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्निषोमीयम् or अग्निषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम् ॥ गृहमेध्यम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

Note — According to Haradatta, Sūnâsira is an epithet of Indra, Marutvân is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Maruts' Agnîshoma is formed by VI 3 27 S 923 Vastoshpati is an irregularly formed word = Vâstunah pati

१२३६ । अग्नेर्देव् । ४ । २ । ३३ ॥

अग्नेयम् ॥

1236 The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni

Thus अग्निर्वेतास्य = अग्नेय ॥

१२३७ । कालेभ्यो भववत् । ४ । २ । ३४ ॥

मासिकम् । मास्येयम् ॥

1237 After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV 3 11 S 1381 to IV 3 53 S 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV 3 11 S 1381 (read with IV 3 53 S 1428), the affix ङ्ङ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्य देवता ॥ Thus मासे भव = मासिकम् (मास + ङ्ङ् = मास = इक VII 3 50 S 1170), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV 3 17 S 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month' as मासा देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ ५८

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाङ्ङ् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

महाराजिकम् । प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238 The affix ङ्ङ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahārāja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिक ॥

१२३९ । द्येताङ्ङ् च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अथ पूर्वोत्तरपदयोराद्यचो वृद्धिः स्यात् अिति णिति किति च परे । आग्निमारुतम् ॥

1239 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas.

As आग्निमारुती in आग्निमारुतः । नङ्गादीनालभेत् ॥ आग्निमारुतं कर्मे ॥

Note —The rule applies to Dvandas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि) ॥ Therefore, not here स्कान्दविशाखी देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाख (IV 2 24 S 1226). So also ब्रह्मप्रजापत्यम् by ण्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI 3 26 S 922.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमारुत, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI 3 28 S 925. A compound relates to a sūkta, which worships a deva through hymns, and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering.

१२४० । नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सोमेन्द्रः । परस्य किय । ऐन्द्रात् ॥

1240 But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ, ण or क् ॥

As सोमेन्द्रः, आग्निम् ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्रात् मेकादशकपालं चरुं निर्वपेत् ॥

Note —There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these is the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI 4 148 S.

311 and the other (i.e. the इ) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + इन्द्र + अ ॥ Now no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form इन्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयोः पूर्व कार्यं भवति पञ्चदेकादेशः or in other words पूर्वोत्तगनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गाऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ 'The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antaraṅga take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound' It is on this maxim that the forms पूर्वेषुकामयाम (VII 3 14 S 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पूर्व), would have been vriddhied

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घस्वरस्य वरुणस्य न वृद्धिः । ऐन्द्रावरुणम् । दीर्घात्किम् । आग्निवाङ्मीननङ्गाहीनालभेत् ॥ तवस्मिन्वर्तते इति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसर्गस्यानम् * ॥ नावयज्ञिकः कालः । पाकयज्ञिकः ॥ पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पूर्णो मासोऽस्या वर्तते इति पार्णमासी तिथिः ॥

1241 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicator अ, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणो &c (VI 3 26 S 922) Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवाङ्मीनम् in आग्निवाङ्मीननङ्गाहीनालभेत् where a short vowel precedes it

Note —This word is derived from the compound word आग्निवरुणो the इ of आग्नि being lengthened by VI 3 27 S 923 But in forming a Taddhita derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI 3, 28 S 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

Vart —After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix उण् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it' As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vart —After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्या वर्तते = पार्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातृलमातामहपितामहा । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एतेनिपात्यन्ते ॥

पितृभ्रातरि व्यत् * ॥ पितृभ्रातां पितृव्यः ॥ मातृकुलम् * ॥ मातृभ्राता मातुलः ॥

मातृपितृभ्यां पितरि ज्ञानद्वयः ॥ मातुः पिता मातामहः । पितुः पिता पितामहः ॥ मातरि पित्रि * ॥ मातामही । पितामही ॥

अवेदुग्धे सोढदूतमरीसचौ वक्तव्या * ॥ सकारपाठसामर्थ्यात् ष । अविसोढम् अविदूतम् ।
अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपत्रौ * ॥ तिलपिञ्ज । तिलपेज । वन्धस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जरत्नसिद्धिः * ॥ तिलपिञ्ज ॥

1242 The words *pitṛiva*, 'a father's brother', *mātula*, 'a mother's brother', *mātāmaha*, 'a mother's father' and *pitāmaha*, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following

Vārtika —पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ्ग्यं दुल्लभौ "the affixes व्यङ्ग्य and दुल्लभ come respectively after the words *pitṛi* and *mātṛi* in the sense of his or her brother' Thus *पितृव्य* and *मातृल* respectively

Vārtika —वाभ्यां पितरि ढामहश्च, मातरि पिञ्जः ॥ The affix *ḍamahach* comes, in the sense of their father, and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory च ॥ Thus *पितामह* (f *पितामही*), *मातामह* (f *मातामहा*) ॥

Vart —The affixes सोढ, दूत and मरीसच् come after the word *अवि*, in the sense of 'milk'. As *अवेदुग्धम्* = *अविसोढम्* or *अविदूतम्* or *अविमरीसम्* ॥ The स is not changed to ष in these, for if it was so changed, the author would have read सोढश्च &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process. The fact of his using सोढम् &c shows that the स is not to be changed to ष in these examples

Vart —The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word *तिल*, in the sense of fruitless. As *निष्फलस्तिल* = *तिलपिञ्ज* and *तिलपेज* ॥

Vart —The affix पिञ्ज is treated like ङित् in the *Chhandas*. As *तिलपिञ्ज* ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकाना समूहः काकम् । वाकम् ।

1243 An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'

Thus *काकाना समूहः* = *काकम्* ॥ So also *वाकम्* ॥

Note —The affix कण् (IV I 83 S 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection. What is the example

of this ? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udatta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix इक् by IV 2 47 S 1256, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अम् IV 3 44 S 1419, a Gotra word will take इम् IV 2 39 S 1246 and especial words like केदार &c take अम् &c. Making all these exclusions the example we get is — काकाना समूह = काकम् 'a collection of crows' बाकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूह of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up of sūtra IV 2 51 S 1260 inclusive.

Vārt — The affix मानम् comes after the words गुण्य &c. As गुणमान 'a collection of qualities', करणमान &c. The following are some of such words — गुण्य, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय &c. It is an śkritigana.

१२४४ । भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ३८ ॥

भिक्षाणा समूहो भैक्षम् । गर्भिणीना समूहो गार्भिणम् । इह भत्याह इति पुवक्त्वावे कृते ॥

1244 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणा समूह = भैक्षम् "what is collected in the shape of alms". So also गार्भिणम् ॥ It is thus formed गर्भिणी + अण् = गर्भिण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, भत्याह तद्धिते See VI 3 35 S 836 Vārtika). Now the sūtra VI 4 144 S 679 requires the elision of the syllable इन् of गर्भिन्, but the following sūtra prevents that.

१२४५ । इनश्च्यनपत्ये । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

अनपत्यार्वेऽपि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्धित इति द्विजोपो न । पुवतीना समूहो यौवनम् । शचन्तादनुदात्तादेशेऽपि यौवनम् ॥

1245 The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix.

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI 4 144 S 679. Thus we get गार्भिणम् ॥ Similarly यौवनम् from युवति ॥ This word is anudatta accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

अञ् (IV 2 44 S 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshāḍi class. When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् 'a collection of young women'

The word यौवनम् however is another form. Here the affix added is अञ् (IV 2 44 S 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवत् ending in शन् affix, which has anudatta on the first syllable

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्तोष्टोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एभ्य समूहे बुञ् स्यात् । लौकिकमिह गोत्र तच्चापत्यमात्रम् ॥

1246 The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtia', 'unabhia', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra', 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. The इ of the affix बुञ् is replaced by अक by the following sūtra

१२४७ । युचोरनाकौ । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु इ एतयोरनुनासिकगो व्रमादन अक एतावादेशौ स्त । ग्लौचुकायनीना समूहो ग्लौचुकायनकम् । ओक्षकानित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति दलापे प्राप्ति ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवान् * ॥ राजन्यकम् । मानुष्यकम् ॥

वृद्धाच्चति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247 For यु and बु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note —यु and बु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised. The अन replaces यु and अक replaces बु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III 1 134 S 2896) = अन as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दन् रमण् ॥ So also द्यु and ह्यु (IV 3 23 S 1391) as सायतन, चिरतन ॥ बु we find in ण्यु (III 1 133 S 2895), as कृ + ण्यु = कारक, हारक ॥ So also बुन् (IV 3 98 S 1478) as बाहुदेवक अर्जुनक ॥

Thus ग्लौचुकायनीना समूह = ग्लौचुकायनकम् । So also औक्षकम् from उक्ष, औष्टकम् from उष्ट, ओरभ्रकम् from उभ्र and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + बुञ् requires the elision of य by VI 4 151 S 1082. This, however, is prevented by the following vārtika

Vārtika —The final य of मानुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI, 4 150 S 472) Thus राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sutra IV 2 39 S 1246 exhibit no irregularity As राजपु-
त्रकम्, नासकम् and आजकम् ॥

Vārtika —The affix वुञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e g वार्द्धकम् 'a
collection of old men

Why do we say nasalised वु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया युस (V 2 123
S 1929) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णाया ॥ So also
in मुजिष्ठाया युक्तुः ॥ Here the यु of युक् and ल्युक् (Un III 21) a re
not replaced by अन, as मुज्यु and ल्युत्यु ॥ In the affixes above mentioned,
the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal There are no visible
marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is एतिहासनासिक्या पाणिनीया ॥

१२४८ । केदाराद्यञ्च ४ । २ । ४० ॥

चाहुञ् । कैदार्यम् । कैदारकम् ॥

गणिकाया यमिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गणिक्यम् ॥

1248 The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes
after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'

This debars डक् of IV 2 47 Thus केदाराणाम् समूह = कैदार्यम् or
कैदारकम् ॥

Vārt —The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e g गणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । ठञ्कवचिनश्च ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

चात्केदाराद्यपि । कवचिना समूह कावचिकम् ॥ कैदारिकम् ॥

1249 The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection
thereof', after the word 'kedāra', and also after the word
'kavachin'

We read the anuvritti of कैदार in this Sutra, by virtue of the word च ॥
Thus कवचिना समूह = कावचिकम् (VI 4 164 S 1245), and कैदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यत् ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाडव्यम् ॥

पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

1250 The affix यञ् is added, in the sense of 'col-
lection thereof,' after the words 'brāhmana', 'mānava', and
'vādava'

The indicatory न् of यञ् makes the word take udātta acc nt on the
first syllable (VI 1 197) Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vārt —Also after the word पृष्ठ e g पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहायाग्या चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अह् य क्तौ * ॥ अहीन । अहर्गणसाध्यसुत्याक क्रतुरित्यर्थ । कती किन् । आह । इह
क्षण्डिकादिस्थादम् । अदृष्टलोरेवेति नियामाङ्गिनोपो न ॥

पथी जस् वक्तव्य * ॥

1251 The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grāma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages' The words ending in तल् are all feminine So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'

Vart —The affix 'tal' comes after गज and सहाय also e g गजता 'a collection of elephants' सहायता 'a collection of allies'

Vart —The affix य् is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice' e. g अहीन 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days, Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days Otherwise the form is आह by अम् (see IV 2 45 S 1254) The final अन् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI 4 145 S 789

Vart —The affix जस् comes after पथु, e g पार्थ्व्य 'a collection of axes' The final व् of पथु, is not changed by guna into धो before the affix, because the word पथु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha word by the next sutra —

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पूर्व पदसज्ञ स्यात् । अभत्वाहार्युणो न । पथुना समूह पार्थ्व्यम् ॥

1252 When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada

Therefore the व् of पथु does not take guna substitution So we have पथुनासमूह = पार्थ्व्यम् and not पार्श्वम्

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable

Thus कपोताना समूह = कापोतम्, मायूरम् ॥

१२५४ । खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । खण्डिकानां समूहः खण्डिकम् ॥

1254 The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things e g खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

१२५५ । चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255 After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof',

Note —The Vedic Schools or Charanas are like कठ, कलाप &c The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtras IV 2 126 S 1506 &c The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV 3 126, S 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *śloka* under that Sūtra —चरणद्वर्माचारयो ॥

Thus कठानां धर्मः=काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः=काठकम् ॥ Similarly छान्दोग्यम् ॥

१२५६ । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

साक्तिकम् । हास्तिकम् । धेनुकम् ॥

1256 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'

This debars अञ् and अम् ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः=अपूपिकम् । साक्तिकम् ॥ The affix ठक् is replaced by इक् (VII 3 50 S 1170) or क् (VII 3 50 S 1170) Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शास्त्रकुलिकम् ॥

१२५७ । केशाश्वभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ङगणो । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257 The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः=कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV 2 47 S 1256), अश्वानां समूहः=आश्वम् (IV 1 63 S 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८ । पाशादिभ्यो य । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पाश्या । तुण्ड्या । धूम्या । वन्या । वात्या ॥

1258 The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, कृष्या, धूम्या, वन्या and वाद्या These words are feminine
 1 पाश, 2 कृष, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 भङ्गार, 6 पादल (पादलका K), 7 पोत,
 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 नद (नड K) 14 वन 15 बालक ॥
 १२५६ । खलगौरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259 The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that the next rule IV 2 51 should apply to them

१२६० । इनिप्रकटयच्चञ्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिय क्रमास्त्यु । खलिनी । गोत्रा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिय इनिर्वक्तव्य * ॥ डाकिनी । कुडम्बिनी । आकृतिगयोऽयम् ॥

1260 The affixes 'ini', 'tia' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा रथकट्या ।

Vart —The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुडम्बिनी, ॥ This is an ākṛitigana

Vart —The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c As कमलखण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद सरोज्, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class These are आकृतिगण ॥

Vart —The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्ध, करिस्कन्ध and तुरङ्गस्कन्ध ॥

Vart,—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c Thus पूर्वकाण्डम् तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१ । विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तादृणादय स्युरत्यन्तपरिशीलतेऽयं स च देश । शिबीना विषयो देश शैव । देशे किम् । देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाक ॥

1261 The affix अण् (IV 1 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere

Thus शिबीना विषयो देश —शैव 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis' Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयो-ऽनुवाक ॥

Note —The anuvṛtti of समूह (IV 2 37 S 1243) does not extend further but the anuvṛtti of तस्य (IV 2 37 S 1243) is to be read into it The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country' The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो ज्ञान

'a village has been acquired' Some times it means an object of perception, as वस्तु विषयो रूप 'color is the object of sight &c Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यक ॥

1262 The affix वुञ् comes after the words rājanya &c, in the same sense

This debars वण् ॥ Thus राजन्याना विषयो वण् = राजन्यक, ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 जालद्वायन, 5 देवयात (देवयातव, देवयान), 6 भव्रीडि, 7 वरत्रा*, 8 जालधरायण 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 भाग्यजानेय 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र 13 वसानि 14 वैल्ववन, 15 वैल्व, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 वैल्वज (वैल्वल्प) 19 आर्जुनायन 20 समिध 21 दाक्षि 22 ऊर्णनारि, 23 आपान, 24 वीतिल 25 वाचक, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्याद्येषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधलभक्तलौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिकीया विषयो दश भौरिकिविधम् । भौलिकिविधम् । ऐषुकारिभक्तम् । सारस्थानभक्तम् ॥

1263 The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauniki', and 'Aishukāṇi &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'

This debars वण् ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौलिकिविधम् &c ऐषुकारिभक्तम्, सारस्थानभक्तम् &c

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत*, 4 चेटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणि-जक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य, वालिज, वालिज्यक) 8 सैकयत (सौकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैपेय ॥

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्थान (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ह्यात्तायण, 5 ज्यात्तायण (ज्यायण), 6 औडायन 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमिनि, 10 दासमिन्नायन, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्रायण), 12 सात्तायण, 13 सायण्डायन*, 14 नाक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौरीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 रायण्ड, 19 शौर्ये 20 रायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्व-धेनव 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डव, 25 विश्वदेव (विश्वदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 सापिण्डि ॥ 27 शोण्डि, 28 सायण्ड, 29 अलायत, 30 औलालायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति छन्दस प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिपादित्येति पाङ्क्त प्रगाथ ॥

स्वार्थ उपसख्यानम्* । विन्दुवैव अट्टुभैम् ॥

1264 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning there- with

Note —The words of this sūtra require a little explanation स 'that' i. e. a word in construction up the first case अस्व 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix आदि 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakṛti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. क्त्वं 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base प्रगायेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre.

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्त which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Pankti". Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागत् &c

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end or a 'Pragātha', the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. अण् इति क्त्वं प्रगायनेन तिल क्रियते = प्रगायनात् पङ्क्तिर्गानात् वा प्रगाय इत्युच्यते ॥

Vārt —The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it, and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishtubha', जागत् &c

१२६५ । सग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्य । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य सग्रामस्येति सौभद्र । भरता योद्धारोऽस्य सग्रामस्य भारत ॥

1265 The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

Note —The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजन, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word सग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This सुभद्र प्रयोजनस्य सग्रामस्य = सौभद्र "A battle fought for Subhadrā". Similarly भारत ॥

Note —Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा योद्धास्य सग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

दण्ड प्रहरणमस्या क्रीडाया दण्डा । मौष्टा ॥

1266 The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon

The sūtra literally translated means 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play, the affix ण is added' i.e. to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon, ण is added to denote a play. Thus दण्ड प्रहरणमस्या क्रीडाया = दण्डा "a game played with sticks" So also मौष्टा "a game played with fists"

Note —Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्या क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play' Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe —खड्ग प्रहरण मस्या सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army' These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV 1 4 S and 15), the feminine being formed by णा ॥

१२६७ । घञ सास्यां क्रियेति ज । ४ । २ । ५८ ॥

घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिन प्रथमान्तादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे औजिङ्गे अमल्यत्वात् । घञ इति कृद्ग्रहणादितिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

1267 The affix ज, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ् denotes an action occurring in that

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is —घञ् 'after a word ending in the affix घञ्', सा 'that' अस्या 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action", this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in घञ् expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ज is added in the sense of a 7th case affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender"

The घञ् formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kāṭaka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix. As an example under this sūtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पात preceded by the upapada इयेन ॥ Thus इयेन + पात + ज ॥ Now applies the following

१२६८ । इयेनतिलस्य पाते जे । ६ । ३ । ७१ ॥

इयेन तिल एतयोर्भुगमगम स्यात् 'अमल्यये परे पातशब्दे उत्तरपदे । इयेनपातोऽस्या वर्तते इयेनपात' भुगवा । तिलपातोऽस्या वर्तते तैलपाता स्वधा । इयेनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्या तियौ वर्तते दण्डपाता तियि . ॥

1268 मुञ्ज is the augment of the words इयेन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ज is added

Thus इयेनपातोऽस्या वर्तते—इयेनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ Thus इयेनपाता भुगवा 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown " Why do we say श्येन and तिल only ? Observe दण्डपातोऽस्या त्रियोवर्षते-दण्डपाता तिथि , मौशलपाता तिथि ॥

Note —Why do we say before अ ? Observe श्येनपात ॥

१२६९ । तदधीते नद्वेद । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैयाकरण ॥

1269 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'

In other words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that As व्याकरणमधीते = वैयाकरण (VII 3 3 S 1098) 'who knows grammar' The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands

१२७० । क्रतूकथादिसूत्रान्तादृक् । ४ । २ । ६० ॥

क्रतुविशेषवाचिनामेवेह ग्रहणम् । तेभ्यो मुख्यार्थेभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकग्रन्थपरेभ्यस्त्वष्टेतरि । आग्निष्टोमिक । सूक्तपथिक । उक्त्य सामविशेषस्तल्लक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो लक्षणयोजक्यम् । तदधीते वेद वा औक्तिक ॥

मुख्यार्थास्तु कथशब्दाद्वगणौ नेष्येते * ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिक । वृत्तिम् वार्तिक । लोकायतम् लोकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

'सूत्रान्ताच्चकलादिरेष्यते * ॥ सामहस्यिक । भक्त्युपादे किम् । काल्पसूत्र ॥

त्रिदालक्षणकल्पान्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वायसविक । गौलक्षणिक । आश्वलक्षणिक । पाराशरकाल्पिक ॥

अङ्गक्षत्रधर्मविपूर्वाद्विद्यान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आङ्गविद्य । क्षात्रविद्य । धर्मविद्य । त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविद्या सामधीते वेद वा वैविद्य ॥

भाष्यानाख्यायिकोतिहासपुगणेभ्यश्च * ॥ ययक्रीतमधिकृत्य कृतभाष्यानमुपचाराद्ययक्रीत तदधीते वेत्ति वा यावक्रीतिक । यासवदसामधिकृत्य कृतं भाष्यायिका' वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छ । तस्य लुवाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप् । ततोऽनेन दृक् । वासवदत्तिक । ऐतिहासिक । पौराणिक ॥

सर्वादे सादेभ्य लुप् वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेदः । सर्वतन्त्र । सवार्तिक । द्विगोर्लुगिति लुक् । द्वितन्त्र ॥

इकन्पदोत्तरपदात्तशतषष्ठे चिकन्पथ * ॥ पूर्वपदिक । उत्तरपदिकः । शतपथिक । शतपथिकी । षट्पथिक । षट्पथिकी ॥

1270 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word sūtra

This debars अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice', when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who studies that book' Thus आग्निष्टोमिक 'who understands Agnishtoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it' वाजपेयिक औक्थिक ॥ Uktha is a kind of sâma The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech लोकार्थितिक, वार्तिकसूत्रिक सामहस्यविक, ॥

Isth —The affixes ठक् and अण् do not come after the word उक्थ when used in its primary sense Therefore औक्थिक always means 'one who studies the prâtisâkhya of the Sâma Veda' and never means 'he who understands उक्थ' ॥

Similarly न्यायम् or नैयायिक वृत्तिम् or वार्तिक लोकार्थितम् or लोकार्थितिक &c All these are words of the उक्थादि class, for a list of which see below

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sutra is applicable, we must remember the following

Isth —The affix ठक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus सामहस्यविक from समहस्य meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sutra' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe कल्पसूत्र 'one who studies Kalpa sûtra', formed by the affix अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vdr —This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविधिक, गौलक्षणिक, भास्वलक्षणिक पाराशरकल्पिक ॥

Vdt —Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words भङ्ग, क्षत्र धर्म ससर्ग and त्रि ॥ As भगवित्यामधीते=भाङ्गविद्य, क्षात्रविद्य, धर्मविद्य सासर्गविद्य, त्रैविद्य ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्य, has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as तिस्रोविद्याऽधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्य and not त्रैविद्य for it would be then तद्धितार्थद्विगु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1 88 S 1080

Vdt —The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका) and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावकृतिक, वासवदत्तिक, ऐतिहासिक, पौराणिक ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakrîta, is called by a figure of speech Yavakrita He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम्, is यावक्रीतिक ॥ Similarly the story relating to Vâsavadatta is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix छ is ordained by IV 2 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sutra IV 3 87 S 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vartika* लुवाख्यादिकाभ्या बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives' So छ being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added टक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तिक ॥

Vart —This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds As सर्ववेद, 'one who studies all the Vedas', So also सर्वतन्त्र । सर्वात्मिक, ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्र Here the samasânta affix is elided by IV 1 88 S 1080

Vast —The affix इक् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्, as, पूर्वपदिक and उत्तरपदिक ॥

Vat —The affix विकृ comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and शष्टिपथ ॥ As शतपथिक f शतपथिकी (IV 1 41 S 498), शष्टिपथिक (f शष्टिपथिकी) ॥

1 उक्त्य, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त 8 द्विपदा, 9 उद्योतिष (द्विपदी, उद्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद्, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 चर्चा, 17 क्रमेत्तर, 16 भ्रलक्षण, 17 सहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद । क्रम) 19 सघट्ट (सघात also सघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद्*, 22 समह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st गण, गुण), 25 भायुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण ॥

१२७१ । क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

क्रमक । क्रम, पद, शिक्षा, नीमासा, इति क्रमादि ॥

1271 The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्रमक (VII 2 1 S 2297) पदक &c The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 नीमासा 5 सामन् belong to this class

१२७२ । अनुब्राह्मणादिनि । ४ । २ । ६२ ॥

तदधीते तद्देवत्ये । ब्राह्मणसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुब्राह्मण तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी । मत्वर्यायेनैव सिद्धे अण्ब्राधनार्थमिदम् ॥

1272 The affix 'in1' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrahmana'

This dabars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book' He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined —अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, &c The affix इनि also has the force of वतुप्, and by Sûtra V 2 115 S. 1932 अत् इनि वनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and टक् in the sense of वतुप्, but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense. Though it would have taken इनि by the V. 2, 115 S 1922, its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhāṣya however this Sūtra is declared superfluous, which implies that अण् also is added

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिक । भयर्वाण्यधीते आयर्यणिक । दायिडनायनेनि सूत्रे निशतनाद्विज्ञोपो न ॥

1273 The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'vasanta' &c

This dabars अण् । As, वासन्तिक 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring' आयर्यणिक &c । The final अण् of भयर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sūtra VI 4 174 S, 1145

1 वसन्त, 2 ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद्, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 प्रथम, 8 शुण, 9 चरम, 10 अनुशुण, 11 अयर्वन् 12 गायर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययात्परस्याद्येद्वेदितुमयस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणन पण । वम्ये कविधाममिति क । सोऽस्यास्तीति पणी, तस्य गात्रापत्य पाणिन ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk'

Note — This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also — 'There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer' The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV 3 101 S 1481 &c Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by 1 anini' पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीय, so also कापिशाल । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीय formed with अण्, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by VI 1 15 S 2409, as the word would end in अण्, and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III 1 8 S 3708) But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by दाप्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix (Phit Su 11 19)

The word पाणिनी is thus derived पण has the same meaning as पणन, this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क having the force of the affix वम् (See the Vārtika under III 3 58 S, 3234) One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix इनि to पण by V 2 115 S 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिन formed by the affix अण् । Thus पणिन् + अण् = पाणिन ॥ The final इण् of पणिन् is not elided by the following sūtra —

१२७५ । गाथिविदधिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्युः । इति दिलोपो न । ततो युनि इम् । पाणिनि ॥

1275 गाथिन्, विदधिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्य=गाथिन् । So also, वेदधिन्, केशिन्, गायिन्, and पाणिन् । This sūtra applies to Patronymics To the word पाणिन्: thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इम् । Thus we get पाणिनि । Then applies the following sūtra —

१२७६ । ण्यक्षत्रियार्षजितो युनि लुगणिञो । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

ण्यप्रत्ययान्तास्तुत्रियगोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताहृष्यभिधायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताद् जितञ्च परयोर्युवाभिधावि नोरणिञोर्लुक् स्यात् । कौरव्य पिता । कौरव्य पुत्रः । श्वाफल्क पिता । श्वाफल्क पुत्र । वासिष्ठ पिता । वासिष्ठ पुत्र । तैकायनि पिता । तैकायनि पुत्र । एभ्य किम् । शिवायण् । कौहड पिता । तत इम् । कौहडि पुत्र । युनि किम् । वामरथ्यस्य छात्रा वामरथा । इति ञणो लुक् तु न भवति । आर्यमहणेन प्रतिपदीकृतस्य ऋष्यण एव ग्रहणात् । पाणिनिना प्रोक्त पाणिनीयम् । वृद्धाच्छ । इम्षेयण् तु न । गोत्रे य इम् तदन्तादिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । ततोऽप्येदुर्वेदेषणोलुक् । त्वेन जित्या च विशेषः । पाणिनीय । पायनीया ॥

1276 After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV 1 151 S 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicator अ, the affix अण् and इम् employed in forming युवन् (IV 1 163 S 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1 Thus by IV 1 151 S 1175 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c, in denoting descendant) we get कुरु+ण्य=कौरव्य (VII 2 117 S 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru' This is a Gotra word (IV 1 162 S 1089) Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix Thus कौरव्य+इम् (IV 1 95 S 1095*) Now this इम् is elided by the present sūtra, and we get the form कौरव्य which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV 1 163 S 1090) 'descendant of Kuru' So that कौरव्य is the name both of the father and the son

Note —Now it may be objected 'the word कौरव्य belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV 1 154 S 1178, it will take the affix किम् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायनि (VII 1 2 S 457) To this we reply, the word कौरव्य which we see in that list of तिक् &c, is not the word कौरव्य which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV 1 151 S 1175, that Tikādi word is formed by ण्य under rule IV 1 172 S 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya The कौरव्य which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV 1 151

2 Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya We take IV. 1. 114 S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix ञण् may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and **अफल्क** is a person of that family Then **अफल्क + अण् = अफल्क** 'a descendant of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendant In forming Yuvan descendant we have **अफल्क + इम्** Now this **इम्** must be elided by the present sūtra So that **अफल्क** means both father and the son

3 Now to give an example of Rishi family The sūtra last mentioned (IV 1 114 S 1117) will also hold here We take the word **वसिष्ठ**, and **वसिष्ठ + अण् = वसिष्ठ**, the Yuvan affix **इम्** will similarly be elided after this, and thus the word **वसिष्ठ** means both the father and the son

4 Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicative **म्** Thus sūtra IV 1 104 S 1106 declares 'the affix **अम्** comes after the words **विद्** &c, in denoting Gotra descendants' Thus **विद् + अम् = वैद्** Then add **इम्** to denote Yuvan descent, and we have **वैद् + इम्** By the present rule this **इम्** is elided and thus we have **वैद्** both for the father and the son

The above examples show the elision of the affix **इम्** Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix **अण्** The rule IV 1 154 S 1178 says 'the affix **फिम्** comes after the words **तिक्** &c in denoting descendant' Thus **तिक् + फिम् = तैकायनि** (VII 1 2 S 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add **अण्** by IV 1 83 Thus **तैकायनि + अण्** By the present sūtra, this **अण्** is elided and we have **तैकायनि** both applicable to the father and the son

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words Thus rule IV 1 112 S 1115 says — 'The affix **अण्** comes after **सिद्** &c, in forming Gotra' **कौहड + अण् = कौहड** Now this is neither a word formed by **ण्य** nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi, nor any affix having **म्** goes to form it Therefore the Yuvan affix **इम्** will not be elided after this Thus **कौहड + इम्** (IV, 1 95 S 1195) = **कौहडि** son of Kauhada'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided Thus the pupils of **वामरथ्य** are called **वामरथ्या** which word is thus formed **वामरथ्य + ण्य = वामरथ्या** 'a descendant of Vāmaratha' (IV 1, 115 S 1118) Then to denote pupils we add **अण्** by IV 2 111 S 1332 Thus **वामरथ्य + अण् = वामरथ्य** 'a pupil of Vāmarathya'

Note — Why do we say 'Yuvan affix **अण्** and **इम्** are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided Thus the Yuvan descendant of **दाक्षि** 'grandson of **दक्ष**' will be **दाक्षादण्य** Here the affix **फक्** (IV 1 101 S 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the अण् which went to form the word पाणिन is not elided because the elision taught by the present sūtra refers to the अण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sūtra and not the gotra अण् for the अण् in पाणिन is the general अण् and not the particular ऋषि denoting अण् । The work enunciated by Pāṇini is Pāṇinīyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix छ by IV 2 114 S 1337 and not by the affix अण् of IV 2, 112 S 1333 For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इम् and so *prima facie* the sūtra IV 2 112 S 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इम् referred to in that sūtra is the gotra affix इम्, as will be explained hereafter, while the इम् in पाणिनि is the युवन् affix इम् ॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीय formed by adding अण् to पाणिनीय । This अण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine Thus पाणिनीय and पाणिनीया ॥

१२७७ । सूत्राच्च कोपधात् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

सूत्रवाचिन ककारोपधादभ्येतुवेति तु ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । अश्रोक्तार्थ आरम्भ । अष्टावध्याया परिमाणस्य अष्टक पाणिने सूत्रम् । तदधीयते विद्वन्ति वा अष्टका ॥

1277 The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate

This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्रोक्त or the Announcer

Thus अष्टक is the title of Pāṇini sūtra Those who study अष्टक will be called also अष्टक as अष्टका पाणिनीया 'those who study, the Ashtaka' So also दशका वैशम्पयणीया, त्रिका काशकुम्भ्या ॥

Note —The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given Thus महावार्तिक सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिक । So also कालापक ॥

Why do we say having क् for its penultimate? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टय ॥

१२७८ । छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

छन्दास ब्राह्मणानि च श्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाणि स्युः । अभ्येतुवेति प्रत्यय विना न प्रयोग्यानीत्यर्थः । कठेन श्रोक्तमधीयते कडा । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिस्थायिण्यनि । तस्य कडश्चकाशिते लुक् । ततोऽण् तस्य श्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥

1278 The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmanas, express this relation only

The word **प्रोक्त** is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV 3 101 S 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows' **तद्विषयाणि** means 'this relation,' & the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of **अध्येतु** or **वेदितु**. In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a **प्रोक्त** affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an **अध्येतु** or **वेदितु** affix follows it and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV 2 94, it follows that a **प्रोक्त** affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by' In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it

Thus from the word **कठ**, the name of a Veda-Text, we get **कठः** meaning 'those who study or know Katha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word **कठ** we add the affix **यिनि** denoting announcer, by IV 3 104 S 1484 then we elide it by IV 3 107 S 1487, leaving the bare word **कठ**, then we add **अण्**, which again we elide by IV 2 64 S 1443. **कठ+यिनि=कठ+o** (IV 3 107 S 1487), = **कठ+अण्=कठः** (IV 2 64 S 1443) Plural **कठाः** 'those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha'

Note —Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñavalkya. Thus **याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि=याज्ञवल्क्यानि**. Similarly **सौलभानि**. These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them. See IV 3 105

The word **च** meaning 'and' is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus **काश्यापिन, कौत्सिकिन** 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika'. So also with regard to Sūtra texts as, **पाराशरियो भिक्षव** 'the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parāśara' **शैलानिनो नद्य, कर्मन्दिन, कुर्यान्दिन &c.**

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brahmanas'? Because the **प्रोक्त** affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple, as, **पाणिनीये व्याकरणम्, वैश्वकिल्प** ॥

CHAPTER XXVII—(Continued).

The Quadruply significant Affixes

१२७९ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

उदुम्बरा सन्यास्मिन्देशे औदुम्बर ॥

1279 (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom

Note—The words, of this aphorism require a detailed examination तद् 'that,' is the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix, अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing देशेतन्नाम्नि 'a country having that name', this qualifies the sense of the affix The sense is—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists"

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चातुरर्थिक 'quadruple significant'

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बर । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix अण् (IV 1 83)

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कौशाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280 After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी 'the city of Kauśāmbi, completed by Kuśāmba' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established

१२८१ । तस्य निवास । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

शिवीना निवासो देश शिव ॥

1281 After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place,' the whole word expressing the name of a country

The sūtra literally means 'his dwelling place' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus वैद 'the country of the Sîbis'

१२८२ । अदूरभवश्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभव नगर वैदिशा । चकारेण मायुक्तास्त्रयोऽर्थाः सन्निधाप्यन्ते । तेन वदवमान-
शब्दशाना चातुर्थिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282 And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place Thus विदिशाया अदूर भव = वैदिशम् । Vaidisam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidsâ flows

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this, so that the four sūtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sūtra and hence the affixes to be taught hereafter are called châturarthika or quadruply significant

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

अयोपवादः । कच्चतु,—काच्चतवम् । नद्या तु परस्वान्तदुप् । इक्षुमती ॥

1283 The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above)

This of course debars the universal affix मञ् (IV 1 83 S 1073)

Thus कौच्चतवम् from कच्चतु । But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumati, named after the sugarcane near it' Here we add the affix मनुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV 2 85 S 1304, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I 4 2 S 175) The affix अञ् governs the six sūtras up to IV 2 77 S 1289 The difference between अञ् and मञ् consists in the accent The अञ् is first-acute (IV 1 197 S 3686)

१२८५ । मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बहुञ् अङ्ग यस्य मनुपस्तदन्तादिभ्यः नाऽण् । सैभ्रकावतम् । बहुजिति किय । आहिमतम् ।
अङ्गमरणं बहुजिति तद्विशेषणं यथा स्वान्तस्वन्तविशेषणं ना मूलं ॥

1284 The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मनुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुञ् meaning literally 'many vowels' १, ६, polysyllabic, and of अङ्ग meaning 'stem' A word which,

exclusive of the affix नतुप् consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अण् । This debars अण् । Thus सैधकावतम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe आहिमर्तम्, धीवमर्तम् । Here though the word अहिमर्तम् ends in the affix नतुप्, yet the अहि or the stem viz अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries. In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix नतुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore मालावता निवास = मालवर्तम् by अण् ॥

१२८५ । बह्वच कूपेषु । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । दीर्घवरणे निर्वृत्तो दीर्घवरण कूप ॥

1285 The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated

This debars अण् । Thus दीर्घवरणे निर्वृत्त कूप = दीर्घवरण 'a well completed by Dirghavaratra.'

१२८६ । उदक्च विपाशः । ४ । २ । ७४ ॥

विपाश उत्तरे कुले वै कृपास्तेष्वम् । अवह्वज्य भारम् । इत्तेन निर्वृत्तो शक्त कूप । उदक् किम् । इक्षिणत कूपेष्वनेव ॥

1286 The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâśâ

This debars अण्, and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus ईक्ष 'a well completed by Datta'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply, as शक्त, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७ । सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ७५ ॥

कूपेऽपिति निर्वृत्तम् । सङ्कलेन निर्वृत्त सङ्कलम् । षोष्कलम् ॥

1287 The affix अण् comes after the word 'sankala' &c, in the above four-fold sense

This debars अण् । The word सकल is equivalent to समतः कल । Thus सौकल, षौष्कल &c

1 सकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, * 4 उडुप, 5 उडेष (उडप), 6 उडुपद, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवत्, 10 सुवत्, 11 सुमृत, 12 सुपुन, * 13 सुनेज, 14 सुसङ्गल * 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सल, * 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका, पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कुलास, 21 पलास, 22 निवेद्य, 23 गवेय, 24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्, * 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 देमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहल, 32 सद्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोधन्, 35 राजधन्, 36 भल, * 37 मल 38 मल । Also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत ।

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु धाव्येष्वम् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्बुक्ता दत्तामित्रा नगरी । साल्वे । धूमाम्नी । प्राप्ति, माकन्धी ॥

1288 So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people, and the word in these cases is always feminine

The word सौवीर &c. are attributes of देशे तन्नाम्न (IV 2 67) so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दत्तामित्रा 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sâuvîra) So also देशूमाम्नी (in Sâlva) माकन्धी, (in the Eastern countries)

१२८९ । सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

भ्योऽपवाद । सुवास्तोरदूरभव सौवास्तवम् । वण् । वाणवम् । अण्ग्रहण नद्या मत्तपो बाधना-
वम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289 The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense

This debars the affix भञ् which would have otherwise come by IV 2, 71 and 73 S 1283 and 1285 Thus सुवास्तारदूरभव नगर = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also बाधवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV 1 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars 'matup' of IV 2 85 S 1304, in the case of river names even Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु 2 वण् 3 भण्डु 4 खण्डु (कण्डु) 5 सेवालिन (सञ्चालिन) 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्ग, 9 कर्कश, 10 शरदीकण (शर्दाकण), 11 कृष्णकण (कृष्ण) 12 कर्क, 13 ककन्दुनती (कर्कन्धू) 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 आहसक्य 16 वृत् ॥

१२९० । रोणी । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तदन्ताच्च अण् । कृपाभ्योऽपवाद । रोण ॥ आजकरोण ॥

1290 The affix अण् comes after रोण in the fourfold sense

This debars अञ् of IV 2 74 S 1286 This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sūtras The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound Thus रोण, आजकरोण ॥

१२९१ । कोपघाञ् । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । भ्योऽपवाद । कार्यच्छिद्रक कूप । कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

1291 The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV 2 71 and 73 S 1283 and' 1285 Thus कार्णच्छिद्रक रूप ॥ कार्णवेष्टक ॥ कार्कवाकवम् । वैशङ्कवम् ॥

१२६२ । वुञ्छणकठजिलसेनिरहञ्जयफक्किभिञ्जयकवठकोऽरीहणकशा-
भ्यश्चकुमुदकौशतृणप्रेक्षादमसखिसकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ।
४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्य सप्तदशभ्य सप्तदश क्रमात्सुअतुरर्थ्याम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्वृत्तमारीहण-
कम् । कृशाभ्यादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्णाभ्यायम् । ऋश्यादिभ्य क । ऋश्यकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यश्छप् । कुमुदिकम् ।
काशादिभ्य हल । काशिल । तृणादिभ्य स । तृणसम् । प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनि । प्रेक्षी । अश्मादिभ्यो र ।
अश्मर । सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् । साखेयम् । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्य । साङ्काश्यम् । बलादिभ्यो य । बल्यम् ।
पक्षादिभ्य फक् । पाक्षायण । पय पन्थ च । पान्यायन । कर्णादिभ्य फिञ् । कार्णायनि ।
सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् । सौतङ्गानि । प्रगद्यादिभ्यो ज्य । प्रागद्य । वराहादिभ्य कक् । वाराहक । कुमुदादि-
भ्यश्छक् । कौमुदिक ॥

1292 In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively —

1 वुञ् (=अक) after अरीहण &c 2 छण् (=ईय) after कृशाश्च &c 3 क after
ऋश्य &c 4 छप् (=ईक्) after कुमुद &c 5 हल after काश &c 6 स (or श) after तृण
&c 7 इनि (=इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c 8 र after अश्मन् &c 9 ढञ् (=एय) after सखि
&c 10 ण्य (=य) after सकाश &c 11 य after बल &c 12 फक् (=भायर्न) after
पक्ष &c 13 फिञ् (=आयनि), after कर्ण &c 14 इञ् (=इ) after सुतङ्गम &c 15 ज्य
(य) after प्रगदिन् &c 16 कक् (=क्) after वराह &c 17 टक् (=ईक्) after कुमुद &c

Note —The above affixes वुञ् &c are applied to the above classes of words
भादि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words The first part of
the sūtra upto ढञ् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen
word classes The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I 3 10

The examples of the above are —

(1) अरीहणकम्, (2) कार्णाभ्यायम् (3) ऋश्यकम्, (4) कुमुदिकम्, (5)
काशिल (6) तृणसम्, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, (8) अश्मर्, (9) साखेयम्, (10) साकाश्यम्,
(11) बल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायर्ण, पान्य यर्ण, (13) कार्णायनि, (14) सौतङ्गनि,
(15) प्रागद्य (16) वाराहक, and lastly (17) कौमुदिक ॥

Note —The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur
in three classes, viz अरीहणादि, (86), कुमुदादि (14) and वराहादि (3) Moreover it is
governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the
opinion of Patanjali And because it occurs in the वरयादि class (IV 2 82 S 1301)
therefore this universal अण् (IV 1 83) will be elided after it As we have already
shown before under I 2 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीष H

(1) 1 अरीहण, 2 दुषण,* 3 दुहण,* 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सापरायण, 8 कौष्ट-
यण, 9 औष्टायण,* 10 वैगसायन, 11 वैजायन, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमसायन (also वैमसायन), 14
सौमसायन (मो), 15 सौमसायन, 16 सौसायन 17 धौमसायन,* 18 सौमायन,* 19 ऐन्द्रायण,*

20 कौन्त्यायण,* 21 खाण्डायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विषय, 25 विपाश, 26 उहण्ड, 27 उहण्चन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृन् (कश), 31 जाम्बदन (वन्त) 32 शिशपा, 33 दैवत (दैवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K) 35 सुयज्ञ 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर 38 अम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशमन् (सुशर्मा K), 41 इलह * 42 भलन्धन,* 43 खण्डु,* 44 कनल,* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त,* 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2) 1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेशमन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश,* 7 रोमश * 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक,* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 कुर्चल,* 13 सुवैचल,* 14 सुकर, 15 सुकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग,* 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 भाजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता) 24 भवनत, 25 विकुन्धास (v 1 कुविधास, विकुधास), 26 पराशर,* 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस् * 29 मौद्गल्य 30 यूकर,* (मौद्गल्याकर) 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर 33 भवयास and भवावस् ॥

(3) 1 कृश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध निबन्धन, निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ 12 भसानि, 13 सित, 14 मत,* 15 वेशमन् * 16 उत्तराह्नन्, 17 अह्नन् * 18 स्थूल 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु) 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनकुट्ट, 23 अरुडु * 24 परवश, 25 वेणु 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 वण्ड,* 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कहम, 31 अंशु ॥

(4) 1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट उत्कट) 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास,* 11 शकट * 12 कच * 13 मधु * 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व * 16 अश्वत्थ 17 बल्लज 18 यवाष, 19 कूप 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम, 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 विक, 25 कत ॥

(5) 1 काश 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश 5 पीयूषा (पयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छल * 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 विस (विश and विस) 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर,* 18 मधुर,* 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपिस्थ,* 21 जतु, 22 शीपाल 23 नर, 24 कटक ॥

(6) 1 तृण 2 नड, 3 मुल,* 4 वन, 5 पण, 6 वर्ण 7 वराण,* 8 बिल 9 पुल * 10 फल,* 11 अर्जुन,* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण * 14 बल 15 चरण 16 वुस 17 जन, 18 लघ ॥

(7) 1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 व युका, 4 ध्रुवका 5 क्षिपका, 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इकट (इकुट), 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 सकट 10 ऋट,* 11 कूप,* 12 बुक * 13 पुक * 14 पुट,* 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप * 17 यवाष * यवास), 18 ध्रुवका,* 19 गत * 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 हिरण्य,* 22 ध्रुवका 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 मुक ॥

(8) 1 अश्मन्, 2 यूय, (also यूय) 3 ऊष (रूप and रूप), 4 मीन, 5 मह, 6 धर्म 7 युष्, 8 शुद् * 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा 12 कौट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम'), 14 कन्द,* 15 कान्द * 17 गङ्ग,* 18 शुड,* 19 कुण्डल * 20 पीन,* 21 शुह * ॥

(9) 1 सखि 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त 4 सखिदत्त 5 गाविल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल, 7 पाल (भल्लपाल भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक * 10 कुगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव,* 14 वीर,* 15 पूर * 16 वज्र * 17 कुशरिक,* 18 सहिर (सहिर, सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर,* 22 समल, 23 सुगस 24 गेह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 समल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

(10) 1 सकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मिर), 4 समीर, 5 सुरसेन (शूर), 6 सरिक, 7 सर,* 8 सुपन्नियन (rightly सुपयन्नि), पन्थ (सक्थ') च 9 यूय (यूय), 10 भश, 11 अङ्ग * 12 नासा * 13 पलिन,* 14 अमुनाश * 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मालिन, 18 दश,* 19 कुम्भ,

20 शीर्ष* 21 विरत (चिरन्त, विरत) 22 समल,* 23 सीर* 24 पञ्जर,* 25 मन्थ,*
26 नल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन्* 29 पुलिन,* 30 सुपरि* 31 कटिप* 32 सकर्णक*
33 वृष्टि,* 34 तीर्थ,* 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40
विरह ॥

(11) 1 बल, 2 पुल (कुल), 3 नल,* 4 वल,* 5 वद,* 6 लकुल,* 7 डरल,*
8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल 15 कवल ॥

(12) 1 पक्ष 2 तुक्ष* 3 तुष* 4 कुण्ड,* 5 अण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक),
7 बलिक* 8 बिब, 9 आस्ति* 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक
(सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्) 18
रोमन् 19 लोमन् 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर,* 22 लोमक 23 शीर्ष,* 24 निवास,* 25 पाक,*
26 सिंहक 27 अकुश* 28 सुवणक 29 हंसक (हसका) 30 हिसक,* 31 कुत्त,* 32
लिङ्ग,* 33 खिल,* 34 यमल 35 हस्त, 36 कला,* 37 सकर्णक (सकण्डक), 38 अरमन्
39 आस्तिबल ॥

(13) 1 कर्ण 2 वनिष्ठ 3 अर्क 4 अकल्लष (लूष) 5 हुपर (डुपर), 6 आनडुह्य (अन),
7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 फ्र फज्, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ता*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13
कुलिश 14 आण्डीवत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव,* 16 जैव,* 17 आमक,* 18 अलुश, 19
शाल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14) 1 सुतगम 2 मुनिचिन् (चित्त) 3 विप्रचित्त (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त,* 5 महापुत्र,
6 स्वन,* 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गाडिक) 9 शुक्र 10 विप्र, 11 वीजवापिन् 12 अर्जुन, 13 स्वन,
14 अजिर 15 जोर 16 खारिडन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

(15) 1 प्रगडिन्, 2 मगदिन् 3 मवदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिब), 5 खारिडत
(खारिब), 6 गदित (गदिब), 7 चूडार 8 मूडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कोविदार ॥

(16) 1 वराह 2 पलाश 3 शिरीष, 4 पित्त, 5 निवद्ध, 6 बलाह,* 7 स्थूल (स्थूण),
8 विदग्ध 9 विजग्ध 10 विभग्न्, 11 निमग्न्,* 12 बाहु, 13 खादिर, 14 शर्करा, 15
विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

(17) 1 कुबुध 2 गोमय 3 रथवार 4 दशमान, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शास्मालि (ली), 7 शिरिषी
8 मुनिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल 10 कूट, 11 मधूकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्, 13 शाचिकर्ण, 14
मुधूकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप् । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे वाच्ये चातुरर्थिकस्य लुप्स्यात् ॥

1293 The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup*-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom)

Note —The words within bracket, in the above sūtra are added by the reading together of this sūtra with sūtra I 2 51 S. 1299 Dr Otto Böhltingk the learned translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. The aphorism literally means (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपद = पञ्चाला ॥ So also कुरुव मत्स्या, मङ्गा, मगधा, सुम्ना, पुण्ड्रा ॥

Why is there no *lup* elision of the affix in the following examples भीडुम्बरी जनपद 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees' वैदिशो जनपद &c? Because here the words भीडुम्बर and वैदिश are not *names* of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase तन्नामि is understood here also

१२९४ । लुपि युक्तव्यक्तिवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतिवर्जितवचने स्त । पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपद पञ्चाला । कुरुव । मङ्गा । वङ्गा । कलिङ्गा ॥

1294 When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word

Note — This sūtra consists of four words लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same' 3 व्यक्ति 'gender,' 4. वचन 'number' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix, but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word, while a derivative formed by *lup*—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word

Thus in the secondary derivative word क्षिरीषा meaning 'a village not far away from क्षिरीष trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender, similarly the word पञ्चाला is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province

This sūtra is not an approved rule, as is mentioned by pāṇini in 1.2.53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance

Thus पञ्चाला are a class of Kshatriyas, as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās, similarly कुरुव, मङ्गा, वङ्गा, कलिङ्गा ॥

१२९५ । तद्विशिष्य सङ्ख्याप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५३ ॥

युक्तवत् वचन न कर्तव्यं सङ्ख्यानां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295 This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of *sanjñā* (or conventional term or idiom)

Note —The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes, of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives, but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word *हारा* 'wife' has the form of masculine plural but is always applied to female singular; similarly *वार* 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also *गृहा*, *वर्षा*, *शिक्षा* ॥ This *sūtra*, therefore, modifies the former *sūtras*, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like *Pañchālā*, *Kaurava* &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a *Taddhita* affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries, consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar.

१२९६ । लुप्योगाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुपि न कर्तव्योऽवयवार्थेऽप्यप्यतीते ॥

1296 The *sūtras* declaring *lup*-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by *lup*-elision.

Note —In explaining certain words, it is a round about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus *वरणा* *Varanāḥ* is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from *वरणा* 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no *वरणा* trees at all near the town *Varanā*. Let us therefore call words like *वरणा*, *पञ्चाला*, &c, as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the *Taddhita* affixes given in IV 2 69 and 70 S 1281 and '82 (तस्य निवास, अदूरभवञ्च), relating to residence and vicinity, much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV 2 81 and 82 S 1293 and 1301 (जनपदे लुप् । वरणादिभ्य) ॥

१२६७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

यदि हि योगस्यावयवार्थस्यैव बोधकं स्यात्तदा तदभावे न दृश्येत ॥

1297 And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note —This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language, then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *sup*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चाला &c. are not derivative words, but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Panchalās be the name or the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchalās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchalās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called कृति words.

१२६८ । प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थं प्रधानमित्येव रूपं वचनमप्यविध्यम् । कुतः अर्थस्य लोकोक्त एव सिद्धे ॥

1298 The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyāītha) is the chief factor (pradhānam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made, because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note —The translation according to Kāshukā is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhāna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

Note —This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words, 1 Pradhāna 'Principal in compound' Asin

the compound राजपुरुष 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhana 2 Pratyaya 'affix' 3 अर्थ 'meaning' 4, वचनम् 'word or sentence'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word, and if a derivative word, then by the affix Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it, or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Rāja puruṣa. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an आपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

१२६६ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

भलीलाया राजे पश्चार्धेनागामिन्या पूर्वार्धेन च सहितो दिवसोऽद्यतन । विशेषणद्वयसर्जन-
मित्यादि पूर्वार्धार्थे परिभाषित तत्प्राग्वह्यस्य समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धे ॥

1299 And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kāla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught)

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight) Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients. These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c. is also determined by usage.

Note —Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतन काल or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Āchāryas —“The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana.” Others say “from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day.” Similarly others have explained the ‘upasarjana’ to mean “that which is not the principal word in a compound.” The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define

such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses. They say "This is to be done by me to day, this will be done by us to morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say —“वयमद्य गृहे आमे वा उपसर्जनम्” ‘we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,’ meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. ‘A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership.’ “In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal.” “In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal” &c

१३०० । विशेषणानां चाजाते । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुबधस्य विशेषणानामपि तद्वर्जित्वेन स्तो जातिं वर्जयिष्यत् । पञ्चाला रमणीया । गोदौ रमणीयौ । अजाते किम् । पञ्चाला जनपद । गोदौ ग्राम ॥

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्ति * ॥ हरीतक्या फलानि हरीतक्य ॥

खलतिकादिषु वचनम् * ॥ खलतिकस्य पर्वतस्यादूरभवानि खलतिकं वनानि ॥

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेध * ॥ मनुष्यलक्षणे लुबधे विशेषणानां न । लुबन्तस्य तु भवतीत्यर्थः । पञ्चाला अभिरूप ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned, (i.e. when not expressing *jāti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पञ्चाला रमणीया, बहुन्ना, बहुशीरघृता, बहुमाल्यफलाः ‘the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.’ Here the adjective रमणीया pleasant &c agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāh, being also in masculine plural. So also गोदौ रमणीयौ ॥ Why do we say, when not expressing *jāti*”? For when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word, then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चाला जनपद, गोदौ ग्राम ॥

Note.—Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālāh does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पञ्चाला जनपदो रमणीयो बहुल 'the country of Panchālās is pleasant and fertile'. Here the words रमणीय and बहुल qualify directly the word जनपद, and indirectly the word Panchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

Vart —In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्या फलानि = हरीतक्य 'the fruits of Haritaki'. Here फल is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine. Here the affix denoting fruit is *lup*-elided by IV 3 167 S 1546. The resultant noun *haritaki* meaning the fruit of *haritaki* agrees in gender only.

Vart —The words खलतिक &c retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिक वनानि 'mountain forests; i. e. forests in the vicinity of mountains'. Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis* neuter. Here the affix is *lup* elided by IV 2 82 S 1301.

Vart —Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the *lup* elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कृ (V 3 97 S 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वक means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चचा means a "doll of straw". But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चचा + कन्लुप् (लुप्प्रत्यये V 3 98 S 2053) = चच्चा। Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चचा अभिरूप 'the delightful straw figure of a man'.

१३०१ । वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८० ।

जनपदार्थे आरम्भ । वर्यानामदूरभव नगर वरणा ॥

1301 Also after the word *वरणा* &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words *वरणा* and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वर्यानामदूरभव नगर = वरणा "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā."

Note —The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badarī tree."

1 वरणा, (वरण) 2 भृङ्गी 3 शास्मलि 4 शुण्डी * 5 शयाण्डी * 6 वर्णी 7 सास्रपणी, 8 गाद (पूर्वो गोदो पूर्वेण गोदो, अपरेण गोदो), 9 आलिङ्गघायन, 10 आनपरी (आनपरी, आलपद) 11 अम्बू * 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्गु *, 16 उज्जयनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गथा 18 मथुरा, 19 नक्षत्रिणा, 20 उरसा (उरसा) 21 गोमती * 22 वलभी *, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषा 25 काञ्ची, 26 सदाण्डी, 27 वणिक्, 28 वणिक् ॥
Is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया वा । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

अस्माद्यातुपर्येकस्य वा लुप्तयान् ॥

1302 Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided

१३०३ । ठक्छो च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्त । कुमुदादौ वराहादौ च पाठसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे ढक्कौ । वामहयसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे औत्सारिकोऽयं तस्य लुप्तिवकल्पः । षड् रूपाणि । शर्करा । शर्करम् । शर्करिकम् । शक्तीवम् । शर्करकम् । शर्करकम् ॥

1303 The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense

Why do we say "optionally" in S 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV 2 80 S 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes ढक् and कक् taught therein for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1 83 S 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise Thus शर्करा + अण् = शर्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV 2 80 Thus शर्करा, शर्करम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ढक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by ढक्), and शक्तीवम् (by छ)

१३०४ । नद्यां मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

आतुरर्थिक । इक्षुमती ॥

1304 The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्) Thus बहुम्बरावती, महाकावती, श्रीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, दुर्मती ॥ See IV 3 119 S 1499 by which

the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI 1 219 S 3705 by which the udātta is placed on this vowel See VIII 2 10 S 1898 by which नत् becomes वत् ॥

Note —The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river names भागीरथी and जैनरथी which are formed by अण् added under IV 2 68

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८६ ॥

मत्तुप् स्यात्मातुपर्यंक । अनर्थ आरम्भ । मधुमान् ॥

1305 The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river As मधुमान्, बिसवान् &c

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्याणु 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 घामी, 7 करीर (किरीर), 8 हिन, 9 किशरा, 10 चार्वाण (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली*, 13 वार, 14 इटका, 15 भासुति 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्वा, 18 शकल, 19 चलाका, 20 आमिदि (आमिधी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन् 23 रुष्टि (छुष्टि हृष्टि), 24 वृथ, 25 तच्चादिला, 26 खड (खडा), 27 वट*, 28 वट (वेटा), 29 रग्य 30 मृत्त 31 मरुव, वार्वाघाट ॥

१३०६ । कुमुदनडधेतसेभ्यो डमतुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुद्वान् । नड्वान् । वेतस्वान् । आद्ययोर्क्षय इति अन्त्ये मादुपधया इति वक्ष्यमाणेन व ॥ नहिषाम्भवति वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ ॥ नहिष्माज्ञान देश ॥

1306 The affix डमतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस्व in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and naḍvat) the म् of the affix is changed to व by VIII 2 10 S 1898, and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII 2, 9 S 1897

Vari —So also after the word नहिष, as नहिष्वान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाङ्ङुलच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नङ्गुल । शादो जम्बालघासयो । शाङ्गुल ॥

1307 The ङ्ङुलच् comes after नङ्गुल and शाङ्गुल in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided

Thus नङ्गुल and शाङ्गुल ॥ The word शाङ्गुल means "mud" and "young grass" (See Amarakosha III 3 89)

१३०८ । शिखाया वलच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखावलम् ॥

1308 The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhā vala' lit 'crested as a peacock'

Note —The word शिखा takes वल्च् by V 2 111 S 1918, the affix having the same force as मनुष् V 2 94 S 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is') That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V

१३०६ । उत्करादिभ्यश्छ । ४ । २ । २० ॥

उत्करीय ॥

1308 The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses

As उत्करीय ॥

1 उत्कर 2 सफल 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल ७ अदमन 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्ण)
8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक 10 कितव 11 अणक * 12 वैवण * 13 पिचुक 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 लुद्र (शकाशुद्र st काश क्षुद्र), 17 भक्षा, 18 शाल 19 जन्था २० अजिर (भजिन),
21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (क्षान्त), 24 खदिर 25 शूर्याय, 26 श्यावनाथ, 27 नवाकव
(नैव, बक), 28 तृय, * 29 वृक्ष २० शाक, * 31 पलाश 32 विजिज्जिपा, * 33 अनेक, 34
भातप, 35 फल, 36 सपर, * 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक, * 41 इडा, 42
अरण्य, 43 निशान्त, * 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक, * 46 शकर, 47 अवरोहित 48 क्षार, * 49
विशाल, ५० वेच, 51 अरीहण * 52 खड्ग, 53 वातागर, 54 मन्त्रणार्ह, * 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56
नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष, नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 मृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मरुच, 61
अर्जुनवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

नडकीयम् ॥ कुञ्चा ह्रस्व च * ॥ कुञ्चकीय ॥ तत्तल्लोपश्च * ॥ तक्षकीय ॥

1310 The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c when the affix छ follows in the above four senses

To the words नड &c the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्, तत्तल्लोपश्च, &c

Two Vārtikas —The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided e g कुञ्चकीय and तक्षकीय ॥

1 नड, 2 वृक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत,
10 मृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाण) ह्रस्व च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च ॥

१३११ । बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता बिल्वकाद्यस्तेभ्यश्छस्य लुक् सञ्चित परे । बिल्वे यस्या सन्ति सा बिल्वकीया ।
तस्या भवा वैल्वका । वैल्वकीया । वैल्वका । छस्य किञ्च । कुमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात्तल्लोको निवृत्तिर्मा भूत् ।
अन्यथा सन्निधौगशिष्टानामिति कुगपि निवर्तेत । लुग्नह्य सर्वलोपार्थ । लोपो हि यमात्रस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of the Nadādi class (IV 2 91 S 1310), and the augment क is added to them by IV 2 91 S 1310 After these words, with the augment क the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix Thus बिल्वा यस्या सन्ति = बिल्वकीया , तस्या भवा (IV 3 53) = वैवका ॥ Similarly वैवकीया वैवका ॥

Why do we say the affix छ ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim — सनियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापये (or अभाव) उभयोरप्यभाव (or अपाय) , “When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise’ The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛtti is understood from VI 4 149 S 499

Here ends the chapter on Quadrulpy Significant affixes

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अथ तद्धितेषु शैषिकाः ॥

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ŚAISIKAS

१३१२। शेषे। ४। २। ६२ ॥

भपत्यादिचतुरर्थ्यन्तादन्योऽर्थः शेषस्तत्राऽप्याह स्यु । चक्षुषा गृह्यते चाक्षुष रूपम् । आवण शब्दः । औपनिषद् पुरुषः । हवदि पिष्टा दाषज्ञ सक्तव । उल्लुखले क्षुण्ण ओल्लुखला यात्रक । अश्वेरुह्यते आश्वो रथः । चतुर्भिर्गृह्यते चातुर शकटम् । चतुरश्रश्च दृश्यते चातुदश रक्षः । शेष इति लक्ष्य आधिकारश्च । तस्य विकार इत्यत्र प्राक् शेषाधिकारः ॥

1312 The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV 1 92 S 1088) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification, the last, be called शेष or the remainder '—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix भञ् &c Thus चाक्षुष viz ' colour which is apprehended by vision ' from चक्षुष्, आवण ' audible ' viz sound, from आवण, औपनिषद् ' treated of in Upanishad ' i e soul, दार्षद् from हवद्, ' ground on a stone ' i e flour of a fried corn, चातुर ' ridden in by four persons ' viz a cart, चातुर्दशम् ' who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon ' viz a goblin, ओल्लुखल ' pounded in a wooden mortar ' viz awn-less barley आश्व ' drawn by horses ' viz a chariot

The word शेषे is both a vidhi (lakshana) and an adhikara sūtra It is a vidhi sūtra in the senses of ' apprehension ' as in chakshushā grīhyate (apprehended by the eye), " pounding " (as in ulūkhale kshunna) &c For no sūtras are taught in these senses

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे " in the remainder " extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV 3 134 S 1514 The affixes ह् &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of ' progeny ' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात ' being born ' (IV 3 25 S 1393), प्रोक्त (IV 3 101 S 1481), आगत (IV 3 74 S 1453) &c निवास (IV 3 87 S 1467), &c कृत &c (IV 3 38 S 1413)

Note —Thus सौम्य means " born in Srughna (IV 3 25 S 1393), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV 3 38 S 1413), or abundant in Srughna (IV 3 39 S 1414), or suited to Srughna (IV, 3 41 S 1416), or staying in Srughna (IV 3 53 S 1428) or what

has come from Srughna (IV 3 74 S 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV, 3 83 S 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV 3 85 S 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV 3 85 S 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV 3 86 S 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV 3 87 S 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV 3 89 S 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV 3 90 S 1470) "

१३१३ । राष्ट्रवारपाराद्धौ । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

आम्ना क्रमाद्धौ स्त शेषे । राष्ट्रिय । अवारपारीण ॥

अवारपाराद्धिगृहीतादपि विपरीता इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अवारीणा पारीण पारावारीण । इह प्रकृतिविशेषादयष्ट्युत्प्लुता मत्वया उच्यन्ते तेषां ज्ञानादशोऽर्थविशेषा समयविभक्तयश्च वक्ष्यन्ते ॥

1313 The affixes *gha* and *lha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ल् (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus राष्ट्रिय 'born &c in a country,' अवारपारीण 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'

Vārt —The affix ल् comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately, as well as when compounded inversely e g अवारीण 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीण 'belonging to the other bank,' पारावारीण 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given, the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c will be taught hereafter in IV 3 25 1393 and sūtras that follow it

Note —There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is घ and the last where of are इयु (IV 3 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate, and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced there-from' IV 2 25 S 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned, and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यखञौ । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

ग्राम्य । ग्रामीण ॥

1314 The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीण, 'a rustic'

१३१५ । कत्त्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् । ४ । २ । ६५ ॥

कुस्तितालयः कत्त्रय । तत्र जातादि कावेयक । नागरेयक । ग्रामादित्यनुवृत्ते ग्रामेयक ॥

1315 The affix ढकञ् (पयक) comes after the words कञ्चि &c

As कान्धेयक, नागरेयक and if we take the anuvritti of grāma from the last sūtra, we have ग्रामेयक ॥

1 कञ्चि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर)
9 माहिष्मती, 10 वमती, (चर्मवती) 11 उख्या 12 घाम 13 कुख्याया (कुनाया) यलोपभ,
14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यश्वास्यलङ्कारेषु । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कौलेयकश्च । कौलोऽन्य । कौलेयकौऽसि । कौलोऽन्य । मैत्रेयकोऽलङ्कार । मैत्रेयऽन्य ॥

1316 The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c (IV 3 25 S 1227 &c) but the whole word has a specific significance As कौलेयक = a dog (lit pertaining to a family), कौलेयक = a sword (lit remaining in a sheath) मैत्रेयक = a necklace When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौल, कौक्ष and मैव ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नादेयम् । माहेयम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317 The affix ढक् (पय) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i e IV 3 25 S 1227 &c)

Thus नादेय, 'pertaining to a river,' माहेयम् 'earthen, &c वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 मही 3 वाराणसी, 4 आवस्ती 5 कौशाम्बी 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनको)
7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी 11 पावा (पावा) 12 मावा
(मावा) 13 बाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वी*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 बाल्वा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list Its derivative will be पूर्वनगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पुर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately As वैरेयम् वनेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ९८ ॥

दक्षिणेत्याजन्तमव्ययम् । दक्षिणात्य । पाश्चात्य । पौरस्त्य ॥

1318 After the words 'dakṣhiṇā', 'paścāt', and 'puras', the affix 'tyak (त्य) is added in the remaining senses

As दक्षिणात्य 'pertaining or produced in the south', पाश्चात्य 'occidental', पौरस्त्य 'oriental'

१३१६ । कापिश्या षफक् । ४ । २ । ६६ ॥

कापिश्या जातादि कापिशायन मधु । कापिशायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319 After the word 'Kāpīśī', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses. (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV 1 41 S, 498)

Thus कापिशायने मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'

१३२० । राक्षोरमनुष्येऽण् च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

राक्ष् षफक् । राक्षसो गौ । राक्षसायण । अमनुष्य इति किम् । राक्षसको मनुष्य ॥

1320 After the words राक्ष् the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being

As राक्षसो गौ or राक्षसायणो गौ ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राक्षसको मनुष्य (IV 2 134)

Note —Q The word राक्ष् belongs to कच्छादि class (IV 2 133), and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV 2 134, it will take the affix अण् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV 2 133, then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इव, १ e अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृश "a being like man, but not man" The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man' For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add षफक्, but we never do so When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV 2 133, as राक्ष् "a woolen blanket" When we want to denote a living being other than man, then we add अण् and षफक् of this sūtra The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix षफक् ॥

The word राक्ष् is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV 1 83, but this is debarred by वृज् of IV 2 125 S 1349, and वृज् is debarred by डज् of IV 2 119 S 1343, and डज् is debarred by अज् of IV 2 132 S 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debarbs that and ordains अण् and षफक् ॥

१३२१ । शुभ्रागपागुदकप्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

दिव्यम् । प्राच्यम् । अपरच्यम् । उदीच्यम् । प्रतीच्यम् ॥

1321 After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यद् is added in the remaining senses

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम् (IV 4 130 S 3476) and प्रतीयम् ॥ When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyul' and 'tyu' e g प्राक्तनम् (IV 3 25) the word अपाच्य means south

१३२२ ॥ कन्थायाद्यक् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

कान्तिक ॥

1322 After the word 'Kanthā', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्तिक ॥

१३२३ । वर्णौ बुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

वर्णुर्नदस्तस्य तनीपदेशो वर्णु तद्विषयार्थभाषिकन्यासभाषुक् स्यात् । यथा हि आतं हिमवत्सु कान्तिकम् ॥

1323 To the same stem is added the affix बुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu

The Varnu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varnu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV 2 81 S 1293 Thus कान्तिकम् ॥ As in the sentence यथा हि आतं हिमवत्सु कान्तिकम् (?)

१३२४ । अव्ययास्यप् । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अनेहकतसिञ्च एव * ॥ अमाऽन्तिकसहार्थयो । अमात्य । इहस्य । कृत्य । तत्तस्य । तत्रस्य । परिगणन किम् । उपरिष्टाङ्गव औपरिष्ट ॥

अव्ययना अमात्रे टिलोप * ॥ अनित्योऽयं केहिषटिलोपविधानात् । तेनेह न । अरातीव ॥ स्थलेषु इति वक्तव्यम् । नित्य ॥

नित्यो गते * ॥

1324 The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses

This rule is too wide and the following *vārtikas* restrict it.

Vart The affix स्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables -- अमा near or 'together' इह here', क 'where', those that end in तदि (V 3 7 S 1953) and च (V 3 10 S 1957) As अमास्य 'a minister', इहस्य, कृत्य, तत्तस्य, तत्रस्य, &c

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe औपरिष्ट, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

Vārt —The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha As सौवर्गमिक (स्वर्गमनसाह) This is an antya rule because lopa is ordained of the ङि syllable of bahis by vārtika under IV 1 55 S 1877 Had the ङि elision of the present vārtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vārtika teaching the ङि elision of bahis

Thus there is no ङि elision of अरात् and शाश्वत् when they take the affix छ in the same sense As अरातीय and शाश्वतीय ॥

Vārt —The ल्यप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of "fixed" as, निश्च = ध्रुवश्च ॥

Vārt —The ल्यप् is added to the upasarga निष् in the sense of 'gone' As निष्ठश्च "Chandalas &c who have gone out of the caste" It is thus formed निष् + ल्य ॥ Now applies the following sūtr

१३२५ । ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिण परस्य सस्य ष स्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्ठषश्चापञ्जलादि ॥
अरण्याराण्य * ॥ आरण्य सुमनस ॥

दूरादेत्य * ॥ दूरेत्य ॥

उत्तरादाहम् * ॥ औत्तराह ॥

1325 ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

Therefore the निष् is replaced by ष before ल्यप् ॥ Thus we get निष् + ल्य = निष्ठश्च meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chan dālas &c

Note —The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तर तम, तय, ल्व, तस्, ल्यप् ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । तर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणाना निकेता । ल्व । सर्पिष्टम् । तल्ल । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्ट । ल्यप् । आविष्टयो बद्धते ॥

Vārt —The affix ञ comes after अरण्य e g आरण्य सुमनस 'forest flower's

Vārt —The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e g दूरे य पथिक 'a traveller'

Vārt —The affix आहम् comes after उत्तर e g औत्तराह ॥

१३२६ । ऐषमोह्य श्वसोऽन्यनरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एभ्यस्त्यङ्वा । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणौ द्युदयुलौ । ऐषमस्त्यम् । ऐषमस्तनम् । श्वस्त्यम् । श्वस्तनम् । श्वस्त्यम् । श्वस्तनम् । पक्षे शौचस्तिक वक्ष्यते ॥

1326 The affix ल्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas,' 'hyas,' and 'śvas', in the remaining senses

These take optionally स्थाप, in the other alternative they will take युद् and ह्युल् as taught hereafter

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391), श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391) or शौचस्तिकम् (IV 3 15 S 1385) The word svas' takes the augment तुद् also, hence the above three forms

१३२७। तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्जौ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

यथासख्येन । काकतीरम् । पाल्लतीरम् । शैवरूप्यम् । तीररूप्यान्ताविति नोक्तम् । बहुवर्त्तमानाभूत् । बाहुरूप्यम् ॥

1327 The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ज् comes after a word ending with रूप्य, in the remaining senses

This debars अण । Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्लतीरम् शैवरूप्यम् । The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV 1 15 S 470) those in अ take the affix दाप् (IV 1 4 S 454) The sutra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तान्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बाहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara pada as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V 3 68 S 2023) Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण ॥

१३२८। दिक्पूर्वपदादसञ्ज्ञायां अ । ४ । २ । १०६ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । पौर्वशात् । असञ्ज्ञाया किम् । सञ्ज्ञाभूताया प्रकृतेर्मा भूत् । पूर्वेषुकामशम्या भव पूर्वेषुकामशम । प्राचा मामनगराणामित्युत्तरपदवृद्धि ॥

1328 The affix अ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix अ is added, forming the feminine in ङा । The word असञ्ज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base,' This debars अण् । Thus पूर्वशाला + अ = पौर्वशाल (VI 4 148 VII 2 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II 1 50 S 727) we have पूर्वेषुकामशमै (VII 3 14 S 1400), The example illustrates, "how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इषुकामशमी, "Ishukāmashamī in the-East", the whole being the name of the city Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vriddhied, as is the general rule (VII 2 117, S 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vriddhied viz the letter ई of इषुकामशमी by rule VII 3 14 S 1400

१३२६ । मन्त्रेभ्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादित्वेव । दिशोऽनन्तराणामिति मन्त्रपर्युक्तसादाविबुद्धिः । पौर्वमन्त्रः । आपरमन्त्रः ॥

1329 The affix अञ् is added to the word मन्त्र, preceded by a word denoting direction, in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमन्त्रः / ०ह्री । आपरमन्त्रः / ०ह्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII 3 13 S 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मन्त्र ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाञ्च बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । शैवपुराणम् ॥

1330 The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here The अञ् debars अण् । Thus शैवपुराणम् ॥

१३३१ । प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपथादण् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

माहिकिप्रस्थः । पालद् । नैलीनक ॥

1331 The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलद्दी &c, and after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism Thus माहिकिप्रस्थः, पालद्, नैलीनक ॥

1 पलद्दी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहु (कीट)), 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गौडी, 12 नैकती (नैकती), 13 परिखा, 14 शरसेन, 15 गामती, 16 पटखर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि), 18 यक्षुसोम, 19 सकुलोम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो भोत्रप्रस्थयान्तेभ्योऽण् स्यात् । कण्वो गणादि । काण्वस्य अत्रा काण्वा ।

1332 The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kanva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family name, the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses" This debars the affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus काण्व 'the pupils of Kānva'

Thus Kanva class is a sub class of Gargādi The Family name from कण्व is कौण्व्य by rule IV 1 105 To this, the affix अण् is added काण्व्य + अण् = काण्वेव (VI 4 148 and VI 4 152)

१३३३ । इज् अङ् । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इज् तदन्तादण् स्यात् । दाक्षा । गोत्रे किम् । सौतङ्गमेरिष सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रनिह शास्त्रीय न तु लौकिकम् । सेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333 After a Family-name formed by इज्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses

Thus from दक्ष we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षा 'the pupils of Dākshī' The final इ is elided before अण् by VI 4 148 S 311

Why do we say 'denoting a family name'? Observe सौतङ्गनि, a word formed by इज् of IV 2 80, S 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four fold sense of IV 2 68 705 1280 82 The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीय by छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) The word Gotra in this sūtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books and not worldly gotras, or family descent Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम् ॥

१३३४ । न इज्च प्राच्यभरनेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इज् अन्त्येऽपवादः । प्राचीया । काशीया । भरताना प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपादानमन्वज प्राच्यग्रहणे भरतानामग्रहणस्य लिङ्गम् ॥

1334 The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इज्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism from the लौकिक derivatives by affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337)

Thus प्राचीया and काशीया from, प्राचि or काशी । The word प्राचि and काशी are Vṛiddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take छ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East Folk or Prāchyas Their separate mention here indicates by jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas See II 4 66

१३३५ । वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । १ । १ । ७३ ॥

यस्य सप्तदायस्थोच्चा मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

1335 That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhi, is called vṛiddham

This defines the word वृद्धम् । The sūtra consists of five words — वृद्धि 'the vṛiddhi vowel', यस्य 'whose', अचाम् 'among the vowels', आदि 'is first', तद् 'that', वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham'

Note —If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham Thus the words माला, शाला &c, have the first vowel अ or a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham

The word vṛiddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes Thus there is a rule (IV 2 114 S 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vṛiddham Thus माला + छ = मालीय ॥

१३३६ । त्यदादीनि च । १ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृद्धसज्ञानि स्युः ॥

1336 The words tyad &c, are also called vṛiddham

Note —The त्यद् &c have been given in the list of sarvanāmas These words are also called vṛiddham Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम् । So also मदीयम्, इदीयम्, अस्तीयम्, स्वास्तीयम्, मास्तीयम् &c

१३३७ । वृद्धाच्छ । ४ । २ । ११४ ।

शालीय । मालीय । तदीय ॥

1337 After a word cellad Vṛiddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses

The word गोत्र does not govern this sūtra This is a general rule This debars अण् । Thus from गार्ग्य we have गार्गीय (VI 4 148 S 311 and VI 4 152 S 2119) So also शालीय, मालीय, तदीय ॥

१३३८ । एङ् प्राचां देशे । १ । १ । ७५ ॥

एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धसज्ञ वा स्याद्देशाभिधाने । ऐषीपचनीय । गोनर्दीय । भोजकदीय । पत्ते अणि । ऐषीपचन । गोनर्द । भोजकट । एङ् किम् । आदिच्छत्र । कान्यकुब्ज ॥ वा नानधेयस्य वृद्धस वक्तव्या * ॥ ऐवदत्त । देवदत्तीय ॥

1338 A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vṛiddham, when it is the name of a country

A गोनर्द is a country of the east it is a vṛiddham word and we have गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीय, similarly ऐषीपचनीयम्, भोजकदीय । Alternatively, with the affix अथ the forms will be गोनर्दे, ऐषीपचन, भोजकट ॥

1 काचि, 2 चेदि (वेदी), 3 सायाति * 4 सवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान)
 7 बाकुलाह, 8 इस्तिकर्ष, 9 कुनामन्, (कुवामन्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन
 (गोधासन), 13 भारङ्गी,* 14 अरिदम, 15 अरिच,* 16 देवस्त, 17 दशमान (दासमान), 18
 घोवावता (सौधावतान), 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिधुनिच,
 24 हासनिच, 25 सुधानिच,* 26 सोमनिच,* 27 छागनिच,* 28 सधनिच,* 29 आपदादिपूर्वपरात्
 (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 सहा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वनिच, 34
 साधुनिच ॥

१३४१ । वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिञ्मिडौ स्त । छत्यापवाद । कास्तीर नाम वाहीकग्राम ।
 कास्तीरिणी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341 The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come, in the remaining
 senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of
 Vāhika

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sūtra This debars the affix
 छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus कास्तीरिणी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२ । विभाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु वे ग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्चिञ्मिडौ वा स्त । सौदर्शनिनी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342 The affixes ठञ् and मिड् come optionally in
 the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting
 Vāhika villages situated in Uśinara

Thus सौदर्शनिनी, सौदर्शनिका, and सौदर्शनीया ॥

१३४३ । ओर्देशे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उपवर्णान्तदेशवाचिनश्च । निषादकर्ष, निषादकर्षका । केऽय इति ह्रस्व । देशे किञ् ।
 पदोऽह्वावा । पादवा । मिडं व्यावर्तयितुं ठञ्महण्यम् । वृद्धाच्छ परस्वाक्य बाधते । दासिकर्षक ॥

1343. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses,
 after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sūtra For had it been
 understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating
 it in the next.

Thus निषादकर्षका from निषादकर्ष, the long ऊ is shortened by VII 4
 13. S 834 before the affix क । Why do we say 'denoting a country'?
 Observe पादवा 'the pupils of पद' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sutras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and मिड् both were current,
 hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anu-
 vṛitti of ठञ् from the last sūtra, without drav ण् in the anuvṛitti of मिड् ॥

This sūtra being subsequent in order to IV 2 114 S 1337, debars that sūtra, and hence in the case of vṛddha words ending in उ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the ड् of the present sūtra. Thus शक्तिर्दुक ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिना वृद्धादेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । भारुकजम्बुक । शकजम्बुक । नेह मल्लवास्तुः । मल्लवास्तव ॥

1344 The affix ड् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks

The phrase मोर्देशे is here understood Thus भारुकजम्बुक, शकजम्बुक ॥

The affix ड् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a लक्षण or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have मल्लवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वविशेषवाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । ऐरावत धन्व ऐरावतकः । साङ्काश्यकाभिलिख्यश्चो वुञ्छयादिष्वेव यवान्तौ । साङ्कादयक । काम्पिल्यक ॥

1345 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here The word धन्व means a waste or desert Thus ऐरावतधन्वक, ऐरावतक are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly साङ्काश्यक and काम्पिल्यक are examples of य penultimate. (IV 2 80 S 1292)

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतदन्तावृद्धादेशवाचिनो वुञ् स्यात् । कल्याणवाद । मालाप्रस्थक । नान्दीपुरक । पैलुवहक । पुरान्तमहयममगयम् । प्राग्देश तूत्तरेण सिद्धम् ।

1346. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus मालाप्रस्थक, नान्दीपुरक, पैलुवहक ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope

१३४७ । रोपधेतो प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्रागुक्तवाचिना इद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । पाठलिपुत्रक । ईत, काकन्दक ॥

1347 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debar. छ ॥ This पाठलिपुत्रक ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दक, (VI 4 148)

Note —Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East folk'? Observe दाक्षानिषीय formed by छ ॥ The ह् in ईत in the sutra is for the sake of distinctness

१३४८ । जनपदतद्वधोश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तद्वधिविवाचिनश्च वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । आदर्शक । जैगर्तक ॥

1348 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तद्वधि ॥ This debar. छ ॥ Thus आदर्शक is an example of जनपद ॥

Note —And औपुष्टक and श्यामयानक from औपुष्ट and श्यामयान two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV 2 137 S 1361 to words like जिनर्त which is an arid desert as जैगर्तक ॥ The word तद्वधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary"

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्च जनपदतद्वधिविवाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वुञ् स्यात् । अवृद्धादणो वृद्धाच्छस्यापवादः । अवृद्धाजनपदात्, आङ्गक । अवृद्धाजनपदावधे, आजमीढक । वृद्धाजनपदात्, दार्शक । वृद्धाजनपदावधे, कालञ्जरक । विषयग्रहणं किम् । एकशेषेण बहुत्वे ना भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तन्य, सासु भवो वर्तन ॥

1349 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words

The words जनपद and तद्वधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debar. छ and अण् ॥ Thus from गङ्गा, दङ्गा and कलिङ्गा which are non Vriddha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गक, वाङ्गक and कालिङ्गक ॥ Similarly मज्जीम and अजम्मा are always non Vriddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms, we have from them आजम्मीक and अजम्माक ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form Thus दार्वक and जाम्बक from दावा and जाम्बा ॥ So also to Vriddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom कालजरा —कालजरक, वैकुलिशा —वैकुलिशक ॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sūtra? The word विषय is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तन्य plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तन ॥ For वर्तन्य is an ekaśeṣha plural of वर्तनी + वर्तनी + वर्तनी ॥

१३५० । कच्छाग्निवक्त्रवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धाववृद्धाश्च वुञ् स्यात् । दारुकच्छक । काण्डाग्रक । सैन्यवक्त्रक । बाहुवर्तक ॥

1350 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vriddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni,' 'vaktia' and 'garta'

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As दारुकच्छक, काण्डाग्रक, सैन्यवक्त्रक, and बाहुवर्तक ॥ Kāśika reads the sūtra as गतो &c

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c

१३५१ । धूमादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिभ्यो वुञ् । धौमक । तैर्यक ॥

1351 The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country

This debars अण् &c धौमक, तैर्यक &c

Note —The word पाथेय occurs in the list It would have taken वुञ् by IV 2 121 as it has य as penultimate Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by IV 2 124, here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country Thus विदेहाना क्षत्रियाणां स्व = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyās" So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor' Thus सामुद्रिका नौ and सामुद्रिको मनुष्य ॥ Otherwise not, as सामुद्रिकम् "Oceanic water"

1 धूम, 2 पडयड (खडयड and खयड), 3 शशाङ्क, 4 अर्जुनाव (अर्जुनाद), 5 माइकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली* 8 मानस्थली (मापस्थली), 9 भट्टस्थली*, 10 महुकस्थली*, 11 सधुहस्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सान्नासाह, 17 शष्प (शिष्य), 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध, मित्र, बल), 19 मञ्जाली*, 20 मङ्गकूल, 21 भाजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल), 22 ब्राह्मव, 23 ब्याहाव, 24 सस्फीय (सहीय), 25 बर्बर्, 26 बर्बर्, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त), 28 आनर्त, 29 माडर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घाव, 32 पल्ली (वली) 33 आग्राज्ञी 34 धार्तराज्ञी 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयास तीर्थ), 37 कूलान्तौवीरेषु, 38 सधुहान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप), 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 हस्तिणापय, 46 साकत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मनवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययो । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगरात्प्रावीण्यं स्यात्कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्ये । नागरकश्चौर शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किम् । नागरा ब्राह्मणा ॥

1352 The affix **बुञ्** comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied

The word **कुत्सन** which is equivalent to **निन्दन** or 'blame or censure', and **प्रावीण्य** which means **नैपुण्य** "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix

Thus **नागरक** 'a thief or a skilful person' The word literally means 'a town born, or town bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe **नागरा ब्राह्मणा** 'the Nāgara Brāhmanas'

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२९ ॥

बुञ् । अरण्याण्डत्यस्थापनाद् ।

पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यहन्तिवित्ति वाच्यम् * ॥ अरण्यक पन्था अध्यायो न्यायो विहारो मनुष्यो हन्ती वा ॥

वा गोमयम् * ॥ अरण्यका अरण्या वा गोमया ॥

1353 The affix **बुञ्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the word **अरण्य**, in the sense of a man

This debars the affix **ण** of 1325 Vartika Thus **आरण्यक** मनुष्य 'a forester'

Art —It should be stated rather that the affix **बुञ्** is added to **अरण्य** in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant' Thus **आरण्यक** पन्था, अध्याय, न्याय विहार मनुष्य or हन्ती ॥

Vart —Optionally when the sense is that of cow dung, as आरण्या or आरण्यका गोमया ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ॥ As आरण्या पशव 'wild beasts

१३५४ । विमाषाकुरुयुगन्धराफ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

डम् । कौरवक । कौरव । योगन्धरक । योगन्धर ॥

1354 The affix डुम् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'

Thus कौरवक or कौरव, योगन्धरक or योगन्धर ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्यो कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

जनपदवृज्याऽपवाद । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रक । वृजिक ॥

1355 The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛji'

This debars डुम्, though the words denote inhabited countries Thus मद्रक 'born in Madra', वृजिक ॥

१३५६ । कोपधादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

माहिषिक ॥

1356 The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter क as its penultimate

This debars डुम् in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule Thus आषिक "born in आषिका" So also माहिषिक ॥

Note —The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in ड, which would have otherwise taken डम् by IV 2 119 S 1343 Thus ऐक्षक "born in ऐक्षक" ॥ The word देष्टे is understood in this sūtra

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देशवाचिभ्योऽण् । कुम्भिरपवाद । काच्छ । सैन्धव ॥

1357 The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places

The word देष्टे is understood here This debars डुम् &c Thus काच्छ सैन्धव, वार्णव &c

Note —The words कच्छ &c are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c The

word विजापक occurs in this list It would have taken अण् by the last sūtra also, because it has क as its penultimate Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes डुम् also under certain conditions

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु 3 वरुण, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 मनुषण्ड (अणु अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलतर (कुलत) 16 रङ्कु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्बुम् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छाद्यणोऽपवाद । कच्छे जातादि काच्छको मनुष्य । काच्छक हसितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौ ॥

1358 The affix बुम् comes after the words kachchha &c in the senses of born &c when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छक 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य हसित जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौ 'The cow of Kutch'

१३५९ । अपदातौ साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वाद्बुमि सिद्धे नियमार्थनिर्देश । अपदातावेवेति साल्वको ब्राह्मण । अपदातौ किम् । साल्व पशतिर्ब्रजति ॥

1359 The affix बुम् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken डुम् by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute The present sūtra makes a restriction Thus साल्वको मनुष्य, साल्वकमस्य हसित जल्पितम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्व पशतिर्ब्रजति 'the Sálva foot soldier goes'

१३६० । गोयवाग्वोश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वाद्वुम् । कच्छाद्यणोऽपवाद । साल्वको गौ साल्विका यवागू । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360 The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses or being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'

This debars अण् of IV. 2 133 S 1357 Thus साल्वको गौ "the cows born in Salva". साल्विका यवागू 'the barley gruel of Sálva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छ । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

देहे । अणोऽपवाद । वक्रगर्तीयम् । उत्तरपदग्रहण बहुवचननिरासार्थम् ॥

1361 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term

This debars अण् ॥ The word देहे is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes ढञ् and ङिङ् of sūtra IV 2 117 S 1341 Thus वृकगर्तीय 'born in the wolf's hole' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त but is preceded by the affix बहु as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V 3 68 S 2023) and not a pada

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छ स्यात् । गहीय ॥

मुखपार्श्वतलोपश्च * ॥ मुखतीयम् । पार्श्वतीयम् । पृथ्व्याना भ्रमात्रे दिलोपस्थानित्यस्य ज्ञापयितुमिदम् ॥

कुञ्जनस्य परस्य च * ॥ जनकीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

स्वस्य च * ॥ स्वकीयम् ॥ वैष्णुकादिभ्यश्छण्णाच्च * ॥ वैष्णुकीयम् । वैत्रकीयम् । औत्तरपदकीयम् ॥

1362 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c

This debars अण् &c Thus गहीय 'belonging to a cave' अन्त स्थीय &c

Vārtika —The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वत get the affix तत्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥ This Vārtika also indicates that the elision of हि of the 1st decl. is as ordained by the Vārtika under S 1324 is a rule of limited scope

Vārt —The augment कुञ् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

Vārt —The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vārt —The same augment is added to the word स्व as स्वकीयम् ॥

Vārt —The affix छण् comes after the words वैष्णु &c No list of such words is given It is an आकृतिगण ॥ Thus वैष्णुकीयम्, वैत्रकीयम्, औत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रास्थकीयम् माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c

Note —In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यम चाण चरणे" It means 'The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added Thus मध्यमीयम् ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमा ॥ The word मध्यम here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमीय means पृथिविमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अय् is applied in the case of चरय् it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV 3 89 S 1469 and not all the other senses. Thus चरः प्राच्या चरः भौदिच्या, त्रयो मध्यमाः "three Charanas dwell in the East, three in the West and three in the Middle"

1 गृह 2 अन्त रथ 3 सप्त 4 विषम 5 मध्यमध्यम चाण चरयो, 6 उत्तम, 7 चतु, 8 चक्र, 9 दग्ध 10 पूर्वपक्ष 11 अपरपक्ष 12 अधम शास्त्र 13 उत्तम शास्त्र 14 एकशास्त्र 15 समानशास्त्र 16 समानग्राम* 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष 19 एकपलाश 20 इष्य, 21 इष्यनी (इष्यनी) 22 अवरहन्दन (अवस्थानी and अवस्कन्द), 23 कामप्रस्थ 24 खाशायन (खाडिकाडायनि खाशायनि and खाशडायनी) 25 काठराणि (कावेराणि and कानवेराणि), 26 कावेराणि*, 27 सीमिनि* 28 बौदिरे 29 आहृन्* 30 दैवशर्मि (दैवशर्मन्), 31 भौति, 32 आहिंसि 33 आमिनि 34 व्याडि, 35 बौजि वैजि) 36 आध्याश्व 37 आनृशशि, 38 शाङ्गि 39 आमिशमि, (अमिशर्मन्) 40 भोजि 41 वाराडकि (वाराडकि) 42 वास्मीकि, 43 लैमवृष्टि (लेमवृष्टिन्) 44 आश्वरिथि 45 भौदग्राहमानि*, 46 ऐक 47 हिन्दवि* 48 इन्तामि*, 49 हस* 50 तन्मि* 51 उत्तर 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर) 53 वृक्षपाश्वरसोत्रोप (also वृक्ष नीय and पाश्वरीय) 54 जनपरयो वृक्ष च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्थ च, 56 वैद्यकादिभ्यश्च 57 आहृति, 58 लौवि 59 पारकि 16 18 and आहृतिगण ॥

१३६३ । प्राचां वटाद् । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

प्रादेशवाचिन कटादेशश्च स्यात् । अयोऽपवाद । कटनगरीयम् । कटघोषीयम् । कटपञ्च-
लीयम् ॥

1363 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This dehas अय् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपञ्चलीयम् ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञ क च । ४ । २ । १४० ॥

वृद्धत्वाच्छ सिद्धे तत्तन्निधेनेन कदेशमात्र विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added

This sūtra only teaches the substitution of क, for राजन् would have taken छ by IV 2 114 S 1337. Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देश does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate

१३६५ । वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् । ४ । २ । १४१ ॥

अक इक एतदन्ताख्योपधाश्च वृद्धादकावाचिनश्च स्यन् । ब्राह्मणको नाम अनपरो अक आत्मन्य आधुर्जनविनस्तश्च जातो ब्राह्मणकीय । शास्त्रलीकीय । अयाधुलीय ॥

1365 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having अ as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra This debars the अण of IV 2 132 S 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV 2 117 and 123 S 1341 and 1347

Thus अक — ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ “One born in Brāhmanaka—a country where the Brāhmana caste live by the profession of arms” इक — शास्त्रालीकीयम् ॥

Note — The words सौसुक्त &c are also governed by this rule though they end in उक ॥ Thus सौसुक्तीयम् सौसुक्तीयम् एन्द्रवैशुक्तीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् । दक्षिणस्थीयम् ॥

1366 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vṛiddha words, having the words kanthā, palada, nagara, grāma and hrada, as last terms

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and मिद् of IV 2 117 S 1341.

Thus दक्षिणस्थीयम्, दक्षिणस्थीयम्, दक्षिणस्थीयम्, दक्षिणस्थीयम्, दक्षिणस्थीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वताच्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीयम् ॥

1367 The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses

This debars अण ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा “the hill king” पर्वतीय प्रहस्य ‘the hill man’

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यमिदं पर्वताच्छो वा स्यात्पक्षेऽण । पर्वतीयानि पर्वतानि वा फलानि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्य ॥

1368 The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पर्वतानि फलानि ‘hill fruits’

Why do we say अमनुष्ये ‘not human’? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्य where there is no option allowed

१३६९ । कृकणपर्णाभारद्वाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यानाम्भात् । कृकणीयम् । पर्णीयम् । भारद्वाजे किम् । कर्कणीयम् । पर्णीयम् ॥

1369 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bhāradvāja

The word देशे is understood here also The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country Thus वृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhāradvājas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यः खञ् ॥ ४ । ३ । १ ॥

आस्माक । पक्षेऽण् । युवयोर्युष्माक वा भय युष्मदीय । अस्मदाय ॥

1370 The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well The word 'optionally' shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण् and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10) does not apply

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vrddhā, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I 1 74 S 1336), and would have taken छ by IV 2 114 S 1337, the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV 3 2 S 1371) यौष्माक । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीय (VII 1 2)

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माक + ईन (IV 3 2 S 1371) = यौष्माकीण (VII 1 2, and VIII 4 2 S 475 and 197) So also आस्माक । अस्मदीय, and आस्माकीन ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरेनाविशौ स्त खञ्छणि च । यौष्माकीण । आस्माकीन । यौष्माक । आस्माक ॥

1371 When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note —The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10 S 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This however, is not done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms as (1) तस्मिन् खञ् युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवत (2) तत्तस्मिन्नणि च ॥ 1 e (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2) So also when अण् follows

As for illustrations, see the preceding sūtra, e, g यौष्माकीण, आस्माकीन with खञ्, and यौष्माक and आस्माक with अण् ॥

Note —This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीय and अस्मदीय ॥

१३७२ । तवकममकवेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्यवचिनोर्बुद्धमस्मदोस्तवकममकौ स्त खञ्जि च । तावकीन । तावक । मामकीन । मामक । हे तु ॥

1372 In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'tushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ्ज् and अण् follow

As तावकीन 'belonging to thee' मामकीन 'belonging to me' तावक and मामक ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be त्वदीय, and मदीय by the following rule

Note —The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix हु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I 1 63, S 263 there will not be the application of this rule This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ६८ ॥

मध्यन्तयोर्कार्ययोस्त्वयौ स्त प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीय । म ॥

1373 त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म्, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition

As त्वदीय मदीय, with the affix छ (IV 2 114, S 1337 I 1 74 S 1336)

Similarly when a second member of the compound follows As तव पुत्र, = त्वत्पुत्र, मत्पुत्र ॥ त्व नायोऽस्य = त्वन्न'य ॥

Note —When more than one individual is signified the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीय (= युष्माकमिद) अस्मदीय, युष्मत्पुत्र (= युष्माक पुत्र) अस्मत्पुत्र ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्धयः ॥

1374 The affix यत् comes after the word अर्ध in the remaining senses

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्ध 'belonging to half'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

पराध्वम् । अवराध्वम् । अधमाध्वम् । उत्तमाध्वम् ॥

1375 The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'

Thus पराध्वम् अवराध्वम् अधमाध्वम्, उत्तमाध्वम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदादञ्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

आद्यत् । पौर्वाधिकम् । पूर्वार्थम् ॥

1376 And the affix **ठञ्** also (as well as **यत्**) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction

By **च**, the affix **यत्** is also used This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **पूर्वाञ्चम्** or **पौर्वाधिकम्** ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिना जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदार्थान्तादञ्ठञौ स्त । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वापौर्वाधा । पौर्वाधिका । ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भवा इति तद्वितार्थे समास । ठञ्प्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अञ्चोऽनुक्ते यतोऽप्यनुकर्षं सभाव्येत ॥

1377 The affixes **अञ्** and **ठञ्** come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant

The phrase **दिक्पूर्वपदान्** is to be read into the **सूत्रा** This debars **यत्** ॥ Thus **इमे खलुऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वाधा** or **पौर्वाधिका** "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country" The word **पौर्वाधा** = **ग्रामस्य पूर्वोत्तरार्धे भवा** and is a **Taddhitārtha** compound

Though the **anuvṛtti** of **ठञ्** was current in this **Sūtra** from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision, for had the **sūtra** been **ग्राम जनपदैकदेशादञ्च** then the **च** would have drawn in not only the affix **ठञ्** but the affix **यत्** which is not desired

१३७८ । मध्यान्म । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यम् ॥

1378 After the word **मध्य** there is the affix **म** in the remaining senses

This debars **अण्** ॥ As **मध्यम्** "middlemost"

१३७९ । अ साम्प्रतिके । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यसाम्प्रदायिकारमत्यस्य स्यात्साम्प्रतिकेऽर्थे । उत्कर्षापकर्षहीनो मध्यो वैयाकरण । मध्यं दाह । नातिद्वस्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379 The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper'

The word **साम्प्रतिक** means 'equity, propriety, right, fit' As **नातिदीर्घं नातिद्वस्वं मध्यं दाह** "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short" **नटो वैयाकरणः** "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull"

१३८० । द्वीपादनुसमुद्र यञ् । ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तादनुसमुद्राद्वीपस्यशब्दात् स्यात् । द्वेयम् । द्वेया ॥

1380 The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea

Note —The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādī (IV 2 133 S 1357), and would have taken ञञ्, and by sūtra IV 2 134 S 1358, it would have taken डञ् also. The present sūtra debaris both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'

Thus द्वेयम् or द्वेया, 'living on or relating to an island' As द्वेयं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

१३८१ । कालाट्टञ् । ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यश्च स्यात् । मासिकम् । सावस्तरिकम् । सायनातिक्रम । यौन पुनिक । कथं तर्हि शार्वरस्य समसोऽनविद्धये इति कालिदास अनुविनोपसर्गादेति भारवि, समानकालीनं प्राक्कालीनमित्यादि च । अपभ्रंशा एवैत इति प्रामाणिका ॥ तत्र जात इति यावत्कालाधिकार ॥

1381 The affix टञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time

This debaris ञञ् ॥ The affix क् which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकम् 'monthly' सावस्तरिकम् 'annual' सायनातिक्रम "morning and evening," यौन पुनिक 'again and again'

How do you explain the forms शार्वर and शारवस in the following lines of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi शार्वरस्य समसो निविद्धय (Kālidāsa) and अनुविनोपसर्गाया (Bhāravi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्कालीनम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities

Note —The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कालम्बपुष्पिक, त्रैहिवलासिकम् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto IV 3 25 S 1393 (तत्र जात ॥)

१३८२ । आश्वे शरद् । ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

टञ् स्यात् । ऋन्वयोऽपवाद । शारदिक आश्वम् ॥

1382 The affix टञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आश्व ॥

This debaris ञञ् (IV 3 16 S 1387) The word आश्वे means the 'funeral oblation', and not अज्ञावाद्पुरुष 'a faithful or believing person' Thus शारदिके आश्वे 'the autumnal 'Śrāddha' When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

१३८३ । विभाषा रोगातपयो । ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिक शारदो वा रोग आतपो वा । एतयो किम् । शारद् इधि ।

1383 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोग 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक or शारद् आतप 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारद् इधि 'the autumnal curd' This ठञ् debars the क्तु भण् (IV 3 16)

१३८४ । निशाप्रदोषाभ्या च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ठञ् स्यात् । नैशिकम् । नैशम् । प्राक्षेपिकम् । प्रादोषम् ॥

1384 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', 'and piadosha'

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV 3 11 S 1381, the ठञ् would have been obligatory Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्राक्षेपम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुद् च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

श्वस् शब्दाद्वञ् वा स्यात्तस्य तुङागमश्च ॥

1385 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुङ् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV 2 105 S 1326 This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV 3 23 S 1391 Thus श्वस्+तुङ्+ठञ् now applies the following sūtra —

१३८६ । द्वारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

द्वार, स्वर, व्यल्कश, स्वस्ति, स्वर स्फण्कृत, स्वादु वृद् श्वस्, श्वन्, स्व एषा न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । शौवस्तिकम् ॥

1386 Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory अ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व् but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semivowels in द्वार &c

The following is a list of Dvārādi words —

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर (स्वर), 7 स्फण्कृत, 8 स्वादुवृद् 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन् 11 स्व ॥

Thus श्वस्+तुङ्+ठञ् = शौवस् + त् + इक (VII 3 3 S 1098) = शौवस्तिकम् (ephemeral)

Note.—As द्वारे नियुक्त = दौवारिक, दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadādi rule applies here. शौवर from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्यकृतोपम्य) ॥ So also शौवरोऽध्यायः, शौवर्य

सप्तम्य ॥ वैद्यलृकश्च from व्यल्कश्च, (व्यल्कश्च भव) सावस्तिक from स्वास्ति, (स्वस्तीति भाव), सौर from स्वर (स्वर्भव) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शोभनी-
-अध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय then also it is unnecessary, as स्व
is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it
would get this peculiar substitution then also. Similarly स्फैयकृत from स्फयकृत,
सौवादुमृदुम from स्वादुमृदु शौवनम् from श्वन् the pralīti bhava is by (VI 4 167
S 1155) while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakṛtibhāra (by अच् IV 3 154)
शौवादृष्ट (श्वादृष्ट्या भव) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्वेद्), सावग्रामिक from स्वग्राम
with the affix डच् (अध्यात्महित्वाट डच्) This sūtra is made because the य् and व् here
are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sūtra

१३८७ । सन्धिवेलाद्यु नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यात् । सन्धिवेलाया भव सान्धिवेलम् ।
तैषम् । तैषम् ॥ सन्धिवेला, सध्या, अमावास्या, त्रयोदशी चतुर्दशी पाणमासी प्रतिपद् ॥
सवत्सरात् फलपर्वणो * ॥ सावत्सर फल पर्व वा । सावत्सरिकमन्यत् ॥

1387 The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,
after the words 'sandhi-velā' &c, and the words expressing
'season' and 'asterism'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be
expressive of time. This debars डच् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also
in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV 2 114S 1337)
Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) तैषम् शौशिरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of
sandhivelā, season and asterisms respectively

1 सन्धिवेला, 2 सध्या, 3 अमावास्या 4 त्रयोदशी 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पाणमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Vārt — The affix अण् is added to सवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and
'festival,' as सावत्सर फल or पर्व ॥ Otherwise सावत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष षण्य । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्य ॥

1388 The affix षण्य comes in the remaining senses
after the word प्रावृष् ॥

Note — This debars the अण् of the last sūtra though 'prāvṛish' is a season-
denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहक "the cloud belonging to the rainy season"

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षास्तु साधु वार्षिक वास । कालात्साधुपुण्यत्पच्यमानेति साधये ॥

1389 The affix टक् comes in the remaining senses
after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The ङक् has the force of साधु &c of IV 3 43 S 1418 here

१३९० । सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्ताण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वेदलोकायो । चकारात्पक्षे ऋत्वण् । हेमनम् । हेमन्तम् ।

1390 The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त of 'hemanta' is elided

Thus हेमनम् or हेमन्तम् ॥

Note —The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Upanishads as well as in the classical literature

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV 3 16 S 1387 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्ति but there is no elision of त there Thus there are three forms हेमन्त (IV 3 16 S 1387), हेमान्तिक (IV 3 21 S 1452) and हेमनम् ॥

१३९१ । सायचिरप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यश्च्युत्युलौ तुद् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्च्युत्युलौ स्तस्योस्तुद् च । तुद् प्रागनादयः अनद्यतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तनम् । चिरन्तनम् । प्राह्णेप्रगयरेदन्तत्वं निपात्यते । प्राह्णेतनम् । प्रगेतनम् । दोषातनम् । दिवातनम् ॥

चिरपरुत्परिभ्यस्तौ वक्तव्य * ॥ चिरत्नम् । परुत्नम् । परारित्नम् ॥

अयादिभ्याङ्गिभ्यश्च * ॥ अयिम् । अदिम् । पश्चिम् ॥

अन्ताच्च * ॥ अन्तिम् ॥

1391 After the words साय 'at eve', चिर 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes च्यु and तुल्ल and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also Thus साय + च्यु = साय + अन = साय + तुद् + अन = सायतनम् 'belonging to the evening', चिरतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn "

The replacement of च्यु by अन under VII 1 1 S 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुद् to the affix because we find it so in the forms like अनद्यतन &c used by Panini himself in III 2 111 S 2205 &c Had it been added first then the affix would have become स्यु, and the form would have been अनद्यस्यु like स्युत्सु for there is no rule which would have changed स्यु into तन ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'

Var —The affix ङ्ग comes after the words चिर, परुत् (meaning in the past year) and परारि (meaning in the year before the last). As चिरत्नम्, परुत्नम्, and परारिङ्गम् ॥

Vārt —The affix डिमच् comes after अम आदि and पश्चाद्, as, अग्रिमच् आदिमच् and पश्चिमच् ॥

Vārt —So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमच् ॥

Note —The difference between tyu and tvul is in accent Thus सायन्तैन and सार्यन्तैन चिरन्तैन and चिरन्तैन प्राह्णन्तैन and प्राह्णन्तैन, प्रगेतैन, प्रगेतैन, दिवातैन and दिवातैन, दोषातैन and दोषातैन ॥ See V1 I 193 S 3676

१३०२ । विभाषा पूर्वाह्णपराह्णभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्या व्युत्थुलो वा स्तस्तयोस्तुद् च । पक्षे ठम् । पूर्वाह्णतनम् । अपराह्णतनम् । घकालतने-
विवल्लुक् । पूर्वाह्ण सोढोऽस्येति विग्रहे तु पूर्वाह्णतनम् । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

1392 Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes इयु and इयुल् and then augment is तुद् ॥

In the alternative ठम् of IV 3 11 S 1381 also occurs As पुर्वाह्णैतनम् अपराह्णैतनम् with tyu, or पौर्वाह्णिकम् आपराह्णिकम् with thañ With tvul we have पूर्वाह्णतन and अपराह्णतन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI 3 17 S 975 When the compound is such as not retaining the case affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying पूर्वाह्ण सोढोऽस्य (IV 3 52 S 1427) then we have, पूर्वाह्णतनम् । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

१३६३ । तत्र जात । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

सप्तमीतमर्याज्जात इत्येऽणारयो घादयश्च स्यु । कुत्रे जात सौत्र । औत्स । राष्ट्रिय । अवारपारीण इत्यादि ॥

1393 The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'

The affixes अण् & च & c have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them See IV 2 92 S 1312 This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added Thus कुत्रेजात = कुत्र + अण् = जात 'born in Srughna' औत्स 'born in Utsa', राष्ट्रिय (IV 2 93 S 1313) अवारपारीण & c

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्टप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

एण्यस्थापवाद् । प्रावृषि जात प्रावृषिक ॥

1394 After the word प्रावृद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ष्टप् in the sense of produced therein

This debars एण्य of sūtra IV 3 17 S 1388 The ष् of ष्टप् is for the sake of accent प्रावृषिजात = प्रावृषिक 'produced in the rainy season'

१३९५ । सज्ञाया शरदो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

ऋत्वणोऽपवाद् । शारदका उभविशेषा युञ्जविशेषाश्च ॥

1395 The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein' the whole word being a name

This debars अण of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus शारदका इर्मा 'the grass called Śāradaka' शारदका युञ्ज 'the pulse called Śāradaka'

Note —According to some the word सज्ञाया governs all the succeeding sutras up to IV 3 98 S 1413

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । हनस्त इत्यस्यात्माक् ॥

1396 Upto VII 3 31 S 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound

This is an adhikāra sūtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII 3 32 S 2574 exclusive The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sutras, to complete the sense Thus in VII 3 11 S 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied As पूर्ववार्षिक अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहेमन्, अपरहेमन् ॥

Note —In those sutras where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII 3 18, 19, 20, 21 the present sūtra is absolutely necessary for causing the vriddhi of the second member But in those sutras where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII 3 11 S 1397 (अवयवात्), there this sūtra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vriddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vriddhi' This peculiar vriddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI 2 105 Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sutras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case

१३९७ । अवयवाद्गतौ । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अवयववाचिन पूर्वपदादुवाचिनोऽचामादेरचो वृद्धि स्यात् अिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । पूर्ववार्षिक । अपरहेमन् । अवयवात्किम् । पूर्वास्तु वर्षास्तु भव पौर्ववार्षिक । ऋतोवृद्धिमद्विधावयवयानमिति तदन्तविधि पूर्वत्र । इह तु न । अवयवस्वाभावात् ॥

1397 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part

As पूर्ववार्तिक from पूर्व + वर्ष + ठक् meaning वर्षायाम् पूर्व ॥ अपरहेमन् meaning हेमन्तस्यापर ॥

Note —The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II 2 1 S 712 and then by IV 3 18 S 1389 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण after हेमन्त with the elision of त् by IV 3 22 S 1390 The Tadanta vidhi as a general rule does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, &c will not apply to a compound which ends with that word but tadanta vidhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vriddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion We draw this rule from the present sūtra, for हेमन्त being formed from हेमन्त by a vriddhi causing affix (IV 3 22 S 1390) the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound the first member of which denotes a part (ऋतोर्द्वि नदिधाववयवान् I 1 72 Vart Mahābhāṣya)

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वसु वर्षसु भव पार्वतिक with ठक् (IV 3 11 S 1389) and no vriddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vriddhi is ordained after a word denoting season, provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part and not otherwise" Therefore the vriddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varshā, but is in apposition with it The tadanta vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion

१३९८ । सुसर्वार्धाजनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धि । सुपाञ्चालक । अर्धपाञ्चालक । जनपदसद्व्योतिरिति वुञ् । सुसर्वाधदिकशब्देभ्यो जनपदस्येति तदन्तविधि ॥

1398 After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vriddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicator अ, ण् or क् follows

As सुपाञ्चालक, सर्वपाञ्चालक, and अर्धपाञ्चालक, formed with वुञ् (IV 2 124 S 1348) read with IV 2 125 S 1349 though the word is not a Vriddha This sūtra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वाधदिक शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य 'The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction denoting word "

Note —As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sūtra (I 1 72 Vart Mahābhāṣya)

१३९९ । दिशाऽमद्ग्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिशाचकाजनपदवाचिनो वृद्धि । पूर्वपाञ्चालक । दिश किम् । पूर्वपाञ्चालानामय पौर्वपाञ्चाल । अमद्ग्राणा किम् । पौर्वमद्ग्रा । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ ॥

1399 After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्ग्रा,

gets Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory अ, ए, ओ क् ॥

As पूर्वपञ्चालक, (IV 2 125, 107) The Taddhita vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sūtra. Why do we say 'denoting direction,?' Observe पूर्व पञ्चालानां=पूर्वपञ्चाल, तत्र भव, =पूर्वपञ्चालक ॥ Why do we say with the exception of नद्व? Observe पौवमद्व with अम् (IV 2 108 S 1329). The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of "direction" only runs

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

दिशः परेषां नगरवाचिनां ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य च वृद्धिः । पूर्वेषुकामशब्दा भवः पूर्वेषुकामशब्दम् । नगरे पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक ॥

1400 After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, ओ क् ॥

Thus पूर्वेषुकामशब्दम् "born in Purveshu kāmāśamī" So also अपरैषुकामशब्दम्, पूर्वकाण्डशब्दम्, अपरकाण्डशब्दम् (IV 2 107 S 1328) These are town names पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक, अपरपाटलिपुत्रक, पूर्वकाण्डकुब्ज, अपरकाण्डकुब्ज ॥ These are city names

Note —The word प्राचा in this sūtra, as well as in VII 3 24 S 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians' but 'the eastern countries', because of the context पूर्वेषुकामशब्दम् is thus formed पूर्वा च अस्तौ इषुकामशब्दी=पूर्वेषुकामशब्दी ॥ The compounding takes place by II 1 50 S 727 Then the affix अ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भव by IV 2 107 S 1328 In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक the affix इम् is added by IV 2 123 S 1347 Though Pataliputra is the name of one city, Purva pātali-putra means the Eastern portion of the city Pataliputra

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाद्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णक । अपराह्णक । आर्द्रक । मूलक । प्रदोषक । अवस्करक ॥

1401 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name

Thus पूर्वाह्णक । अपराह्णक ॥ This debars IV 3 24 S 1392 So also आर्द्रक । मूलक ॥ This debars अण of IV 3 16 S 1387 प्रदोषक ॥ This debars इम् of IV 3 14 S 1384 अवस्करक This debars the general अण् affix

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed

१४०२ । पथ पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

पथि जात पन्थक ॥

1402 - The affix **बुन्** comes after the word **पथ**, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of **पथ**, the substitute is **पन्थ** ॥

Thus **पथी जात = पन्थक** 'produced in the way'

This debars the **अण्** ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया वा । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्यायक । अमावास्या ॥

1403 The affix **बुन्** comes optionally after the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'

This debars **अण्** of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus **अमावास्यायक** or **अमावास्या** ॥

Note —This affix **बुन्** is applied to the word **अमावास्या** also, on the maxim **एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्** "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place" Thus **अमावास्यायक** or **अमावास्या** ॥

१४०४ । अ च । ४ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अमावास्या ॥

1404 And the affix **अ** also is added to the word **amāvāsyā**, in the sense of 'born therein'

This adds a third affix to the **बुन्** and **अण्** already given Thus **अमावास्यायक**, **अमावास्यायक**, **अमावास्या** ॥ So also after the word **अमावास्या**, as **अमावास्यायक** and **अमावास्या** ॥

१४०५ । सिन्धुपकराऽयं कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुक । कच्छाद्याणि मनुष्यबुद्धि च प्राप्ते । अपकरक । औत्सर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥

1405 After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix **कन्** in the sense of 'born therein'

The word **सिन्धु** occurs in the **Kachchhādī** class and takes **अण्** and **बुन्** (IV 2 133 S 1357), and **अपकर** would have also taken **अण्** under the general rule This sūtra debars these affixes Thus **सिन्धुक**, **अपकरक**, ॥

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

क्रमात् स्त । सैन्धव । आपकर ॥

1406 And the affixes **अण्** and **अञ्** come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'

Thus सैन्येव and औपर ॥

१४०७ । अविष्टाफल्युन्यनुराधास्वातितित्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुला-
ल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नक्षत्रवाचिभ्य परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407 The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishtâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastâ', 'viśâkhâ', 'ashâdhâ', and 'bahulâ,' all denoting asterisms

Note —The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I 2 49 S 1408 Thus अविष्टासु जात = अविष्ट produced under Śravishtâ ' So also फल्युन, अनुराध, स्वाति, तित्य, पुनर्वसु हस्त, विशाख, अषाढ, बहुल ॥ The 'Bahulâ' is another name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sutra as bahula with a short अ, as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva shortening

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । २ । २ । ४९ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सत्युपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् अविष्टासु जात अविष्ट । फल्युन इत्याव ॥ चित्ररेवतिरोहिणीभ्य स्त्रियाद्युपसख्यानम् * ॥ चित्राया जाता चित्रा । रेवती । रोहिणी । आभ्या लुक् तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते पिप्पल्यादेराकृतिगणत्वाद्युनर्दीर्घ ॥ फाल्युन्यषाढाभ्या दातौ वक्तव्यौ * ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव । । फल्युनी । अषाढा ॥ अविष्टाषाढाभ्या कृष्णवक्तव्य * ॥ अस्त्रियामपि । आविष्टीय । आषाढीय ॥

1408 When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added

The word लुक् defined in I 1 61 S 260, is twice used in this sūtra Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes luk The word upasargjana used in explaining this sūtra by the author should be taken in its popular sense of non principal, secondary, and not the technical upasargjana of grammar

Thus अविष्टा+(अणलुक्)=आविष्ट ॥ The Taddhita suffix being *laked*, the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk* Therefore the derivative of अविष्टा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ट, similarly from फल्युनी we have फल्युन &c

Vart —So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine Thus चित्राया जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatī and Romāṇī, by the present sūtra I 2 49 S 1408 is reordained by IV 1 41, S 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyādi subdivision of the गौराद class. The Pippalyādi being an ākṛtigarā contains these words also

Vārt —The affixes इ and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी* and अषाढा in forming the Feminine derivatives As फल्गुनी (IV 1 15 S. 470) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning

Vārt —The affix ह्रन् also comes after 'Śraṁishthā' and 'Ashāḍhā,' even when females are not denoted As आविष्टीय and आषाढीय ॥

१४०६ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपदस्याचानादेरन्तो वृद्धिः स्याज्जातार्थे इति यिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः प्रोष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पञ्चमोऽपि गृह्यते । भाट्टपादः ॥

1409 In प्रोष्ठपद and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vृद्धि, before a 'Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicator अ, या or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here प्रोष्ठपदा is the name of an asterism the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अन् of IV 2 3 S 1204 is elided by IV 2 4 S 1205) प्रोष्ठपदास्तु जातः = प्रोष्ठपदो माणवकः, with अन् IV 2 16 S 1387) Why do we say 'born in that time ? Observe यदा प्राष्टपदोमेघः (= प्रोष्ठपदास्तु भवः) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदाना indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भाट्टपद are also to be included As भाट्टपदः ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोस्थान । गोशाल । खरशाल । दिनाया सेनेति नपुंसकत्वे ह्रस्वत्वम् ॥

1410 There is luk-elision of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthāna', and after the words 'gośāla' and 'kharasāla'

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः अन्धस्थानः गोशालः खरशालः ॥ The word gośāla and kharasāla in the sūtra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II 4 25 S 828

१४११ । वत्सशालामिजिदभ्युक्षतमिषजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुक् स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशालः । वत्सशाल इत्यादि ॥ जातार्थे प्रतिप्रसूतोऽप्या डिङ्कत्वम् * ॥ शातमिषः । शातमिषजः । शातमिषक् ॥

1411 There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasāla', 'abhiṣṭ', 'aśvayuk', and 'śatabhik'

As वत्सशाले जात = वत्सशाल or वात्सशाल, अभिजित् or आभिजित, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुज शतभिषक् or शतभिषज ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वात्सशाला are both to be taken These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra

Vat — The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV 3 11 S 1381 is reordained by IV 3 16 S 1387 The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV 4 2 S 1550 by force of IV 1 83 S 1073 but it is debarred by डच् of IV 3 11 S 1381 and is reordained in IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus शतभिषजि जात = शतभिष or शतभिषज, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिण । रोहिण ॥

1412 There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism

Thus रोहिण or रोहिण (IV 3 16 S 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran)

१४१३ । कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशला । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तथेत्येव । शुभ्रे कृतो लब्ध क्रीत कुशलो वा सौम ॥

1413 An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'

Thus सौम may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skilful in Sruḡna"

१४१४ । प्रायभव । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तथेत्येव । शुभ्रे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति सौम ॥

1414 After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'

The word प्राय means something less than all i.e. abundant Thus सौम 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Sruḡna', = शुभ्रे प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति ॥

Note —This sūtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sūtra त्वभ (IV 3 53 S 1428) I' प्रायभव be explained as अनित्यभव i.e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference

१४१५ । उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

औपजानुक । औपकर्णिक , औपनीविक ॥

1415 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'generally round there in', after the words 'upajānu', 'upakarna', and upanīvi', being in the 7th case in construction

This debars अण् &c Thus औपजानुक औपकर्णिक औपनीविक ॥

Note :—All these three words of the sūtra are Indeclinables, because they are Avyayibhāva compounds In the sūtra, they have formed a samāhāra Dvandva and masculine

१४१६ । सभूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

सुप्ते सभवति सौप्त ॥

1416 After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'

Note —Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word सभूत all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms The word सभूत does not mean in this sūtra origin or 'existence' for the words जात and भव already express that notion It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy', i.e. व्यवस्थिति and प्रमाणातिरेक ॥

Thus सुप्ते सभवति = सौप्त 'what is suited to the country of Srugha' The word तत्र is understood here also

१४१७ । कोशाद्वस्त्रम् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेय वस्त्रम् ॥

1417 The affix द्वस्त्र comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे सभूत = कौशेय वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes

Note —The word कोश means 'cocoon' कौशेय may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon The word कौशेय is however रुढि and means 'silken' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kosa means 'sheath' also This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV 3 134 S 1514 under the heading of विकार rather than of सभूत ॥

In fact, after the sūtra एण्या ढम् (IV 3 159 S 1537) the addition of कौशाक्ष would have been more appropriate

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुहेमन्त प्राकार । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति वासन्त्य कुन्दलता । शरदि पच्यन्ते शारदा शालय ॥

1418 An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'

Thus हेमन्ते साधु = हेमन्त 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्त प्राकार । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्य कुन्दलता 'verral creepers : e which flower in spring' So also शरदि पच्यन्ति = शारदा शालय the grains that ripen in autumn'

Note — This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix It does not directly teach the affix The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c The word pushpyat in the sūtra is the Present Participle or शतृ of the Divādi पुष्प ॥

१४१९ । उते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते हेमन्ता यवा ॥

1419 An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हेमन्ता यवा 'the barley sown in autumn' यैष्मा ब्रीहय ॥

Note — The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvritti of उत only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

ढञोऽपवाद । आश्वयुज्यासुप्ता आश्वयुजका माषा ॥

1420 The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ढम् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या सुप्ता = आश्वयुजका माषा 'the pulse sown in Āśvayujī' Āśvayujī is the name of the full moon in the Asterism of Āśvayuj Āśvayuj and Āsvini are the same Some texts read अश्विनी instead of आश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पच कृत्वण् । ग्रीष्मकम् । वैष्णम् । वासन्तकम् । वासन्तम् ॥

1421 The affix बुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grīṣhma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'

This debars अण् (IV 3 16 S 1387) Thus ऋष्मन् or ऋष्मकम् इत्यम् the crop sown in summer' वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणो । ४ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कालोदित्येव । मासे देयमृण मासिकम् ॥

1422 After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due', provided that the thing due be 'debt'

Thus मासे देयमृण = मासिक "a debt due in a month"

Note — Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt' Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन् । ४ । ३ । ४८ ॥

यस्मिन् ऋलि मयूरा कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपचारात्कलापी तत्र देयमृण कलापकम् । अश्वत्थस्य फलमश्वत्थस्तृणकालेऽप्यश्वत्थ । यस्मिन् कालेऽश्वत्था फलन्ति तत्र देयमश्वत्थकम् । यस्मिन् यवबुसमुत्पद्यते तत्र देय यवबुसकम् ॥

1423 The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the asvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थ ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley chaff' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृण = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i.e. mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig tree, flowers" And यवबुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed'

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४९ ॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृण ऋष्मकम् । आवरसमकम् ॥

1424 The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'

This debars the अण् and टञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृण = ऋष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will be due next year', or 'which fell due last year'

Note — This affix causes Vriddhi, while बुन् would not have done it Hence the separate affix The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year' The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिना सवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देय यद्यपि न दत्तम्, 'a debt which will be due next year,' or 'which fell due last year'

१४२५। सवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ५० ॥

चाद्वुञ् । सावस्तरिकम् । सावस्तरकम् । आमहायधिकम् । आमहायणकम् ॥

1425 The affix टञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'āgrahāyanī' in the sense of 'debt due'

Thus सवस्त्रे द्वेयमृण = सावस्तरिक, and सावस्तरक ॥ आमहायधिक or आमहायणक ॥

Note —The word सवस्तर occurs in Sandhivelādi Class (IV 3 16 S 1387) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant The present sūtra enjoins टञ् when 'debt' is indicated

१४२६ । व्याहरति मृग । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालवाचिन सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दायत इत्यर्थे अयास्य सृष्ट्यो व्याहरति स मृगमेत । निशाया व्याहरति नैशो मृग । नैशिक ॥

1426 An affix (like अण् or टञ् &c) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast

Thus निशाया व्याहरति मृग = नैश or नैशिक "an animal that makes noise at night" So also प्रादोष or प्राशेषिक (IV 3 14 S 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning' The affix added is टञ्, in the alternative with अण्, by IV 3 14 S 1384

Note —Why do we say मृग 'a beast'? Observe निशाया व्याहरति उलूक for 'owl' is a bird Here there is no affixing The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander' The Sutra may, therefore, also be translated as "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV 1 88 S 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time"

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादित्येव । निशासहचरितमध्ययन निशा तत्सोढमस्य नैश । नैशिक ॥

1427 An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'

The word कालान् is understood here also तद् = that सोढम् = जितम् or अभ्यस्त "endured or habituated" Thus निशा सहचरितमध्ययन = निशा "reading by night" तद् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = नैश or नैशिक 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night' The affix is त्वा by IV 3 14 S 1384

१४२८ । तत्र भव । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

सुप्ते भव सौप्त । राष्ट्रिय ॥

1428 An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth' because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sūtra तन् जात (IV 3 25 S 1393) Thus, सुग्रे भव = सौग्रे "who stays in Srughna" राष्ट्रियः ॥

Note —The repetition of तन् in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

१४२६ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

विश्यम् । वर्ग्यम् ॥

1429 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भव = दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

Note —The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added They must refer to non corporeal or abstract objects As सेनामुख्य 'who stays in the van of the army' सेनाजघन्य 'who stays in the rear of the army' In fact the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army The word उदक् takes this affix when the word so formed is a Name As उदक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको मन्य ॥

1 दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाट्य (धाट्या), 7 मित्र, 8 वेषा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहम्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देशः, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 नेघ, 21 दूय, 22 उदकात्सहायम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वश, 25 वेश (विश), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवश ॥

१४३० । शरीराद्यवाच्य । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

दन्यम् । कर्ण्यम् ॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भव = दन्यम् 'dental, i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम् ॥

१४३१ । प्राच्यां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राच्या देशो नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपक्षस्योत्तरपक्षश्च प्राच्यामादेशो बृद्धिर्भाति णिति किति च । सुहृन्नगरे भव सौहृन्नागर । पौत्रनागर । प्राच्या किञ्च । मद्रनगरमुदङ्गु तन् भवो मद्रनगर ॥

1431 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण् or क्, the Viddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौवर्णनगर (= सुवर्णनगरे भव), पौरवनागर ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माङ्गलनगर, from मङ्गलनगर the city of the Northern people

Note —The word अङ्गस्य of VI 4 1 S 200 governs this sūtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभावतमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

जङ्गलाद्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याच्चाभावेरथो वृद्धिरुत्तरपदस्य वा अिति णिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले भव कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजाङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

1432 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and बलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also

As कौरुजङ्गलम् or कौरुजाङ्गलम्, "existing in Kurujangala" वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधेनवम् सौवर्णबालजम् or सौवर्णबालजम् ॥

१४३३ । इतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्यहेर्दञ् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

शस्तेयम् । कौक्षेयम् । कलशिवद तच्च भव कालशेयम् । वास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् । आहिेयम् ।

1433 The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti' 'kukshī', 'kalaśī', 'vasti', 'astī' and 'ahi'.

Thus शस्तेयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम् कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot' वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहिेयम् ॥ आहिेयम् is the name of a poison The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिस्त्रीया नौः, अस्तिनाम्न = धनवाच ॥

१४३४ । ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

चात् दञ् । भवेयम् । भैवम् ॥

1434 The affix ञ् also (as well as दञ्) comes after the word 'grīvā' in the sense of 'what stays there

This debars अत् (IV 3 55 S 1430) ग्रीवासु भव = भवेयम् or भैवम् ॥

Note —The word ग्रीवा means blood vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sūtra

१४३५ । गम्भीराञ्जल्य । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गम्भीरे भव गम्भीर्यम् ॥

1435 The affix **इय** comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhīra'

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भव = गम्भीरिण्य 'gravity'

Vārt —So also after पचजन ॥ As पाचजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिमुख भव पारिमुख्यम् ॥ पारिमुखादिभ्य एव्य्यते * ॥ नेह अपकुलम् ॥

1436 After an Avyayibhāva compound, the affix **इय** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

Ishti —The affix comes only after the Avyayibhāva compounds parimukha and the rest. The affix **इय** does not come after every Avyayibhāva compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Garapāṭha

Thus परिमुख भव = पारिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहन्यम् ॥ Not so औपकुलम्, the word अपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पयुलुखल, 5 औपैश्वर्य, 6 उपस्थान 7 परिसीर 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुलङ्घन, 14 अनुश्रित 15 अनुशीत 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयुप, 19 अनुवद्य, 20 अनुगङ्गा, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्त पूर्वपदादृञ् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादित्यव । वेष्टमनि इति अन्तर्वेष्टमन् तच्च भवमान्तर्वेष्टमिकम् । आन्तर्गणिकम् । आध्यात्मादिभ्यश्चिञ्चते * ॥ अध्यात्म भवमाध्यात्मिकम् ॥

1437 After an Avyayibhāva compound, having the word **अन्तर** as prior term, the affix **इञ्** is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेष्टमिकम् from antar-veṣṭmam which means "in the house" That which exists in the house is "āntar-veṣṭmikam," So also आन्तर्गणिकम् ॥

Vārt —So also after the words अध्यात्म &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधदैविकम् आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class आध्यात्मादि is Ākṣiptigana

१४३८ । अनुशक्तिकादीनां च । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

एषामुभयपदवृद्धि स्थात् इति शिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आपिभौतिकम् । ऐहलौकिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । अध्यात्मादिराकृतिगण ॥

1438 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory **इ**, **ए** or **ऊ** the Vṛddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशक्तिक &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम्, ऐश्वरीयम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words belong to the Ākritigana of अच्चात्म &c

Note —(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्येहम्) V 1 21 and IV 3 120, (2) आनुहोडिक (= अनुहोडेन चरति IV 4 8) (3) आनुसावरणम् (अनुसवरणे दृश्यते V 1 96). (4) आनुसावस्सरिक (IV 3 60 formed by डञ् from अनुसम्बन्धस्येह दृश्यते) (5) आगारैवेण (son of अगारवेणु) (6) आसिहात्यम् (= आसिह्ये भव) Some read this word as अस्यह्य, this will also take अण् as belonging to विभुक्तादि class As आस्यहात्य (= अस्यह्यवाङ्मोऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहेति, as आस्यदैतिक (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनस्य) The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prātipadika, its case-affix is not elided (7) बाध्यौग (= बाध्योगस्य अपत्य) It belongs to Bīdādi class (8) पुस्करसोऽपत्य = पौस्करसादि ॥ This belongs to Bāhvādi-class (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above (10) कुरुकत belongs to Gargādi class Its partonymic is कौरुकात् (11) कौरुपाञ्चाल (= कुरुपाञ्चालेषु भव) ॥ The affix डञ् is not added here, because अनपदसङ्गदाद्यो अनपदग्रहणेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३६ । देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाङ्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषा पञ्चाना वृद्धिमात्रावोरश्च आत् स्यात् भिति शिति किति च । साविकम् । देविकाकूले भवत् साविकाकूला शालय । शिंशपाया विकार साशपञ्चमस । पलाशादिभ्यो वेल्यम् । विलौह इव दालोहम् । दीर्घसत्र भव दीर्घसत्रम् । श्रेयसि भव श्रेयसम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhīta-affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, follows आ is substituted instead of Vṛiddhi for the first vowels of the following five words — devikā, śimsāṇā, dityavāt, dīṅghasatra, and śreyas

Thus साविकम् (= देविकाया भवम्) in साविकमुदकम्, साविकाकूला शालय (= देविकाकूले भव), Similarly साशपञ्चमस (= शिंशपायाविकार) ॥ The word belongs to the Palāśādi class (IV 3 141 S 1521), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent Similarly दालोहम् from विलोहः, (विलौह इव) and दीर्घसत्रम् (दीर्घसत्रे भव) and श्रेयसम् (श्रेयसि भव) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

डञ् स्यात् । अव्ययीभावादित्येव । पारिग्रामिक । आनुग्रामिक ॥

1440 After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix डञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'

The word "after an Avyayībhāva" is understood here also Thus पारिग्रामिक and आनुग्रामिक ॥

१४४१ । जिह्मामूलाङ्गुलेह १४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

जिह्मामूलीयम् । अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

1441 After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'

This debars यत् (IV 3 55) Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, भङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४२ । वर्गान्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयम् ॥

1442 After a word ending with 'vaiga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'

As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

१४४३ । अशब्दे यत्खाद्यन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

वक्षे पूर्वेषु छ । नद्वर्त्य । नद्वर्गीण । नद्वर्गीय । अशब्दे किम् । कवर्गीयो वर्थे ॥

1443 After a word ending in 'vaiga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

As नद्वर्त्य (by यत्) नद्वर्गीण, (by ख), and नद्वर्गीय (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'शब्द' ? For then it takes one affix only i e छ, as कवर्गीयोवर्ण 'a letter belonging to क class'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444 The affix कर्न् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalāṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका, an ear-ring, ललाटिका ॥

Note —Why do we say 'denoting an ornament' ? Observe कर्णम् 'what is in the ear'

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्न । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुपा व्याख्यान सोपो मन्थ । तैङ् । कर्त्त । सुप्सु भव सोपम ॥

1445 After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note —That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्न ॥ After such a name being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यान as well as तद्वचः, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपा व्याख्यान = सौपो ग्रन्थ 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes' So also तैङ्ग 'Tainga—a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्त 'Karta—a Commentary on kṛt affixes' सौप &c may also mean सुप् भव &c

Note —The anuvṛtti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavada sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtti of भव into this sūtra also

१४४६ । बहुचोऽन्तोदात्तादुच् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

बह्वचनयोर्विधायक शब्द बह्वचनम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वाच्यत्विक ॥

1446 The affix टञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained)

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वाच्यत्विकम् 'a commentary on the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण ॥' The word बह्वचनम् is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI 1 169)

Note —Why do we say बहुच 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम् तैङ्गम् &c A word of two syllables will take टञ् (IV 3 72 S 1451) So the counter example must be of words of one syllable

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe साहितम् from सहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati accent (VI 2 49)

१४४७ । क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमस्याज्येषु यागेष्वेतौ प्रसिद्धौ तत्रान्यतरोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोरुपादानसामर्थ्यासोमका अप्रीह गृह्यन्ते । अग्निष्टोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा अग्निष्टोमिक । वाजपेयिक । पाकयाज्ञिक । नावयज्ञिकः । बहुवचन स्वरूपविधिनिरासार्थम् । अनन्तोदात्ताय आरम्भ ॥

1446 The affix टञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kṛatu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma juice is the chief ingredient But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non soma sacrifices also

This debars अण् ॥ Kṛatu —अग्निष्टोमिक, 'a commentary on a work on Agniṣṭoma sacrifices' वाजपेयिक, ॥ yajña —पाकयाज्ञिक, राजसूयिक ॥ The word पाक means 'small' a minor or small sacrifice is called पाकयज्ञः । It is a Karma-dhārāya samāsa and has the final acute accent of samāsa in general The

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञ । The word यज्ञ is derived from √यज् with the affix नञ् (III 3 90 S 3268) It retains its accent in the compound being a Kṛit word नावयज्ञिक ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta The word 'vājapeya' is acute in the middle, because वेय being a Kṛidanta word, formed by यत्, retains its accent in the compound (VI 2 139 S 3873)

Note —The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing : e. g. 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only Thus पाञ्चौशनिक, शशौशनिक ॥

Note —The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise" The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnishtoma It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vājapeya is a compound of vāja "a kind of barley gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is drunk" It is formed by यत् affix of the 'kṛitya lyu-ṭo bahulam' subdivision The acute is on वे by VI 1 213 S 3701

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I 1 68 S 25)

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेवर्षे । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

ऋषिनामधेयो लक्षणाया व्याख्येयमन्यवृत्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्येयने चाध्याये ङम् स्यात् । वसिष्ठेन हृष्टो मन्त्रो वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वसिष्ठिको ऽध्याय । अध्यायेषु किम् । वसिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

1448 The affix ङम् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only

Note —The word ऋषि is the name of ऋषय and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्न is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi "

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishṭha is called by lakshana or indirectly वसिष्ठ also वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वसिष्ठिकाऽध्यायः "Vāsishtika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha "

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वसिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्पुनः । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरितो मन्त्र पुरोडाश स एव पौरोडाश तत पुनः । पौरोडाशिक ॥

1449 The affix पुनः comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pau-roḍāśa' and 'puroḍāśa'

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाश the commentary on such pauroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिक its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV 1 41 S 498) A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश, a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f पुरोडाशिकी (IV 1 41 S 498) The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV 1 41 S 498) The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice

१४१० । छन्दसो यदणौ । ४ । ३ । ७१ ॥

छन्दस्य । छान्दस ॥

1450 The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas

This debars टक् of the following sūtra As छन्दस्य or छान्दस ॥

१४५१ । झजृद्वाह्यणक्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताटक् । ४ । ३ । ७२ ॥

झष् । ऐटिक । पाशुक । ऋत् । चातुर्होतृक । ब्राह्मणिक । आर्चिक । इत्यादि ॥

1451 The affix टक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brāhmaṇa', 'ṛik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nāma', 'ākhyāta' and 'nāmākhyāta', being the names of explainable works

Note —The word nāma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the 1st part of the sūtra, viz, dvyach Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with akhyata

This debars अण् and टम् ॥ 1 Dissyllabic —ऐटिक, पाशुक ॥ 2

Ending in ऋ —चातुर्होतृक ॥ ब्राह्मणिक, आर्चिक, प्रथमिक, आध्यतिक, पौरश्चरणिक, नामिक, आख्यातिक, नामाख्यातिक ॥

१४५२ । अणुगयनादिभ्य । ४ । ३ । ७३ ॥

टम् । अर्गयन । औपनिषद् । वैयाकरण ॥

1452 The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'ṛiga-yana' &c

This debars टम्, टक् and छ ॥ अर्गयन, औपनिषद्, वैयाकरण ॥

Note —The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the anuvriti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list Thus वास्तुविद्य ॥

1 ऋग्यजुः, 2 पदव्याख्यान 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा 5 छन्दोविधिति 6 न्याय,
7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 ज्ञानविद्या, 13 अज्ञानविद्या,
14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याय 18 सवस्तर, 19 सुहृत्, 20 उपनिषद्, 21
निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विज्ञिनी 25 व्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत आगत । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

सुज्ञादागत सौज्ञ ॥

1453 An affix (IV 1 83 S 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'

Thus सुज्ञादागत = सौज्ञ 'what has come from Srughna'

१४५४ । उगायस्थानेऽय । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगत सौल्कशालिक ॥

1454 After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix उक् in the sense of 'come thence'

Note —The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus सौल्कशालिक 'what is derived from custom house'

Note —The plural in the sutra prevents Svaiupavidhi (I 1 68 S 25)

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानककच्छदीना चापवाद । शुण्डिकादागत सौण्डिक । कार्कण । तैर्य ॥

1455 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c

This debars उक् ॥ Thus सौण्डिक 'excise revenue' कार्कण तैर्य ॥

Note —The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV 3 73 S 1452, बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपान ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्यण्डिक, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्य, 7 भूमि, 8 वृण, 9 पण्य ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

औपाध्यक । पैतामहक ॥

1456 The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसम्बन्ध

म्भा ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix डुम् ॥ This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus उपाध्यायाद्गत = औपाध्यायक, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher' So also योनिसम्बन्ध as पैतामहक 'wealth derived from a grand-father'

१४५७ । ऋतुष्टम् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

बुभोऽपवाद । हौतृकम् । भ्रातृकम् ॥

1457 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood

This debars डुम् ॥ Thus होत्ररागतम् = हौतृकम् 'derived from Hotṛi' So also of 'blood,' as —भ्रातृकम् ॥

Note —The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

Note —When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed As, सावित्रम् ॥

१४५८ । पितुर्यञ् । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

आङ्गम् । णिङ् ऋत । यस्येति लोप । पिङ्ग्यम् । पैतृकम् ॥

1458 The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitṛi'

Thus पितुरागत = पितृ + यत् = पितृी + य = पितृ + य = पिङ्ग्यम् (the ṛi is replaced by ṛi by VII 4 27 and the long ई of णि is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) 'paternal—the wealth inherited from father' With ठञ् = पैतृकम् ॥

१४५९ । गोत्रादङ्गवत् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

विदेभ्य आगत वैदम् । गार्गम् । शक्षम् । औपगवकम् ॥

1459 After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark'

Note —The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant denoting affix in general The affixes denoting अङ्ग are taught in IV 3 126 S 1506 and 127 S 1507 The affix डुम् of IV 3 126 S 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV 3 127 S 1507 denoting, 'this is his mark'

Thus वैदम्, गार्गम्, शक्षम् formed by अण् of IV 3 127 S 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c औपगवानामङ्ग = औपगवक 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu' So also कापदवक नाडायनक चारायणक ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवभ्य आगतम् = औपग-

कम्, कापदकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम्) formed by वृत् (IV 3 126 S 1506)

Note —The word वृत् has the force of 'complete similarity' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV 2 34 S 1237), चरणेभ्यो धमवत् (IV 2 46 S 1255)

१४६० । नञ् शुचिश्चरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञ् परेषां शुद्धादिपञ्चानाम् । ऋचो वृद्धिं पूर्वपदस्य तु वा त्रिशदौ परे । आशौचम् । अशौचम् । आनैश्चयम् । अनैश्चयम् । आक्षेत्रज्ञम् । अक्षेत्रज्ञम् । आकुशलम् । अकुशलम् । आनैपुणम् । अनैपुणम् ॥

1460 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory च्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle

As अशौचम् or आशौचम्, अनैश्चयम् or आनैश्चयम्, अक्षेत्रज्ञम् or आक्षेत्रज्ञम्, अकुशलम् or आकुशलम्, अनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्य । ४ । ३ । ८१ ॥

समादागत समरूप्यम् । विषमरूप्यम् । पक्षे गहादित्वाच्छ । समीयम् । विषमीयम् । देवदत्तरूप्यम् । देवदत्तीयम् । दैवदत्तम् ॥

1461 The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes' हेतु means cause or instrument Thus समादागत = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV 2 138 S 1362 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or दैवदत्तम् (IV 1 83 S 1073) 'what originates with देवदत्त' ॥

Note —The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (1 1 68 S 25) does not apply here

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in 11 3 23 S 568 and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by 11 3 25 S 602

१४६२ । मयद् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

सममयम् । विषममयम् । दैवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462 After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, हेवदत्तमयम्, ॥

Note —The द् of मयद् indicates that the ferrimines of these words are formed by डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10 S 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्यो अन्यतरस्या रूप्यमयङो ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

‘तत्त’ इत्येव । हिमवतः प्रभवति हिमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463 After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of ‘what appears for the first time’

The word तत्त is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हिमवती “The Haimavati”, a name of the Ganges, meaning ‘which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown’

Note —So also दारदी “The Daradī” is the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तच्च जात, it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराञ्ज्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूरात्प्रभवति वैदूर्यं मणिः ॥

1464 The affix य comes, in the sense of ‘what manifests itself there’, after the words ‘vidūra’

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्य ‘a kind of gem found at Vidūra’

Note —The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidūra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidūra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर, such substitute being only shown in the sūtra, the appropriate sthāni (vālavāya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidūra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidūra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vālavāya by the name of Vidūra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvārī

१४६५ । लङ्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

लङ्ग गच्छति क्षीणं पन्था दूतो वा ॥

1465 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of ‘what

goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger

Thus लुप्तम् गच्छति = सौप्त "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna" The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna be used for going

Note — Why do we say पयिदूनयो "meaning a road or a messenger" Observe लुप्तम् गच्छति साय 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake

१४६६ । अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

तदित्येव । लुप्तम् अभिनिष्क्रामति सौप्त कान्यकुब्जद्वारम् ॥

1466 An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'

Thus सौप्त 'a gate which looks towards Srughna —as a gate of Kānyakubja

Note — Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate" ? Observe लुप्तमभिनिष्क्रामति लुप्तम् 'a person faces towards Srughna'

१४६७ । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तदित्येव । शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शारीरकीयः । शारीरक भाष्यमिति तदभेदोपचारम् ॥

1467 An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at', 'alluding to, referring to' Thus शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः = शारीरकीयः i.e. a book relating to the śāṅkhya sūtras The form शारीरक भाष्यम् is however more generally employed Here no distinction is made between the sūtras and the bhāṣhya Hence the commentary is called śārīraka

१४६८ । शिशुकन्द्यमसभङ्गेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशुता कन्दन शिशुकन्द तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थः शिशुकन्दीयः । यन्मन्त्रं तन्मा यमसभङ्गं तन्मा यमसभङ्गम् । किरातार्जुनीयम् । इन्द्रजननादिराकृतिगणः । इन्द्रजननायम् । विरट् भोजनीयम् ॥

1468 The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'śiśukānda, yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words 'india-anana' &c

The word तद् (IV 3 85 S 1465) and अधिकृत्य कृते अन्ये should be read into the sūtra This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीय 'a book treating of the crying of infants' यमसभम् 'a book relating to the court of Yama' The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipātana)

Dvandva-Compound as क्रियतांशुनीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words They are Ākṛitigana, and must be determined by usage Thus इन्द्रजननीयम् विरुद्धभोजनायम् &c

Note —The words शिशुकन्द and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification

१४६६ । सोऽस्य निवास । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

सो निवासोऽस्य सौम ॥

1469 After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

Note —The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case अस्य his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case निवास shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place निवास means "a country in which a person lives (nivasanti asmin)" .

सुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = सौम 'a present dweller of Srughna',

१४७० । अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

सुघ्नोऽभिजनोऽस्य सौम यच्च स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यच्च पूर्वैरुपित सोऽभिजनः ॥ इति विवेकः ॥

1470 After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'

The difference between निवास and अभिजन is this Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling place Where his ancestors (अभिजना) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode' Thus सौम 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'

Note —The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs

१४७१ । आयुधजीविभ्यश्छ पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ८९ ॥

पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमान्ताऽभिजनशब्दादर्थे छ स्यात् । छोलः पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषामायुधजीविना ते छलोऽस्मात् । आयुधेति किञ्च । अस्मात् पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषां ते आशोऽस्मात् द्विजाः ॥

1471 The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजन is to be read into the sūtra. Thus- हृद्गल पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविना = हृद्गलीया 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛdgola mountain'

Why do we say आयुधजीविन् ? Observe ब्राह्मोरा द्विजा " the Brāhmaras whose native place is Rikshoda mountains "

Note — Why do we say 'mountains' ? Observe, साकारयका आयुधजीविन ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यां इय । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शण्डिक्य ॥

1472 The affix इय comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c

This debars अण् &c Thus शण्डिक्य, सावसेन्य &c

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन, 3 सवकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

सिन्ध्वादिभ्यां ण् तु तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽम् स्यादुक्तोऽर्थः । सैन्धव । तक्षशिला नगरी अभिजनोऽस्य साक्षशिल ॥

1473 The affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshaśīla' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'

Thus सैन्धव । So also साक्षशिल ॥

Note — Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu class, are found in the Kachchhādī class (IV 2 133 S 1357) also. Those words would have taken अण् by sūtra IV 2 133 S 1357. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of ण् (IV 2 134 S 1358) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV 2 134, S 1358 when the further significance of अभिजन is added to them.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कक्षीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 वरद (वरद), 11 गन्धिका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वस्त्रोद्धरण, 3 कैमेदुर (कौमेदुर), 4 घामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 सकुम्भित, 6 किंनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डधारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बबर, 14 कस, 15 सरालक ॥

१४७४ । त्वीशस्त्रातुरवर्मतीकुचवाराडदकृण्डज्यक । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

तूदी अभिजनोऽस्य तौदेय । शालातुरीय । वार्मतेय । कौचवार्य ॥

1474 After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes टक्, छण्, डञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'

This debars भण् ॥ Thus तौदेय, शालातुरीय, वार्मतेय and कौचवार्य ॥

१४७५ । भक्ति । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवत । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्ति । वृष्णो भक्तिरस्य सौम ॥

1475 An affix (IV 1 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'

Thus वृष्णो भक्तिरस्य = सौम 'a person who is loyal to Sruṅghna'

The anuvṛtti of the word अभिजन ceases The words स and अस्य should be read into the sūtra

१४७६ । अचिन्तादेशकालाट्टक । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

अपूपा भक्तिरस्य आपूपिक । पायसिक । अचिन्तात्किम् । देवदत्त । अदेशात्किम् । सौम ॥ अकालात्किम् । यत्न ॥

1476 After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix टक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'

This debars अण्, and छ also Thus अपूपाभक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकै 'a person who loves cakes' पायसिकै ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe देवदत्त ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe सौम ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe येष्मे 'who loves summer'

१४७७ । महाराजाट्टञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

* हाराजिक ॥

1477 The affix टञ्ज comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As महाराजिक 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja' The difference between this टञ्ज and the टक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

वासुदेवक । अर्जुनक ॥

1478 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and झ ॥ Thus वासुदेवक, अर्जुनक ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुल वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । परस्वादवृद्धाच्छ वाधते । ग्लुचुकायनिर्भक्तिरस्य ग्लौचकायनकः । नाकुलक । बहुलप्रद्वयान्नह । पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीय ॥

1479 The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars झ and छ ॥ Thus ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani' Kshatriyas — नाकुलक ॥

Note —The word आख्या in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of well known or famous Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus पाणिनी भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीय ॥

Note —The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

१४८० । जनपदिना जनपदवत्सर्वे जनपदन समानशब्दानां बहवचने । ४ ।

३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्वामिवाचिना बहुवचने जनपदवाचिना समानश्रुतीना जनपदवत्सर्वे स्यात्प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदवत्त्वमर्थोऽस्ति प्रकरणात् ये प्रत्यया उक्तास्तत्रानिदिश्यन्ते । अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गक । अङ्गा क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गक । जनपदिना किञ् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य पाञ्चाल । जनपदनेति किञ् । पौरवो राजा भक्तिरस्य पौरवीय ॥

1480 Of words denoting Princes (lit who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

Note —The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. जनपदिनाम् gen plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya Princes, बहवचने 'in the plural' जनपदेन समान शब्दाना 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like janapada' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV 2 124 S 1348 &c and those affixes will apply here

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गक formed by डुम् of sûtra IV 2 125, S 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Angâs' Similarly वाङ्गक, सोम्यक, वैश्वङ्गक ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गक formed by the same amx डुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas Angâs' So वाङ्गक, सोम्यक &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes', (janapadinâm) Observe, पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पाञ्चाला ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed'

Why do we say जनपदेन समान दृढशब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janpada word'? Thus पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीश ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्त पाणिनीयम् ।

1481 After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकपेथोक्त 'preeminently spoken' It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made' For the sense of कृत has been already taught in the sûtra कृते षन्थे (IV 3 16 S 1387) Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छङ्गा । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोब्राह्मणानीति तद्विषयता । तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तमधीयते तैत्तिरीया ॥

1482 The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khanḍika', and 'ukha'

Thus तैत्तिरीया 'those who learn (IV 2 66 S 1278) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'

Note — According to Kāśika this is confined to the Chhandas only There fore it will not apply to classical ślokaś, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्त श्लोक ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sûtra IV 3, 106 S 1486 and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66 S 1278

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामुचिभ्यां णिनि । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

काश्यपेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपेन ॥

1483 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kāśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vriddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra) This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works Thus काश्यपेन 'those who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kāśyapa'

Note —Why do we say " Vedic Sages " ? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं—काश्यपयाम् " a work enounced by a modern Kāśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kāśyapa, not a Rishi'

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्यः, हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हारिद्रविण । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यः, आलम्बिन ॥

1484 After words denoting the pupils of ' Kalāpî ' and ' Vaisampāyana ', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of ' enounced by him '.

Note :—This debars अण् and क् ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpa as हरिद्रु, कृगली, तुम्बुरु, उलप ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampāyana as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, चक्राभ, आरुणि, ताण्ड्य, दयानायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविण 'those who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the works enounced by Haridru' So also आलम्बिन ॥

Note —The word चरक means वैशम्पायन hence चरक means pupils of वैशम्पायन ॥

१४८५ । पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

तृतीयांशप्रोक्तार्थे णिनि स्यात् । यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताभेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेन चिरस्तनेन धुनिना प्रोक्ता । आल्लु आल्लविन । शाव्यायन, शाव्यायनिन । कल्पे, पिङ्गेन प्रोक्त । पैङ्गी कल्प । पुराणेति किम् । शास्त्रवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्वमेध कल्प । अग्नि । आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1485 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix पुराण means 'Ancient Sages' equivalent to पुरातन of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the example is शाखाय निन so also from भल्लु—भाल्लविन ॥ Kalpa work as पैङ्गीकल्प ॥

Why do we say पुराणोक्तो 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe शाखवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि, भावनरथ कल्प ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI 4. 151 S 1082 Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times The तद् विषय affix IV 2 66 S 1278 will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV 2 66 S 1278 is restricted to पुराणोक्त of the present sūtra

१४८६ । शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छन्दस्यभिधेय एभ्यो णिनि । शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शौनकिन ॥

1486 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting chhandas

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिन 'who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the chhandas enounced by Śaunaka' वाजसनेयिन &c

Note —Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शस्त्रा the orthography of Śaunaka

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV 3 107 S 1487) Thus कठशाठाम्ना प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठेन ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शाङ्गैरव 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शाखेय (शाखेय), 6 शाखायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ) 8 स्कन्ध 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुमार 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कषाय) 14 तल*, 15 रुड* 16 पुरुषासक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गैरव, 19 रुक्म 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार ॥

१४८७ । कठचरकाटुक् । ४ । ३ । १०७ ॥

आभ्या प्रोक्तमधीयते लुक् स्यात् । कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठा । चरका ॥

1487 The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Katha and Charaka

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided Thus कठा who study the Chhandas enounced by Katha' चरका &c

Note —The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra Observe काटा चरका श्लाका

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽण् । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

कलापना प्रोक्तमधीयते कलापा ॥ नान्तस्य ऽलोपे सङ्गच्छारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकोद्युमितेति हि जा मलिलाङ्गलिलिशिलालिशिलिङ्गस्वरसममुपवर्णामुपसंख्यानान्द्विषा ॥

1488 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalāpī

This debars णिनि of IV 3 104 S 1484 Thus कलापा 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'

Note —The word कलाप is thus formed —कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes the force Sūtra VI 4 144 S 679 which declares that इन् or कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI 4 164 S 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vartika

Vart —The टि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows —सब्रह्मचारिन् पीठमर्षिन्, कलापिन्, कुयुमिन्, तैतिलिन् आजलिन् जाङ्गलिन्, नाङ्गलिन् शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सुकरसघ्नन्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापा ॥

The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following 1 सब्रह्मचारिन्—सब्रह्मचारा (IV 3 120 S 1500) पीठमर्षिन्—पैठमर्षा (IV 3 120 S 1500), 3 कलापिन्—कालापा (IV 3 108 and IV 2 59 S 1488 and 1269), 4 कुयुमिन्—कोयुमा (IV 3 101 S 1481), 5 तैतिलिन्—तैतिला (IV 3 116 S 1496), 6 आजलिन्—जाजला (IV 2 59 S 1269), 7 नाङ्गलिन्—नाङ्गला, 8 शिलालिन्—शैलाला 9 शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डा 10 सुकरसघ्नन्—सोकरसघा 11 सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वा ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4 164, and those in अन् contradict VI 4 167

१४८९ । छागलिनो दिनुक् । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छागलिनो प्रोक्तमधीयते छागलेयिन ॥

4489 The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalīn'

The word छागलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV 3 104 S 1484) This debars that Thus छागलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagall'

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्या भिक्षुनटसूत्रयो १४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येण प्रोक्त भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयन् पाराशरियो भिक्षव । शैलालिनो नटा ॥

1490 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pārāśarya and Śilalīn the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sūtra and Nata-Sūtra respectively

Note —The affix णिनि is to be read into the sūtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षु 'religious mendicants' and नट 'jugglers dancers'

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI 4 152 S 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the realisation of Pāśara on the duties of Bhikshus' Similarly शैलीलिन् ॥

Note — These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies he works so enounced by Pāśara and Sailahu' See IV 2 66 S 1278 As पाराशरिणो भक्षण, शैलाजिनो नटा ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता [V 2 66]) and never a प्रोक्त alone These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sūtras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

१४९१ । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनि । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिष्टुनटस्त्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिष्टव । कृशाश्विनो नटा ॥

1491 The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sūtra and Nata -Sūtra, after the words 'Karmānda' and 'Kṛśāśva'

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिष्टव, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sūtra of Karmānda' कृशाश्विनो नटा 'the actors who study the Nata sūtra of Kṛśāśvin' Otherwise कामन्दकम् and कार्शद्वम् ॥ See IV 2 66,

१४९२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुदासा अग्निना एकदिक् सौवामनी ॥

1492 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i. e. a common direction Thus सुदासा एकदिक् = सौवामनी विष्टुन् "a lightening literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudāman"

Note — The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛtti from IV 3 101 S 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtti of the लङ्ग्वै which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV 2 66 S 1278 which was applied to those sūtras does not apply here

१४९३ । तसिञ्च । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिपाठादभ्यस्यत्वम् । पीलुमूलेन एकदिक् पीलुमूलत ॥

1493 The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c च &c The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarādi class (I 1 37 S 447), Thus हिमवत् 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलत, स्वामत ॥

१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

चात्तसि । अणोऽपवाद । उरसा एक दिक् उरस्य । उरस्त ॥

1494 The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्त ॥ The तसि is read into the sutra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

तेनैवेव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञात पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495 After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञात । i.e. an intuition or self taught knowledge Thus पाणिनीनोपज्ञात = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वररुचिना कृतो वाररुचो ग्रन्थ ॥

1496 An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृता = वाररुचा । श्लोका 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'

Note —Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तत्कृत प्रासाद 'the palace made by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृत and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञात ॥

१४९७ । सङ्गायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

तेनैवेव । अग्रन्थार्थनिर्दिष्टम् । मक्षिकाभिः कृतं माक्षिकं मधु ॥

1497 An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', माक्षिका meaning 'a bee' मक्षिका + अण् = माक्षिक (VI 4 148 S 311) The anuvṛtti of मन्थ " does not, of course, apply here

१४६८ । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तन कृते सज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृत कौलालकम् । वारुडकम् ॥

1498 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulāla &c the whole word so formed being a Name

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit 'made by a potter' So also वारुडकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध (सिन्धि), 8 सौन्धि (सेन्धि) 9 देवराज 10 परिवद् (१५६), 11 वधू 12 मधु, 13 रुद्र, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव ॥

१४६९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते सज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभि कृत क्षौद्रम् । भ्रामरम् । वाटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499 The affix वुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrā', 'bhramara', 'vatara' and 'pādapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name

This debarb अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभि कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee' So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोरिदौपगवम् ॥ वहेस्तुरीणद् च * ॥ सवोदु स्व सावहिचम् ॥ अग्नीध शरणे रण भ च * ॥ अग्निनिधे अग्नीन् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीधम् । तात्पर्यास्तोऽप्याग्नीध्र ॥ सन्निधानाधाने षेय्यन् * ॥ सामिधेन्यो मन्त्र । सामिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500 After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV 1 13 &c) comes in the sense of 'this is his'

The five universals अण् &c (IV 1 83) and the affixes च &c (IV 2 93) come in this sense Thus उपगोरिदम् = औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'

Note - The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c Thus देवदत्तस्थानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men

Vart - The verb वह takes ह् (हण् and हृच्) and अण् preceded by an इद् As, सवोदु स्व सावहिचम् ॥

Vart - The affix रम् comes after अग्निन्, (= अग्निनिधे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ Agni is the name of a Ritvik priest As अग्नीधम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni The word अग्नीध्र being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the च is not changed to द् (VIII 2 39)

Vart — The affix 'shenyan' comes after सन्धिषा, in the sense of placing thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्र 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेना (IV 1 41) क्क् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथ्य चक्रम् ॥

1501 The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of this is his'

This bebars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येद रथम् 'belonging to the chariot—the wheel or the axle',

Note — The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ as, परमारथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vārtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो बहिधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta vidhi

१५०२ । पत्रपूर्वादञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्र वाहनम् । आश्वरथस्येदनाश्वरथम् ॥

1502 When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथ चक्र 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note — The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal like camel. It is formed by the affix झन् (III 2 182)

१५०३ । पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पत्रादाद्ये * ॥ अश्वस्येद वहनीयमाश्वम् । आध्वर्यवम् । परिषदम् ॥

1503 After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'arhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्र means वाहन ॥

Vart — When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added, to a word denoting 'a draught animal. Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम् — आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse' So also आध्वर्यवम् and परिषदम् ॥

१५०४ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हालिकम् । सौरकम् ॥

1504 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira'

Thus हलस्येङ् = हलिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । द्वन्द्वोद्बुधैरमैथुनिकया । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोलुकि । कुत्सकुशिकि ॥ वै देवासुरादिभ्य प्रतिषेध * ॥ देवासुरम् ॥

1505 The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोलुकि ॥ Similarly of married couples अ, कुत्सकुशिकि ॥

Note —The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II 4 9 S 913 Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine

Vart —Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c As देवासुरम् ॥ राधासुरम् वैरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्बुञ् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

औपगवकम् । चरणाद्धर्माज्ञायोरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506 The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his' after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools

This debars अण् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra —औपगवकम् ॥

Vart —The word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnāya) Thus कठाना धर्म आज्ञायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma Sūtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kathas'

१५०७ । सङ्घाङ्कलक्षणैवस्यजिआमण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

घोषग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अम्, वैर सङ्घाङ्को घोषो वा । वैर लक्षणम् । यम्, मार्ग । मार्गम् । इम्, राक्ष । राक्षम् । परपरासबन्धोऽङ्क साक्षात्तु लक्षणम् ॥

1507 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign

Note —The word सङ्घ means 'congregation' The word लक्षण and अङ्क should be distinguished लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a distinguishing feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another as a mark on a cow showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs. The **सङ्ग** though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the **लक्षण** is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars **वुम्** of the last aphorism.

VArt —The word घोष 'a cow pen', should also be read along with the सङ्ग &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply.

Thus अग्रन्तात् (IV 1 104 S 1106)—बैद (Masculine), 'a congregation but बैदम् (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the Bidas' यग्रन्तात् (IV 1 105 S 1107)—गार्ग्य+अण्=गार्ग्य (VI 4 148, 151 S 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the Gārgyas" इग्रन्तात् (IV 1 95 S 1095), —दाक्षि+अण्=दाक्षि (VI 4 148 S 311) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis', दाक्षिन्, 'a mark of the Dākshis'.

Note —The **ण्** of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vriddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vriddhi by virtue of the affixes अम् or इम् in which they end. The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vriddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470). Thus वैदी ॥ It further prevents पुङ्गव in compounds (VI 3 39 S 849), as वैदी विद्यास्त्व=वैदीविद्य १.० विद्यानामसाधारणी वा विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

१५०८ । शाकलाद्वा । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

अण् वक्तव्ये । पक्षे अणत्वाद्बुम् । शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलास्तेषां छात्रोऽङ्को घोषो वा शाकल । शाकलक । लक्षणे स्त्रीवत् ॥

1508 The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars **वुम्** ॥ —Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते=शाकला (IV 3 101 S 1481 and IV 2 64 S 1274), शाकलानाम् सङ्ग=शाकल or शाकलक (IV 3 126 S 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala' When denoting लक्षण it will be of the neuter gender.

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वचनटाञ्ज्य । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

छन्दोगानां धर्म आम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिक्यम् । याज्ञिक्यम् । बह्वच्यम् । नाञ्ज्यम् ॥ अरणाज्यमांसायोरित्युक्तं तत्साहचर्यान्नदशब्दादपि तथैवेव ॥

1509 The affix **ञ्य** comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhandoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvīcha' and 'nata.'

Note —The anuvṛtti of सूत्र &c ceases. The उच्चार्य debars अण् and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्माभाययो from sūtra IV 3 126 S 1506 is understood here and applies even to the word नन्द ॥

Thus छान्दोग्येना धर्मो वाऽऽभावा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga' So also भौतिकविद्यम्, वास्तविकम्, बाह्यवृत्त्यम्, and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have छान्दोग कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमायवास्तेषु शिष्येषु च वुञ् न स्यात् । वाचा दण्डमाणवा शिष्यावा ॥

1510 The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil'

The word दण्डमाणवः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'danḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i.e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV 1 161 S 1185, अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus वसुतः "the junior pupils of Dakṣi"

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छ । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

तस्येवमित्यर्थे । वुञोऽपवादः । रैवत्स्त्रीयः । वैजवापीयः ॥

1511 The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV 3 126 S 1506), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः वैजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 कौमवृद्धि, 4 गौरग्रीवि (गौरग्रीव), 5 औदमेवि (औदमेवि), 6 औदवावि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवापि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कौपिञ्जलस्यापत्यम् इहैव निपातनादण् तदन्तात्पुनरण् । कौपिञ्जलः । गोत्रवुञोऽपवादः । हस्तिपादस्यापत्यं हास्तिपदस्तस्याय हास्तिपदः ॥

1512. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupīṇyala' and 'hāstipada'.

This debars वुञ् (IV 3 126) Thus कौपिञ्जल, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika. The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कौपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अण् by the nipātana of this sūtra. To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the वुञ् affix. Similarly the son of हस्तिपाद is called हास्तिपदः ॥ It is formed by अण् and पाद changed to पद by nipātana. To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sūtra

१५१३। आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्यात् । आथर्वणिकस्यायमाथर्वण धर्म आश्रयो वा । चरणद्वयमोऽपवादः ॥

1513. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of *this is his*, after the word 'ātharvamika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars डुम् (IV 3 126 S 1506) आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आश्रयो वा "the Atharvana : e the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणद्वयमोऽपवादः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtikā.

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अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX

PRAGDĪVYATĪYA

१५१४ । तस्य विकार । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अश्विनो विकारे दितोषो वक्तव्य * ॥ अश्विनो विकार आश्विन । भास्मन् । मार्तिक ॥

1514 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'

Note —The word विकार means the change of condition of the original The word तस्य, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of होषे (IV 2 92) does not extend further The affixes taught, therefore, under होषे (IV 2, 92 S 1312 &c) such as च, ख &c have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra the general affix अण् (IV 1 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter

Vdt —अश्विनम् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' as, आश्विन, otherwise आश्विन ॥ So also भास्मन् and मार्तिक ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

आदिकारे । मयूरस्यावयवो विकारो वा मयूर । मौर्वे काण्ड भस्म वा । पैपलम् ॥

1515 An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification')

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकार is also read into the sūtra,

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = मयूर (IV 3 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c So also of 'herbs', as मौर्वे 'product of Murva i.e. ashes or the stalk of Murva' So also of 'trees', as, पैपलम् meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pīpala tree"

Note —In the subsequent sūtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force But after words which denote non animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvritti, not co-extensive in every respect

१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

बैल्वम् ॥

1516 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c

This debars भञ् and मयद् ॥ Thus बैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'

Note —The word गवेधुका occurs in this list. It would have taken 'an by the next sūtra also, its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word

1 बिल्व 2 ब्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 छद्, 5 मक्षर, 6 गोघ्न, 7 इक्षु 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपधाञ् । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अण् अञोऽपवाद । तर्कु, तार्कवम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1517 After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तैत्तिडीक we get तैत्तिडीक, ॥ The words तैत्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su II 16)

१५१८ । अप्रजतुनो धुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

आभ्यामण् स्याद्विकारे एतयो धुगागमश्च । आपुषम् । जातुषम् ॥

1518 The affix अण् with the augment धुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'

This debars अञ् (IV 3¹³⁹ S 1519) As, अप्रजो विकार = आपुषम्, so also जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac"

Note —In these words denoting non-organic beings the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix

१५१९ । ओरञ् । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

दैवहारवम् । भाद्रहारवम् ॥

1519 The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable)

Thus दैवहारवम्, भाद्रहारवम् ॥

Note —The words देवदारु and मद्रदारु are ādy adātta owing to Phit Su II 14 (पीतद्वयानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेश्च । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

शधित्यम् । कापित्यम् ॥

1520 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शधित्यम्, कापित्यम् ॥

Note —The word शधित्यम् is an upapada-samāsa of शधि + स्य + क, the स being changed to त as it belongs to Prishodaradi class, and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

शलाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521 The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c

Thus पैलाशम् or पालाशम् so also खौरिरम् or खादिरम्, कौरीरम् or कारीरम् ॥

Note —This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāshā. The words पलाश, खादिर, शिशापा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta vibhāshā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāshā.

1 पलाश, 2 खादिर, 3 शिशापा 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर 7 शिरीष, 8 यवास, 9 विकङ्कत ॥

१५२२ । शम्या (द्) लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शामील भस्म । त्रिखान्डीर्ष शामीली लुक् ॥

1522 The affix ष् (द्) लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामील भस्म । शामीली लुक् (IV 1 60 S 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ष् ॥ According to Mādhāva the anubandha is इ and so the feminine is formed in ङीष् ॥

१५२३ । मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छदनयो । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिमाधान्मयद्वैत्याहिकारावयवयोः अश्ममयम् आश्मनम् । अभक्ष्येत्यादि किम् । भौह रूप । भाषासिमाच्छदनम् ॥

1523 The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of

Thus अन्नमयम् or आसनम् (IV 3 134)

Note — Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in the classical language', ? Witness वेत्स्व खासिरो वा शूप स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, ? Observe कौर्म सूप 'a soup made of kidney beans' कापासनम् आच्छादनम् 'cotton dress'

Note — Why the word एतयो 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अद्वय were to be read into the sūtra ? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV 3 135 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV, 3 135 S 1515) लाहनयम् or लौहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं दृढशरादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आसनमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाचो नित्यम् * ॥ त्वङ्मयम् । वाङ्मयम् । कथं तर्हि आप्यमन्मथानिति । तस्येव नित्यणन्तात्स्वार्थे व्यञ्ज ॥

1524 The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛddha words, and after शर &c

Thus after Vṛddha—आसनमयम् ॥ After शरादि words —शरमयम् ॥

Part —The affix मयद्, comes invariably after words of one syllable Thus त्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्यम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakosha (I 10 5) ? It is formed by व्यञ्ज added to अपस् after the latter had taken अण् of तस्यदम् ॥ अप + अण् = आप, आप + य = आप्यम् ॥ व्यञ्ज does not change the meaning

1 शर, 2 दर्भ, 3 दृढ, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 क्षौम, 7 बल्लज (वल्लज) ॥

१५२५ । गोश्च पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गो पुरीष गोमयम् ॥

1525 The affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'

Thus गामयम् 'cow dung'

Note — 'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung' ? Observe गच्छ = milk The affix यन् here comes in the sense of product or part (IV 3 160 S 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाच्च । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयद् स्याद्विकारे । पिष्टमयं भस्म । कथं पैष्टी क्षुरेति । सामान्यविवक्षाया तस्येवमित्यण् ॥

1526 The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैष्टी क्षुरा in the sense of तस्येवम् ॥ (IV 3 120 S 1500) in a general signification

१५२७ । सज्ञाया कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

विद्यादित्येव । पिष्टस्य विकारविशेषः पिष्टकः । पूषोऽपूषः पिष्टकः स्यात् ॥

1527 The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II 9 48)

१५२८ । ब्रीहिः पुरोडाशः । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयद् स्यात् । त्वित्वाद्यणाऽपवादः । ब्रीहिस्य पुरोडाशः । ब्रैह्ममन्यत् ।

1528 The affix मयद् comes after the word ब्रीहि in the sense of a 'Puṛoḍāśa'

This debars अण् (IV 3 136 S 1516) Thus ब्रीहिस्य पुरोडाशः 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise ब्रैह्म ॥

१५२९ । असज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । सज्ञाया तु तैलम् । यावकः ॥

1529 The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावकः formed with कन् (यावादिभ्यः कन् V 4 29)

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५० ॥

अभ्यन्तरपवादः ॥ तालाद्भुवि * ॥ तालं धनुः । अन्यत्तालमयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tāla &c'

This debars मयद् &c Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालाद्भुवि 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्राविश, 4 इन्द्रावृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्ग), 7 श्यामक, 8 पीयूषा ॥

Varṇ — The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a 'bow' is meant Thus ताल "a bow made of tāla tree" Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note — The words ताल and श्यामक being Viddha words would have taken

मयद् (1V 3 144 S 1524) बहिषाम् विकार = बहिम् (by अञ् of 1V 3 154 S 1532) then we ought to have added to बाहम् the affix अञ् by IV 3 155 S 1533 in the sense of 'product or part'. The present sūtra prevents that. The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रादश are formed by adding क् to the roots विश and दृश preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujādi class. The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्येषामपि (VI 3 157). The word चण and पीयूषा are acute on the middle. इन्द्रायुध is final acute by samāsa accent.

१५३१ । जातरूपेभ्य परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनात्पर्यायग्रहणम् । हाटक तापनीय सौवर्णो वा निष्क । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमयी यष्टि ॥

1531 The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure"

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटक तापनीयम् सौवर्णो वा निष्क ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'? Observe हाटकमयी यष्टि ॥

१५३२ । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । वाकम् । राजतम् ॥

1532 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c

Note — This debars अण् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus — शौकम्, वाकम्, राजतम्, &c

Note — In the class रजतादि those words like रजत कण्टकार &c. which have anudatta on the beginning and, would have taken अञ् by IV 3 140, S 1520 have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 क्षीस, 3 लोह, 4 ददुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहितक (रोहितक), 8 विभातक, 9 पीतशर (कीत, शर), 10 तत्रिशर, 11 त्रिकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३ । जितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

जिद्यो विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्ताश्च स्यान्तयोरेवार्ययो । मयदोऽपवाद । सामीलस्य सामीलम् । बाधित्यस्य बाधित्यम् । कापित्यम् । जित किम् । बैल्वमयम् ॥

1533 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicator अञ् such affix denoting its product or part'

The affixes having indicatory अ् denoting product or part, are अम् (IV 3 139), दलम् (IV 3 142), अम् (IV 3 154), वुम् (IV 3 157), इम् (IV 3 159), अम्, यम् (IV 3 168) When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अम् is used This debars मयद् ॥ Thus चासीलम्, दाधित्यम्, कापित्यम् &c

Why do we say अित ? Observe बैल्वमयम् ॥ Here मयद् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV 3 136 S 1516 So also वैल्वमयम् ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

प्राग्बन्धेष्टमित्याख्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितान्ते तथैव विकारोऽतिवि-
श्यन्ते । अणादीनामपवादः । निष्कस्य क्रीत नैष्किकम् । एव निष्कस्य विकारोऽपि नैष्किकः । शतस्य
विकारः शतः । शतिकम् ॥

1534 After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased

The affixes taught in V 1 18 &c S 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V 1 37) These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V 1 19) The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अण् &c Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम् (V 1 20) It will denote vikāra also, निष्कस्य विकारः = नैष्किकः formed by ठक् (V 1 20) As शतैवक्रीतः = शतः or शतिकम् (V 1 21), so शतस्य विकारः = शतः or शतिक by ठक् and यत् (V 1 21)

Note —The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout Thus Sūtra V 1 28 also applies by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्र or द्विसाहस्र (V 1 29), द्विनैष्क or द्विनैष्किक ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also, while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā See IV 1 22 and V 1 19 &c The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V 1 28) as, द्विसहस्र, द्विसाहस्र &c

१५३५ । उष्ट्राद्वुम् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

प्राग्यञोऽपवादः । औष्ट्रक

535 The affix वुम् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtia'

This debars अम् (IV 2 154) उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रक ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वा । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

औमम् । औमकम् । और्मम् । और्मकम् । उममन्त्रे यथाक्रममण्यौ ।

1536 The affix वुम् comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णा ॥

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ।

Note —Umā has acute on the first syllable by तृयाध्यानाच् (Phit II 4) Urpā is finally acute, as a Pratipadika

१५३७ । एण्या ढञ् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

एण्यम् । एण्यस्य तु ऐण्यम् ॥

1537 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars अञ् of IV 3 154 S 1532

Thus ऐण्य मासम् 'the flesh of a female black deer' But एण्य मासम् = ऐ-
यम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

१५३८ । गोपयसोर्यत् । ४ । ३ । १६० ॥

गव्यम् । पयस्यम् ॥

1538 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI 1 79 S 63)

१५३९ । द्रोश्च । ४ । ३ । १६१ ॥

द्रुवृक्षस्तस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru' (meaning "a tree")

This debars अञ् (IV 3 139) Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI 1 79 S 63)

१५४० । माने वय । ४ । ३ । १६२ ॥

द्रारिखेव । द्रुवयम् । यौतव द्रुवय पाध्यमिति मानाथेक वयम् ॥

1540 The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure' The words द्रुवयम्, यौतव and पाध्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II 9 85)

१५४१ । फले लुक् । ४ । ३ । १६३ ॥

विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् फले । आमलक्या फलमामलकम् ।

1541 The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by luk, when such product or part is 'a fruit'

Thus आमलक्या फल = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलक 'the fruit of Myro-
bolans

Note —The fruit is a “product” as well as “part” of a fruit bearing tree

१५४२ । प्लक्षदिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६४ ॥

विधानसामर्थ्यान्न लुक् । प्लक्षम् ॥

1542 The affix अण् comes in the sense of ‘its product or part, it being a fruit,’ after the word ‘plaksha &c’

T is debars भञ्ज ॥ Thus प्लक्षम् ॥ So also नैयमोधम् by the following Sutra

१ प्लक्ष, २ न्यमोध, ३ अश्वस्य, ४ इह्युषी, ५ शिष्ट, ६ रुक् ७ कक्षतु (कर्कन्ध, कर्कन्धु कक्षतु) ८ वृहती ॥

१५४३ । न्यमोधस्य च केवलस्य । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

अस्य न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । नैयमोधम् ॥

1543 ये is placed before the य् of न्यमोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory अ, ण् or क् ॥

As नैयमोधम् (= न्यमोधस्य विकारः) ॥

Note —Why do we say ‘when it is alone’ ? Observe न्यमोधमूले भवा शालय = न्यमोधमूला ॥ If न्यमोध is a derivative word (from न्यमोहयति = नीचैर्गतौ परोहैर्धत्ते), then it would have been governed by VII 3 8, this separate sūtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word. If it, is a primary word then this sūtra makes a Vidhi rule. The word केवल is a jñāpaka that the rule of Tadādi applies to this section. See VII 3 8, also

१५४४ । जम्बवा वा । ४ । ३ । १६५ ॥

जम्बुशब्दात्फलेऽण् वा स्यात् । जाम्बवम् । पक्षे भोज्यं तस्य लुक् । जम्बु ॥

1544 The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word ‘jambū’

This debars भञ्ज ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बव as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix भञ्ज is added, it is elided by IV 3 163 S 1541 As जम्बु + भञ्ज = (IV 3 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बुनि फलानि (VI 4 8)

१५४५ । लुप् च । ४ । ३ । १६६ ॥

जम्बुवा फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप् वा स्यात् । लुपि युक्तवत् । जम्बवा फल जम्बु ॥ फलपाकशुषा-
मुपसंख्यानम् * त्रीहय । मुक्ता । पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् * ॥ मल्लिकाया पुष्प मल्लिका । जात्या पुष्प जाती ।
विदार्या मूल विदारी । बहुलमहनात्रेह । पाटलानि पुष्पाणि । साल्वानि मूलानि । बाहुलकात्काचित्सुक् ।
अंशाकम् । करवीरम् ॥

1545 The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambu

The word *वा* is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup' there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I 2 51 S 1294. Thus *जम्बू + अम्बूलुप = जम्बू* as, *जम्बू फल* ॥ Optionally *जम्बूवा फल = जम्बू फल*, or *जाम्बव* ॥

Vart — There is *lup* elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens. Thus *व्रीहि — ब्राह्म* सुप्ता ॥

Vart — Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots as, *मल्लिकाया पुष्प = मालिका नवमल्लिका जाति* so also *विहार्या मूल = विहारी* ॥ *अशुमती* । *वृहती* ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As *पादलानि पुष्पाणि, मूलानि मूलानि* ॥ So *अशाकम्, करवीरम्, &c*

१५४६ । *हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च* । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्य फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्यात् । हरीतक्यादीना निङ्गमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरीतक्या फलानि हरीतक्य ॥

1546 The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by *लुप*, after the words 'Haritakī' &c

Here also there is concordance (I 2, 51 S 1294), As *हरीतक्या फल = हरीतकी* instead of *हरीतक* ॥ So also *कोशातकी, नखरजनी* ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as *हरीतकी फल, हरीतक्य फलानि* ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी), 5 दाडी, 6 रोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 ब्राक्षा 10 काला, 11 धाक्षा (धाङ्क्षा), 12 गभीका (गर्गिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा (चिम्पा), 16 शोफालिका, 17 इडी ॥

१५४७ । *कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च* । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्या यञ्जौ स्तश्चयतोश्च लुक् । कसाय क्ति कसीयम्, तस्य विकारः कास्थम् । परशवे हित परशव्यम् । तस्य विकारः पारशवः ॥

1547 The affixes *यञ्* and *अञ्* come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansiya' and *paraśavya*, and there is *luk*-elision (of the *छ* and *यत्* affixes of those words)

The word *कसीय* is formed by *छ* (V 1 1), and *परशव्य* is formed by adding *यत्* (V 1 2). These affixes *छ* and *यत्* are elided when the affixes

यञ् and भञ् are added Thus कसीय + यञ् = कस + यञ् = कास्य so also पारशव from
परशव्य , thus परशव्य + भञ् = परशु + भञ् = पारशव ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdivyatiya affixes.

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अथ तद्धित ङगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX

THE AFFIX ठक् ॥

१५४८ । प्राग्वहतेष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्धितानि प्राक् ङगधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहोत माशब्दादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ माशब्द कारि इति च आह स माशब्दिक ॥

1548 The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV 4 76 S 1627

Note —This is an adhikāra sūtra The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्धति &c

Vart —After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'thak' comes in the sense 'he said that' Thus माशब्द इत्याह = माशब्दिक who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशब्दिक ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence

Note —Thus in the next sūtra it is said, 'After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered" Now this sūtra is incomplete We must read the word ठक् into it Thus अक्षेदीव्यति = आक्षिक 'who plays with aksha—a dicer' अक्ष + ठक् = आक्षिक (VII 3 50 S 1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतदीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐच् न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिक । स्वाध्वरिक । स्वप्नस्यापत्य स्वाङ्गि । व्यङ्गस्यापत्य व्याङ्गि । व्यङ्गस्यापत्य व्याङ्गि ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यावहारिक । स्वपतौ साधु स्वापत्यम् ॥ आहौ प्रभूतादिभ्य * ॥ प्रभूतमाह प्राभूतिक । पार्याप्तिक ॥ प्रच्छतौ सुखातादिभ्य * ॥ सुखान् प्रच्छति सौख्यातिक । सौख्यायनिक । अनुशक्तिकादि ॥ गच्छतौ परशरादिभ्य * ॥ पारदारिक । गौरुतल्पिक ॥

1549 The prohibition and augment taught in VII 3 3 S 1098, do not apply also to स्वागत &c

As स्वागतिक, (= स्वागतमिति आह), स्वाध्वरिक, (= स्वधरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गि, व्याङ्गि, व्याङ्गि (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyada) व्यावहारिक (Vyavahāreṇa charati) and स्वापत्य (= स्वपतौ साधु) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII 3 2 S 1144 स्वपत्य being a compound with स्व would have been governed by VII 3 4 S 1386 as it is included in the Dvārādī list, hence its specific mention here The following is the list of svāgatādi words

I स्वागत 2 स्वप्न, 3 स्वप्न, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यङ्ग, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vart —So also after प्रभृत &c in the sense 'he said' as प्रभृतंभाहं = प्रभृतिक, पार्याप्तिक ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb

Vart —So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नात पृच्छति = सौस्नातिक "Who asks, have you bathed well" सौस्नराजिक, सौस्नरायनिक ॥

Vart —So also after परद्वारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with' as परद्वारान् गच्छति = पारदारिक, गौरतल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife"

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिक । अक्षया खनति आभ्रिक । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिक । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ॥

1550 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिक 'who plays with dice—a dicer' अक्षय-
नति आभ्रिक कौशलिक, अक्षैर्जयति = आक्षिक, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । सस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना सस्कृत दाधिकम् । मारीचिकम् ॥

1551 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'

The word सस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'
Thus दध्ना सस्कृत = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd' मारीचिकम् ॥

Note —The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of सस्कृत only runs

१५५२ । कुलत्थकापभादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

ठकोऽपभा । कुलत्थे सस्कृत कौलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552 After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उडुपन तरति औडुपिक ॥

1553 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'

Thus काण्डप्लवनतरति = काण्डप्लविक, औडुषिक 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४ । गोपुच्छाट् । ४ । ४ । ६ ॥

गोपुच्छिक ॥

1554 The affix ट् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'

The difference between टक् and टम् is in the accent Thus गोपुच्छिक ॥

१५५५ । नौद्यचष्टन् । ४ । ४ । ७ ॥

नाविक । घटिक । बाहुभ्या तरति बाहुका स्त्री ॥

1555 The affix टन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'

This debars टक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविक 'a sailor' So also after dissyllabic words as, घटिक, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्या तरति) in the feminine

Note —The व in टन् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules The feminine of बाहुक being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory व occurs in the Fourth book, in sutras IV 4 9 10, 18, 53 and 74

१५५६ । चरति । ४ । ४ । ८ ॥

वृत्तियान्ताहच्छति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोष्टक् स्यात् । हस्तिना चरति हास्तिक । शकटिकः । इध्ना भक्षयति वाधिक ॥

1556 After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix टक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat Thus शकटिक । हास्तिक 'who travels by a car or an elephant' इध्ना भक्षयति = वाधिक 'who gets on, with being fed on curd'

१५५७ । आकर्षात् छल् । ४ । ४ । ९ ॥

आकर्षो निकषोपल । आकर्षादिति पाठान्तरम् । तेन चरीत आकर्षिक । विशाङ्कीय । आकर्षिकी ॥

1557 The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'Ākarsha'

Note —This debars टक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI 1 193) The व of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV 4 7. S 1555.

Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक / आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested Another reading is आकर्षाह ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः छन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्पेण चरति पर्विक । पर्विका । येन पीठेन पङ्गवभरन्ति स पर्व । अभ्विक । राधिक ॥

1558 The affix छन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'paipa' &c

This debars डक्, the न् of छन् is for accent (VI 1 197), and ए for डीङ् (IV 1 41) Thus पर्विक / पर्विकी, अभ्विक / अभ्विकी ॥ So also राधिक ॥

1 पर्व, 2 अभ्व, 3 अभ्वत्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 व्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पाव पञ्च ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणादृञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

आत् छन् ॥

1559 The affix डञ् as well as the affix छन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars डक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐचन । श्वमस्त्रस्यापत्य श्वाभस्त्रि । श्वादाष्ट्रि । तदाशिविधौ चेत्तमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥ इकारादाविति दौष्टयम् * ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वागणिक । श्वागणिकी । श्वगणिक । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560 A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII 3 4

Thus the descendant of श्वमस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रि, so also श्वादाष्ट्रि ॥ The word इवन् is included in the list of Dvārādī words VII 3, 4, S 1386 The present sūtra implies that the rule VII 3 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words

Vārt — This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिक 'who lives by dogs' / श्वागणिकी ॥ डन् श्वागणिक / श्वगणिकी ॥

Note — The form श्वागणिक is evolved by the breach of rule VII 3 5 Thus श्वगण + डञ् ॥ Here by VII 2 117, ञ् requires the Vriddhi of the अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII 3 4 says that instead of Vriddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिक ॥ The irregularity is however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII 3 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by डञ् ॥ In

fact, the rule VII 3 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इम् (an affix beginning with इ) as from इवाभास्मि we have इवाभास्मिन् (इवाभास्मिन्) ॥

१५६१ । पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ६ ॥

श्वान् इत्यस्य पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । श्वान् इत्यस्य श्वान् । श्वान् इत्यस्य ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3 4 is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद् ॥

As श्वान् इत्यस्य = श्वान् or श्वान् ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वेतनिकः । धातुक् ॥

1562 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana. &c', being in the third case in construction

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वेतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्वेण्ड the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound Thus धानुर्वेण्डिकः, धानुक्, वेण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्वेण्ड, 5 जाल, 6 देश (वेस) 7 पेश (उपवेश, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शान्ता, 12 शान्ति, 13 उपनि-
वृ, 14 उपवेश, 15 स्किञ्* (स्किज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ, 18 उपस्थान, * 19 उपहस्त, * 20 शब्द ॥

१५६३ वस्नक्रयविक्रयादुन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्नेन सूत्येन जीवति वस्निकः । क्रयविक्रयग्रहण सघातविगृहीतार्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिकः । क्रयिकः । विक्रायकः ॥

1563 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire, hireling' In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

वाहनम् । आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीय । आयुधिकः ॥

1564 The affix छ as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the word 'Ayudha'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकाया । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेष कर्मरोपकरणभूत लोह च । कुटिलिकया हरति घृगानङ्गारान्वा
कौटिलिका व्याध कर्मरश्च ॥

1568 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति घृगोन् व्याध (or घृगो व्याध) = कौटिलिको व्याध (or घृग) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान् = कौटिलिक कमार 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron forge of the blacksmiths'

१५६९। निर्वृत्तेऽक्षयूतादिभ्य । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षयूतिक वैरम् ॥

1569 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction

Thus अक्षयूतेन निर्वृत्तम् = आक्षयूतिक वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'

1 अक्षयूत, 2 आनुग्रहत ('ग्रहूत), 3 अङ्गामहत, ('ग्रहूत), 4 अङ्गामहत,* 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्ठकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत,* 8 गतागत, 9 यातापयात, 10 अनुगत ॥

१५७०। अर्धमनित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

विप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिका चूर्तयान्तानिर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मप्स्यान्नित्यम् । कृत्या निर्वृत्त कृत्रिमम् । पक्वितम् ॥

* भावप्रत्ययान्तादिभ्य वक्तव्य । पाकेन निर्वृत्त पाकितम् । त्यागितम् ॥

1570 The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III 3 88) Thus the root कुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्वि, which is not a complete word but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word Thus पच् + त्रि + मप् = पक्विमम् 'what is completed by being cooked' From कुकृच् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

Note —The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'

Var —After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्त = पाकितम् (पच् + घञ् III 3 18 + इमप्), so also त्यागितम् सेकितम् कुट्टितम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति लब्धन्तस् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्त आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्त याचितकम् ॥

1571 The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita,' when the sense is that of completion

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'

Note —The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III 4 19) The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and ह substituted for अ (VI 4 70) The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvṛtta of तन does not run here

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्ट दाधिकम् ॥

1572, The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

The word तेन is understood here The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curd'

Note —The word 'sanskṛitam' (IV 4 3) and 'samsṛṣtam' should be distinguished The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced, no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णे संसृष्टा चूर्णिनोऽपूषा ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûna' when the sense is mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णे संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनोऽपूषा cakes sprinkled with powder'

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवण सूप । लवण शाकम् ॥

1574 The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith' is elided by luk, after the word 'lavapa'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्ट = लवण 'mixed with salt' as लवण सूप 'soup mixed with salt' So लवण शाक, लवणा यवागू (I 1 51)

Note —The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective

१५७५ । मृदादण् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मौड़ ओदन ॥

1575 The affix **अण्** comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

This debars **ठक्** ॥ Thus मौड़ ओदन 'rice mixed with mudga pulse

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्त । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

ठक् । दध्ना उपसिक्त शधिकम् ॥

1576 The affix **ठक्** comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्त = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd'

Note —Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकनोपसिक्त ओदन ॥

१५७७ । ओज सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिक शूर । साहसिकश्चोर । आम्भसिको मत्स्य ॥

1577 The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिक शूर 'a hero' lit possessed with energy
So also —साहसिक 'a thief' आम्भसिक 'a fish'

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीया-तदस्माद्वर्तते इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे **ठक्** स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्द्वितीया । प्रतीप वर्तते प्रातीपिक । आन्वीपिक । प्रातिलोमिक । आनुलोमिक । प्रातिकूलिक । आनुकूलिक ॥

1578 The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'it exists', after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction

The word लट् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case Thus प्रतीप वर्तते = प्रातीपिक (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V 4 74 and VI 3 97) retrograde, e 'which is unfavourable' So आन्वीपिक ॥ 'favorable' प्रातिलोमिक 'inverse' आनुलोमिक 'direct' प्रातिकूलिक, आनुकूलिक ॥ The —o words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively

१५७६ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २६ ॥

परिमुखं वर्त्तते परिमुखिक । चाप्यपरिपार्थिक ॥

1579 The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction

Thus परिमुखं वर्त्तते = परिमुखिक 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned As परिपार्थिक ॥

Note —The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (11 1 12) If परि has the force of exclusion (I 4 88), then परिमुखिक will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा ये सेवको वर्त्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यस्य स्वामिनो मुखं तत्तस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्वियुणार्थं द्वियुणं तत्प्रयच्छति द्वैयुणिक । त्रैयुणिक ॥

वृद्धेर्वृद्धिभावो वक्तव्य * ॥ वार्धुषिक ।

1580 The affix टक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean

Thus द्वियुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैयुणिक 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i. e. who charges cent per cent interest The word द्वियुणं means द्वियुणार्थं 'for the sake of double' Similarly त्रैयुणिक ॥

Vart —The word वृद्धि is changed to वृद्धि before this affix As, वृद्धिं तत्प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिक 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृद्धि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note —Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive' ? Observe द्वियुणं प्रयच्छति अश्वमेधं 'the debtor gives double'

१५८१ । कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्द्यौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गर्ह्यार्थान्ध्यानाभ्यामेतौ स्त प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थे । कुसीद वृद्धिस्तदर्थं ब्रूय कुसीदं तत्प्रयच्छतीति कुसीदिक । कुसीदिदमी । एकादशार्थत्वादेकादश ते च ते वस्तुतो दश चेति विमर्शकार समासान्त इहैव छन्दे निपात्यते । दशैकादशिक । दशैकादशिकी । दशैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमर्ण एवेहापि तद्विनार्थ ॥

1581 The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'daśaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'

The word कुसीर means 'interest' The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥ This sūtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes छन् and छच् is in the accent (VI I 197 and 163) Thus कुसीर + छन् = कुसीरिक् fem कुसीरिक् (IV I 41) So दशैकादशिकै fem कै ॥

१५८२ । उज्झति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बदराण्युज्झति बादरिक ॥

1582 The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleanes that'.

Thus बदराण्युज्झति = बादरिक 'who picks up jujubes'

Note —To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उज्झ ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाज रक्षति सामाजिक ॥

1583 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'

Thus समाज रक्षति = सामाजिक 'a spectator', lit 'who aids an assembly by his presence'

१५८४ । शब्ददुर्दुर करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्द करोति शाब्दिक । शार्दुरिक ॥

1584 The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking"

Thus शब्द करोति = शाब्दिक: 'who makes words' i e a grammarian
So शार्दुरिक 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i e a potter

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५ ॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायाणां विशेषाणां च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पक्षिक । शार्ङ्गानिक । मायुरिक । मात्स्यिक । नैनिक । शाङ्गानिक । मार्गिक । ह्यारणिक । सारङ्गिक ॥

1585 The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting buds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षियो हन्ति = पक्षिक 'a bird-killer' The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c (See I I 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिक, मातृरिक, ॥ So also with मस्थ, as, मास्थिक, मनिक, शाकुनिक ॥ So also with मृग, as मार्गिक, हारिणिक, सारङ्गिक ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थच्च तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्माद्वितीयान्तात्तिष्ठति हन्ति अर्थे ठक् स्यात् । पन्थान वञ्चयित्वा व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चैव । परिपन्थ हन्ति पारिपन्थिक ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paupantham', the word being in the second case in construction

Thus परिपन्थ तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिक यः पन्थान वञ्चयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थान व्याप्य तिष्ठति a thief' lit "who stays at roads, a high way man'

Note — The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and' Thus परिपन्थ हन्ति = पारिपन्थिक ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the classical form of the word The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपद धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माथः पन्थाः दण्डमाथः । दण्डमाथ धावति दण्डमाथिकः । पादविकः । आनुपदिकः ॥

1587 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavi' and 'anupada'

Thus a road (mātha) straight like a stick (danda) is called दण्डमाथः । From it दण्डमाथ धावति = दण्डमाथिक 'who runs on a high way' Similarly पादविकः, आनुपदिकः ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'

१५८८ । आक्रन्ददृक्च । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अस्माद्विषयस्थानादृक् धावतीत्यर्थे । आक्रन्दं दुःखिना रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिकः ॥

1588 The affix ठक् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'ākṛanda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e g a battle-field It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent Thus आक्रन्द धावति = आक्रन्दिक or आक्रन्दिक, f आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'

१५८९ पदोत्तरपद गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपद गृह्णाति पौर्वपादिक । औत्तरपादिक ॥

1589 The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction

Thus पूर्वपद गृह्णाति = पौर्वपादिक, so also औत्तरपादिक ॥

Note —The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the affix बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिकण्ठार्थललाम च । ४ । ४ । ४० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे डक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठ गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिक । आर्थिक । लालामिक ॥

1590 The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikantha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction

Thus प्रतिकण्ठ गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिक ॥ So also आर्थिक लालामिक ॥

Note —The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Aṅyayi bhāva meaning कण्ठ कण्ठ प्रति, and not प्रतिगत कण्ठ = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added

१५९१ धर्म चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिक ॥ अधर्माद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आधर्मिक ॥

1591 The affix डक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction in the sense of 'who practises that'

Thus धर्म चरति = धार्मिक "religious"

Vārtika —It must be stated that the affix डक् comes after adharma also As आधर्मिक, "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति डक्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रतिपथिक ॥

1592 The affix डक् as well as डक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिक or प्रातिपथिक "who goes along the road" the डक् causes Vṛddhi (VII 2 118) whilst डक् does not

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिक । सामुहिक ॥

1593 The affix डक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिक 'who assembles in an assembly' So also सामजिक, सामूहिक, सान्निवेशिक ॥

Note —The word समवाय means combination, collection &c The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I 1 69) does not apply, the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also समवैति means coming together

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्य । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषद् समवैति परिषद्य ॥

1594 The affix ण्य comes after the word 'paushad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'

This debars डक् ॥ Thus परिषद् समवैति = परिषद्य 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्य स्यात्पक्षे डक् । सैन्या । सैनिकां ॥

1195 The affix एय comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative Thus सेना समवैति = सैन्य or सैनिक 'a soldier a member of an army'

१५९६ । सन्नायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाट पश्यति ललाटिक सेवकः । कुक्कुटीशब्देन तस्याताई-स्वरूपदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको मिथु ॥

1596 The affix डक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâta' and 'kukkutî', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name

Thus ललाट पश्यति = ललाटिक 'a non attentive servant' lit 'who always looks at the fore head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work' So also कौक्कुटिक 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिक ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down cast eyes'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम् ॥

1597 The affix टक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom' The word तस्य shows the case of the word Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्य = शुल्कशालिक 'the custom house laws or usages' So also भाकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम् ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्यं माहिषम् । याजमानम् ॥

1598 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishî' &c

This debars thak Thus महिष्या धर्म्य = माहिषम् 'the usages of queens' So याजमानम् ॥

1 महिषी 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुत्पिका, 7 प्ररोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुच्चारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९ । अतुलोज्ज् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

यातुधर्म्यं यात्रम् ॥ नराद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नरस्य धर्म्यो नारी ॥ विशसितुर्दिलोपश्चाञ्च वक्तव्य * ॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्यं वैशस्त्रम् ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वभाजित्रम् * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वभाजित्रम् ॥

1599 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars टक् ॥ Thus यातु धर्म्यम् = यात्रम् 'the office of a Yâtri, i e a pilgrim'

Vart —So also after the word नर As नरस्य धर्म्यो = नारी ॥

Vart —So also after the word विशसितृ, the इट् affix being elided Thus विशसितृ + अञ् = वैशस्त्रम् ॥

Vart —So also after the word विभाजयितृ its णि affix also being elided Thus विभाजयितृ + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

१६०० । अवक्रय । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तादटक् स्यादवक्रयेऽर्थे । आपणस्यावक्रय आपणिक । राजमाह द्रव्यमवक्रय ।

1600 The affix टक् comes in the sense of 'its tax' after a word in the sixth case in construction

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase,' Thus आपणस्य अवक्रय = आपणिक ॥

Note —Are not धर्म्य (IV 4 47) and अवक्रय the same? No Dharmya is a legal due, and religious, while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression and so transgressing dharma

१६०१ । तदस्य पण्यम् । ४ । ४ । ५१ ॥

अपूर्वा पण्यमस्य आपणिक ॥

1601 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूर्वा पण्य अस्य = आपणिक 'a cake-vendor'

१६०२ । लवणाट्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ५२ ॥

लावणिक ॥

1602 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent Thus लवणे पण्यमस्य = लावणिक 'a salt-vendor'

१६०३ । किसरादिभ्यः छक् । ४ । ४ । ५३ ॥

किसर पण्यमस्य किसरिक । चित्वाङ्गीष् । किसरिकी । किसर, उशीर, नलद इत्यादि । किसरा-दयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिन ॥

1603 The affix छक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisarā' &c

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes Thus किसरा पण्यमस्य = किसरिक f किसरिकी (IV 1 41) नरदिक f नरदिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicative ष ॥

1 किसर (किसर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्यागल*, 5 तगर, 6 सुग्गुल 7 उशीर 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents

१६०४ । शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५४ ॥

छन्स्यात् पक्षे ठक् । शलालुक । शलालुकी । शलालुक । शलालुकी । शलालु सुगन्धिद्रव्य-विशेष ॥

1604 The affix छक् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'śalālun'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य = शालालुक / शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक् शालालुक्, / शालालुकी ॥

१६०५ । शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

वृद्धवादन शिल्पमस्य मार्गज्ञिक ॥

1605 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction

Thus वृद्धवादन शिल्पमस्य = मार्गज्ञिक "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛdanga drum"

१६०६ । मड्डुकभर्भरादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मड्डुकवादन शिल्पमस्य माड्डुक । माड्डुकि । झार्जर । झार्जरिक ॥

1606 The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jhaijhaia'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative Thus मड्डुकव न शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुक or माड्डुकि, so also झार्जर and झार्जरिक ॥

१६०७ । प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तस्मैत्येव । असि प्रहरणमस्य आसिक । धातुष्क ॥

1607 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction

Thus असि प्रहरणमस्य = आसिक 'a swordsman' So धातुष्क ॥

१६०८ । परश्वधाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

पारश्वधिक ॥

1608 The affix डञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent Thus पारश्वधिक or पारश्वधिक ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'

१६०९ । शक्तियष्टयोरीक्क । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शान्कीक । याहीक ॥

1609 The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yashti'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्ति प्रहरणमस्य = शक्तिक, So also याहीक ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट मति । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदस्यत्येव । आस्त्य परलोक इत्येव मतिर्यस्य स आस्तिक । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिक । दिष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य स दैष्टिक ॥

1610 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nāsti' and 'dishta',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिक 'who believes that it is' i.e. the here after exists नास्तिक 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest दैष्टिक 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = देव 'fate'

Note —The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिक an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is Contrary to him is a नास्तिक who does not believe in a Hereafter A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिक 'a positivist' These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपभक्षण शीलमस्य आपूपिक ॥

1611 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षण शीलमस्य = आपूपिक 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'

Note —The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix

१६१२ । छात्रादिभ्यो ण । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गुरोर्वोपायामावरण छात्र तच्छीलमस्य छात्र ॥

1612 The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छात्र शीलमस्य = छात्र 'a pupil', lit 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'

Note —The word स्या occurs in the list It must always be prefixed by some upasarga, thus आस्था सस्या, अवस्था &c

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुदृक्छात्रवत् गुरुया शिष्यश्छात्रवत् छात्र "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella" Or शिष्येण च गुरुदृक्छात्रवत् परिपाल्य 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor, as an Umbrella'

1 छात्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्था, सस्या अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा*, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (कृषि) 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनुत्त,

15 विशिखा*, 16 विशिका (शिषिका), 17 भक्षा*, 18 दृस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (')*, 20 विका*, 21 चुक्षा*, 22 मन्त्र ।

१६१३ । कर्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कर्म इति ताच्छील्ये णे दिलोपो निपात्यते । कर्मशील कर्म । नस्तद्धिते इत्येव सिद्धे भगवार्थे ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि । तेन चौरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये किम् । कर्मण ॥

1613 कर्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'

This is formed by ण् affix (IV 4 62 S. 1612) it is the case, then by VI 4 144 S 679 the form कर्म is regularly evolved The fact is, that ण् and अण् affixes, in the sense of tãchchhīlīka are considered as one, and therefore VI 4 167 S 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim —ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ "The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण् is added in the sense of one accustomed to that" Thus though डीप् is added to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण्-formed words, in the feminine as चौरी, तापसी &c The ण् taught in V 2 101 S 1908 and III 1 140, S 2902 is excepted Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मण इवम् = कर्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्ताख्यप्रथये डक् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता या क्रिया सा चेत्प्रथमान्तस्यार्थः । ऐकान्तिकः । अस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोच्चारणरूप स्थलितमेक जात स ॥

1614 The affix डक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛttam) in study (adhyayana)

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य = ऐकान्तिक 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c literal translation being something like "one errorist" He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐकान्तिक ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिक &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed

१६१५ । बह्वचपूर्वपदादुठञ् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्रतिषेधे । द्वादशान्याने कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य द्वादशान्तिक । द्वादशापवादो भव्य आता इत्यर्थः ॥

1615 The affix डक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in 'study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member

This debars डक् ॥ Thus — द्वाद्धान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वाद्धान्यानि 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading' So त्रयोदशान्यिक चतुर्दशान्यिक ॥ The word अस्य in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i.e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*

१६१६ । हितं भक्षः । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूपभक्षाय हितमस्मै आपूपिक ॥

1616 The affix डक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom"

Thus अपूपभक्षाय हितमस्मै = आपूपिक 'He for whom cake is good food' i.e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes So also शाकुलिक, मौक्तिक ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिक &c, the word हित or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed

Note —The words तद् and अस्य (IV 4 51) are understood The word हित governs dative (11 § 13, S 570 Vart) But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz तदस्मै हितं भक्षः 'this for whom is wholesome diet' The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise

65 हितं भक्षः तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्त ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अभ्यभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आभ्यभोजनिक ॥

1617 The affix डक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai)

The word दीयते नियुक्त means नियोगेन i.e. अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully' Thus अग्ने भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आभ्यभोजनिक 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'

Note —Some say that the word नियुक्त means नित्य 'always' According to them आपूपिक would mean अपूपः नित्यमस्मै दीयन् 'to whom always cakes are given'

१६१८ । आणामासौदनाद्विडन् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आणा नियुक्त दीयतेऽस्मै आणिक । आणिकी । मासौदनग्रहण सधातविगृहीतार्थम् । मासौद-
निक । मासिक । औदनिक ॥

1618 The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मासौदन ॥

This टिठन् debars डक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV 1 15) Thus आणा-
नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिक f आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel' So also
मासौदनिक f मासौदनिकी ॥ The affix टिठन् applies to मास and औदन separately
also (But डक् cannot be applied to औदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII 2
117) which टिठन् does not) Thus औदन + टिठन् = औदनिक f औदनिकी ॥ With
डक् the form would have been औदनिक which is not wanted

Note —The difference between डक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having
udatta on the final (VI 1 165) the latter on the initial (VI 1 197) The
feminine of डक् and टिठन् will both be formed by डीप् (IV 1 15) Now the
affix डक् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI 1 197) and in feminine (IV 1 15)
Why was not डक् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly
the same form? True, as regards the words आणा and मासौदन the affix डक्
might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥

The words आणा is Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook' The आ is not
changed to श् as required by VI 1 27 This is an anomaly The mshthā त् is
changed to ण (VIII 2 43) The form आणा is also found, as in VI 1 36, and
the regular form is श्त = क्षीरन् (VI 1 27)

१६१६ । भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

पक्षे डक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्त दीयते भक्त । भक्तिक ॥

1619 The affix अण् comes optionally after the word
bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully'

This debars डक् which comes in the alternative Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते
नियुक्त = भक्त ॥ In the alternative भक्तिक 'a regularly fed' 'i.e. a retainer'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्त । ४ । ४ । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्त आकरिक ॥

1620 The affix डक् comes, in the sense 'of appointed
there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construc-
tion

Thus आकरे नियुक्त = आकरिक 'a superintendent of the mines'

Note —The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by 11 1 46

§ 723 The word *niyukta* here has a different meaning from that in IV 4 66, § 1617 hence its repetition here

१६२१ । अगारान्ताद्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्ते देवागारिक ॥

1621 The affix ठन् comes in the sense of “appointed there,” after a word ending with ‘agāra’

This debars ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi
Thus देवागारे नियुक्त = देवागारिक ॥

१६२२ । अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाद्ठक् स्यादध्येतरि । श्मशानेऽधीते श्माशानिक । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चा-
तुर्दशिक ॥

1622 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of “who studies there,” after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes अध्यायिन् means one who studies Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिक ‘who reads in a funeral ground’ So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिक, ‘who reads on the 14th lunar day’

Note —Why do we say ‘improper time and place? Observe धुत्तेऽधीते पूर्वह्निऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

सन्नेत्येव । वक्त्रकठिने व्यवहरति वाक्त्रकठिनिक । वक्त्रा वेणवः कठिना यस्मिन्देहो स वक्त्रकठिनस्त-
स्मिन्देहो वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया ता तथैवानुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थ । प्रास्तारिक । सास्थानिक ॥

1623 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of “who transacts business there in,” after compounds ending in ‘kathina, and after ‘prastāra’ and ‘sansthāna,’ being in the seventh case in construction

Thus वक्त्रकठिने व्यवहरति = वाक्त्रकठिनिक ‘whose occupation is in a bamboo thicket,’ or ‘who does what is proper to be done in such a place’ 1, c तस्मिन्देहो वा क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया ता तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिक, सास्थानिक ॥

१६२४ । निकटे वसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

नैकाटिको निष्ठु ॥

1624 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ‘who dwells,’ after the locative word ‘nikāṭa’

Thus निकटे वसति = नैकादिक 'an ascetic, because a sannyâsi lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein"

Note —This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus वानप्रस्थका are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकादिका are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations.

१६२५ । आवसथात् छल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिक । वित्वाङ्गीष् आवसथिकी ।

आकषात्पर्षिर्भस्त्रादिभ्य कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।

आवसथात्किसरादेः वित् वडेते ङगधिकारे ॥

वडिति सूत्रपदकेन विहिता इत्यर्थः । प्रत्ययास्तु सप्त ॥

1625 The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The छ् of छल् is for accent (VI 1 193 S 3676), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV 1 41 S 498) Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिक 'who dwells in a house' i.e. a house holder as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV 4. 1 S 1548. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

The व् of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra IV 4 7 S 1555. To remove the doubt where व् is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed "आकषात् पर्षिर्भस्त्रादिभ्य कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात् किसरादेः वित् वडेते ङगधिकारे ॥" In the six sūtras IV 4 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicator 'sh' & e they are part of the affix'. Though the sūtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven. Here व् being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV 1 41)

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikāra.

अथ तद्धित प्राग्वितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI

PRĀG GHITĪYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्विताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

तस्मैहितमित्यन प्राक् यदधिक्रियते ॥

1626 In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V 1 5 S 1665), the affix यत् bears rule

Note — Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्य, युग्य, प्रासङ्ग्य ॥

१६२७ । तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथ वहति रथ्य । युग्य । वस्तानां दमनकाले स्कन्धे यत् क्वाष्टप्रासङ्ग्यते स प्रासङ्ग । तद्वहति प्रासङ्ग्य ॥

1627 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction

Thus रथ वहति = रथ्य 'what bears a car' a carriage horse Similarly युग्य 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्य 'being trained in a break' प्रासङ्गः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking

Note — This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as परमरथ्य ॥ See IV 3 121, 123 S 1501, 1503 also That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore रथस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV 2 120 S 1500 read with IV 3 121 S 1501 Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV 88 1 S 1080

Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्य ॥ The tadanta vidhi appli to this word as we have shown under IV 3 121 S 1501 The word युग्य has been already formed by the krit affix (III 1 121, S 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by ल्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI 2 156 S 3890, अयुग्यैष will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युग must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c Therefore not here युग वहति राजा कालि द्वापर वा ॥

१६२८ । धुरो यद्दकौ । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

हलि चति शर्ध प्राप्ते ॥

1628 The affixes यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', alter the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction

Thus धुर वहति = धुर्य (formed by ढक्) the lengthening ordained by VIII 2 77 S 354 is prevented by the next sūtra, because धुर is a Bha stem, or धैरेय (formed by ढक् VII 1 2 S 475) 'a beast of burden'

Note — This sūtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV 4 75 S 1626

१६२६ । न भ कुर्तुराम् । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

भस्य कुर्तुरोभोपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुर्य । धैरेय ॥

1629 The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII 2 77 S 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र or व् is called Bha (1 e when a य् follows), and also not in कुर and छुर ॥

Thus धुर्य (धुर वहति IV 4, 77 S 1628 or धुरि साधु) ॥ Or धैरेय with ṛhak

Note — Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व् ? Observe प्रतिदीप्ता, प्रतिदीप्ते ॥ For here the stem which ends in व् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in न् ॥

१६३० । ख सर्वधुरात् । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुर वहतीति सर्वधुरीण ॥

1630 The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction

Thus सर्वधुरा वहति = सर्वधुरीण (VII 1 2 S 475)

Note — The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर e g उत्तरधुरीण, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II 1 49 S 726), the samāsanta क् being added by V 4 74 S 940 The word धू being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II 4 26 S 812 The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

१६३१ । एकधुराल्लुक्च । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुर वहति एकधुराण । एकधुर ॥

1631 The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhura' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also

The elision is optional Thus एकधुरम् वहति = एकधुरीण or एकधुर ॥

Note —The compounding is taddhitārtha (एका धुरा वहति) to which is added the samāsanta ख and then the affix ह् ॥

१६३२ । शकटादण् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकट वहति शकटो गो ॥

1632 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction

Thus शकट वहति = शकट 'an ox' i e what bears a car

Note —This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शकटस्य वोढुं = शकट ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as हे शकटे वहति = हे शकट, and the affix is not elided (IV 1 88 S 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराड्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हल वहति हलिक । सैरिक ॥

1633 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sira', in the 2nd case in construction

Thus हल वहति = हलिक 'a ploughman,' सैरिक a plough ox'

Note —The ठक् would have come by IV 3 124 S 1504 the specification shows tadantavidhi and non elision, as हेहलिक, हेसैरिकः ॥

१६३४ । सक्त्रायां जन्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

जनी वधू ता वहति प्रापयति जन्या ॥

1634 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name

Thus जनी वहति = जन्य 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem जन्या 'a bride's-maid' The word जनी means 'bride' जन्या lit means 'what bears the bride' i e who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c

Kālidāsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes As यत्तेति जन्यानवदत्त कमारी ॥

१६३५ । विध्यस्यधनुषा । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

हिनीयाताहि यतीत्यर्थे यत्स्यान्नेत्तत्र धनु कणम् । पादौ विध्यन्ति पथा शर्कप ॥

1635 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैद्या (VI 3 53, S 991) शर्करा 'what pierce the feet' i e pebbles

Note — Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यन्ति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौर विध्यन्ति, शत्रुविध्यन्ति ॥

१६३६ । धनगण लब्धा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

नृनन्तमेतत् । धन लब्धा धन्य । गण लब्धा गण्य ॥

1636 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction

Thus धन लब्धा = धन्य, so also गण्य ॥ लब्धु is formed from लभ् by वृत्, hence it takes the accusative

१६३७ । अन्नागण । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्न लब्धा अन्न ।

1637 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction

Thus अन्न लब्धा = अन्न 'fed,' 'who has obtained food

१६३८ । वशगत । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्य परेच्छानुचारी ॥

1638 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word वासा, 'control' being in the second case in construction

Thus वशगत = वैश्य: 'come under control' i e subdued i e, a dependant or servant वश = काम इच्छा ता प्राप्त i e परेच्छानुगामी ॥

१६३९ । पद्मस्मिन्दृश्यम् । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्म कर्दमः । नातिशुष्क इत्ययः ।

1639 The affix यत् comes after the word pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन् = पद्य कर्म 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note —So पद्या पातव 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot path'. The word दृश्यम् means दृश्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्याबर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आबर्हिणमाबर्हि उत्पादन तस्यास्तीत्याबर्हि । मूलमाबर्हि येषां ते मूल्या घृणा ॥

1640 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबर्हि from $\sqrt{\text{वृह्}}$ 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,' = उत्पादन ॥ मूलमेवामाबर्हि = मूल्या 'a kind of pulse' e.g. माषा घृणा ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant.

Note —According to Padamañjarī the word should be आबर्हि and not आबर्हि with a व and not ब ॥

१६४१ । सङ्गायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुशब्दस्य धुगागमो यत् प्रत्ययश्च स्वार्थे निपात्यते सङ्गायाम् । धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता ॥

1641 The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding धुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udatta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते इति ॥ See Amarakośha II 9 72 "धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता" ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना सयुक्तं ज्य । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन सयुक्तो गार्हपत्याग्निः ॥

1642 The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'joined with,' after the word 'grihapati' in the third case in construction.

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer'. Thus गृहपतिना सयुक्तं = गार्हपत्य 'the Gārhapatya Fire' i.e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder.

Note —The word सङ्गायां of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्य means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire is

which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakṣiṇāgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

१६४३ । नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यस-
मसमितसम्मितेषु । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

नावा तार्यं नाव्यम् । वयसा तुल्यो वयस्य । धर्मेण प्राप्य धर्म्यम् । विषेण वधो विष्य । मूलेन
आनाम्य मूल्यम् । मूलेन समो मूल्यः । सीतया समित सील्य क्षेत्रम् । तुलया सम्मित तुल्यम् ॥

1643 The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured"

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so. Thus —

1 नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat

2 वयसा तुल्य = वयस्य 'a friend', lit, one alike in age

3 धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'

Note — Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादनपेते (IV 4 92 S 1644)? No धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्ये refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'

4 विषेण वध्य = विष्य 'who deserves to be put to death by poison

5 मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or "to be overpowered or bent by the root"

Note — The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix प्यत् contrary to rule III 1 98 S 2844 which required यत्) means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered' hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the outlay of stock or capital (मूल), 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered

6 मूलेन सम = मूल्य 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e.g. cloth पद 1 e equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital

7 सीतया समित = सील्य 'a field', lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr. Ballantyne

Note —The word सम्मित is equivalent to संगत 'united with' according to Kāśīkā सीत्य therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i e 'what is united with furrows' The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e g परमसीत्य वत्तमसीत्य, द्विसीत्य ॥

8 तुल्या सम्मित = तुल्यम् equal ' lit, 'meted out by the balance' सम्मित means समान, सङ्ग ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । ९२ ॥

धर्मादनपेते धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । मर्थ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself Thus धर्मादनपेते = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियात् पथो यदनपेते तत् पथ्य, न तु तस्मादनपेतश्चेत् 'wholesome diet,' मर्थ्यम् 'fit', न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable'

Note —The word सज्ञाया (IV 4 89 S 1641) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मित छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थ ॥

1645 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction

Thus छन्दसा निर्मित = छन्दस्य 'made at will', The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्च । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

आयात् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र औरस । उरस्य ॥

1646 The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मित = औरस 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit "produced through the loins' With यत् the form will be उरस्य ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word सज्ञाया (IV 4 89) governs this sūtra also

१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रिय । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

हृद्यो देश । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखेति हृदादेशः ॥

1647 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hṛdaya,' in the genitive case in construction

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself Thus हृदयस्य प्रिय = हृद्य (VI 3 50 S 988) 'pleasant to the heart' e g हृद्यो देश हृद्य वनम् ॥

Note —But we cannot say हृद्य पुत्र, the word सज्ञाया (IV 4 99 S 1641) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word

१६४८ । बन्धने ऋषी । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

हृदयशब्दात् षष्ठ्यन्ताद्धन्धने यत् स्याद्देवभिधेये । हृदयस्य बन्धन हृद्यो वशीकरणमन्त्रः ॥

1648 The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛdaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra the word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धन ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनऋषि = हृद्य the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i e a वशीकरण मन्त्र ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहलात्करणजल्पकर्षेषु । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मत ज्ञान तस्य करण भाव साधन वा मतम् । जनस्य जल्पो जन्य । हलस्य कर्षो हल्यः ॥

1649 The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction

Thus मतस्य करण = मत 'the means of acquiring knowledge' Mata means knowledge जनस्य जल्प = जन्य 'a rumour' हलस्य कर्ष = हल्य 'ploughed'

Note —So also द्विहल्य, त्रिहल्य the tadania vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

१६५० तत्र साधु । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अग्रे साधु अग्र्य । सामस्तु साधु सामन्य । ये चाभावकर्मण्यारात प्रकृतिभाव । कमन्य । शरण्य ॥

1650 The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto

Thus सामसु साधु = सामन्थी (The अन् remains unchanged by VI 4 168 S 1154) ' conversant with the Sâma Veda ' So also कर्मण्य, शरण्य &c The साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य expert ' and ' fit ', and does not mean उपकारक a benefactor or a good person '

Note — When the sense is that of ' good ', the sutra तस्मै हितम् (V 1 5) will apply

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्य खञ् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

प्रतिजन साधु प्रतिजनीन । सायुगीन । सार्वजनीन । वैश्वजनीन ॥

1651 The affix खञ् comes in the sense of ' excellent in regard thereto ', after the word ' pratijana ' &c

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधु = प्रतिजनीन (VII 1 2 S 475) ' suitable against an adversary ' or ' who is excellent for every person ' So also सायुगीन सार्वजनीन, वैश्वजनीन ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इत्युग, 3 सयुग, 4 समयुग 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्थकुल, 8 असुखकुल 9 सर्वजन 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्य । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भक्ता शालय ॥

1652 The affix ण comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' bhakta ',

This debars यत् । Thus, भक्ते साधव = भक्ता शालय: ' rice, ' lit suitable or excellent for food '

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्य । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

पारिषद्य । परिषद् इति योगविभाषाणोऽपि । पारिषद् ॥

1653 The affix ण्य comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the word ' parishad ' (as well as ण)

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधु = पारिषद्य ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sutra into two Thus (1) परिषद् and (2) ण्य ॥ Thus परिषदि साधु = पारिषद् ' one versed in the affairs of a council ', ' a minister '

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्टक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथाया साधु काथिक ॥

1654 The affix टक् comes in the sense of ' excellent with regard thereto ', after the words ' kathâ ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधु - काथिक (कथा + टक् = कथ् + टक् VI 4 148 S 311) = काथ् + इक् (VII 2 116 S 2282) ' a narrator of stories '

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा *, 4 सकथा *, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ठ विद्, कुष्ठचिद्) 7 जनवार, 8 जनेवार, 9 जानोवार * (1) 10 वृत्ति, 11 समह (सद्ग्रह), 12 गुण्य 13 गण्य, 14 आयुर्वेद ॥

१६५५ । गुडादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुड साधुगौडिक इत्तु । साकुको यव ॥

1655 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guda &c'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधु = गौडिक 'sugar cane' lit 'excellent in making sugar' साकुक् 'barley' lit suitable for making saktu

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सकुतु, 4 अपूप, 5 मासौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 समान, 9 सघात, 10 सक्रान् *, 11 सवाद, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्देञ् । ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पायेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसन वसतिस्तत्र साधुवासतेयी रात्रि । स्वापतेय धनम् ॥

1656 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधु = पायेयम् (VII 1 2 S 475) 'provision for journey' आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेय 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रि, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'

१६५७ । सभाया य । ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सम्भ ॥

1657 The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III 1 3 S, 3708 and VI 1 185) Thus सभाया साधु = सम्भ 'refined' lit fit for society

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी । ४ । ४ । १०७ ॥

साधुरिति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गुरौ वसताति स्तुतीर्थ्य ॥

1658 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha' in the locative construction

The anuvṛtti of साधु now ceases The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor' Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = स्तुतीर्थ्य (VI 3 87 S 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor

१६५९ । समानोदर शयिन आ चादात्त । ४ । ४ । १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयित स्थित समानोदर्यो भ्राता ॥

1659 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयित is equal to स्थित 'remain' Thus समानोदरे शयित = समानोदरे स्थित 'uterine brother', i.e. who has slept in the same womb See VI 3 88 S 1016

१६६० । सोदराद्य । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्य । अर्थ प्राग्बत् ॥

1660 The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction

By sutra VI 3 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows Thus समानोदरे शयित = सोदर्य ॥ Here ओ is not udātta, as it was in the last, the udātta here falls on य ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitīya

अथ तद्धितद्वयविधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छ । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यत प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661 From this sūtra forward up to 'tenā-kritam V 1 37 S 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule

Note —The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty seven Sūtras V 1 1 to 37 S 1702 Thus in the Sūtra तस्मैहित 'suitable for that', V 1 5 S 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वस्तेभ्योहितो = वस्तीयो गोधुक्, करभीय उष्ट्र, अकरभीय, अवस्तीय ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sūtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix As an affix, छ has no force beyond V 1 17, S 1679 the affix डम् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्ताद्वादिभ्यश्च यस्याच्छस्यापवाद । नाभि नभ च * ॥ नभ्योऽक्ष । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । रयनाभावेवेष्टम् ॥ शुन सप्रसारण वा च दीर्घत्वम् * ॥ शृङ्गवा शुङ्गम् । अथर्वोऽनङ् च * ॥ ऊधन्य ॥

1662 The affix 'yat' comes after a piātīpadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses, of the affix being those taught upto Sūtra V. 1. 37 S 1702

The senses of Prāk kṛtīya affixes are three, viz those taught in sūtras V 1 5, S 1665 V 1 12 S 1674 and V 1 16 S 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note —the words सनङ्ग्युः meaning 'a kind of leather', and चरुः 'a kind of हवि offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in उ and are governed by this sūtra, in spite of V 1 15 S 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V 1 4 S 1664 and its vārtika which applies especially to offerings' and 'food modifications' This is an example where a subsequent sūtra does not debar a prior sūtra (I 4 2) Thus सनङ्ग्यु + यत् = सनङ्ग्यु चरुः, 'leather fit for making Sanangu', चरु + यत् = चरुव्या सप्तङ्गुला 'rice fit for making charu', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तुव्या धाना, 'barley fit for making Saktu',

Gana Sūtra —नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added. Thus नाभये हित = नभ्य meaning अक्ष 'axis, axle' lit 'fitted for the navel of the wheel', or a wood fit to be made the navel of a wheel or अञ्जनम् the grease.

Note — When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V 1 6 S 1666. In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि, e.g. नाभि + यत् = नाभ्यम् 'suitable for navel' 1, e. oil.

Gana Sūtra —The word इवन् takes samprasāraṇa, व being changed to उ, and optionally this उ is lengthened, and the udātta accent falls on the final. As इवन् + यत् = शुन्यैम् or भवन् + यत् = शुन्यैम् fit for a dog. Contrary to VI 4 144, the न् of इवन् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gana Sūtra —The final of the word ऊधस् is replaced by अनङ्, e.g. ऊधस् + यत् = ऊध् + अन + य = ऊधन्व कूप 'a well'.

1 गो, 2 हविस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 बर्हिस्, 6 अष्टका, 7 स्वरा (स्वरा), 8 युग, 9 मेधा, 10 क्षुच (क्षक्), 11 नाभि नभ च, 12 शुन सप्रसारण वा च शीर्षस्व तत्सन्निधौ न चान्तोवाच 13 ऊधसोऽनङ्, 14 कूप*, 15 खद*, 16 दर (उदर), 17 खर 18 असुर*, 19 अध्वन (अध्वन, अध्वा) 20 चर*, 21 वेद*, 22 बीज*, 23 शीत* (शीत) 24 स्कन्द् ॥

१६६३। कम्बलाञ्च सक्तायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यस्यात् । कम्बल्यमूणापलक्षतम् । सक्ताया किम् । कम्बलीया ऊर्णा ॥

1663 The affix यत् comes in the Prāk-kṛīṭīya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha'. Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्य 'A kambalya measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool. This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यमूर्णा पलक्षतम् ॥

Why do we say सक्ताया? Observe कम्बलीया ऊर्णा "wool" lit 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४। विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्य दधि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुला । पुरोडाशीया । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664 The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'ffering,' and after "apūpa &c," in the sense of Prak kṛīṭīya.

Thus आमिक्ष्य दधि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i.e. curd —or आमिक्षीय with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्या or पुरोडाशीया स्तण्डुला, 'suitable for making Purodāsa' i.e. a kind of rice.

Note — The word हवि occurs in the गवादि class (V 1 2 S 1662) and it necessarily takes यत् there being no option. The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrifices offerings, and not the word-form 'havi'.

So also after अपूपादि as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 अपूप, 2 तण्डुल, 3 (अभ्यूष), 4 अभोष, 5 अयोष, 6 अभ्येष, 7 पृथुक, 8 ओदन, 9 सूप, 10 पूष, 11 किण्व, 12 प्रशीष, 13 सुसल 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवेष्टक, 16 इर्गल,* 17 भर्गल, 18 भर्गविकारिभ्यश्च, 19 यूप,* 20 स्थूणा, 21 शीप (पीप), 22 भक्ष, 23 पक्ष, 24 कट, 25 भक्ष स्थूण,

Gana Sūtra —The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed See V 1 2 S 1662

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम् । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वस्तेभ्यो हितो वस्तीयो गोधुक् । शङ्कुने हितं शङ्कुव्य शरम् । गव्यम् । हविष्यम् ॥

1665 An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that'

Thus वस्तेभ्यो हितो गोधुक् = वस्तीय 'fit for calves' i.e. a cow milker So also शङ्कुने हितं = शङ्कु + यत् = शङ्कुव्य (VI 4 146, S 847 VI 1. 79 S 63) As शङ्कुव्य शरम्, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गव्यम्, हविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीरावयवाद्यत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

दन्त्यम् । कण्ठ्यम् । * नस् नासिकाया ॥ नस्यम् । नाभ्यम् ॥

1666 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body

The word शरीर means animal organism This debars छ, thus, दन्त्यम् 'good for the teeth' कण्ठ्यम्, नाभ्यम्, नैस्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c See VI 1 213

Vart —The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्, and the word धुक् follow as, नस्यम्, नस्त, नस् धुक् ॥ The यत् is taught in IV 3 55 S 1430 and V 1 6 S 1666, तस् is taught in V 4 45 S 2126

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षन् before यत् by the next sūtra

१६६७ । ये च तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यावै तद्धिते परे शिरसावयवस्य शीर्षनादेशः स्यात् । शीर्षण्य । तद्धिते किम् । शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति ॥ वा केशेषु * ॥ शीर्षण्या शिरस्या वा केशा । अचि शीर्ष इति वाच्यम् * ॥ भज्जादौ तद्धिते शिरसः शीर्षादेशः । स्थूलशिरस इह स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

1667 There is the substitution of शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows

The word शीर्षन् is understood here, from the preceding Ashtādhyāyī sūtra This rule teaches substitution The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sūtra, we must infer it The appropriate original is शिस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि ध्रुव्यो भवति शीर्षण्य स्वर ॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V 1 6 S 1666 The word शीर्षन् retains its original form before this affix यन्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI 4 168 S 1154) Why do we say when 'a Taddhita affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution

Vart —The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair' As शीर्षयथा केशा or शिरस्य केशा ॥

Vart —There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्य = हास्तिशीर्षि formed by adding the Patronymic affix इत् (IV 1, 96 S 1096) So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थूलशीर्षम् ॥

Note —Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI 4 168 S 1154) Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षि by adding व्यङ् (IV 1 78 S 1198), arises this difficulty —व्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षि, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI 1 61 S 1667) The form which we get will be this, हास्तिशीर्षि + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षिन् + य (VI 1 61 S 1667) = हास्तिशीर्षिन्या (VI 4 168 S 1154) But this is a wrong form the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षि + व्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षि + य (the इ is elided by VI 4 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a zero or लोपदेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthānivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्षि, because this zero intervenes, शीर्षि is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI 1 61, S 1667, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthānivat to इत् affix

१६६८ । खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय हित खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । चाब्रह्म्या ॥

1668 The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'māsha,' 'tila,' 'vṛisha' and 'brahmana'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor" So also यव्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

Note —No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृष्ये हितम् । ब्रह्मण्ये हितम्, the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor यन् though वृष is = वृषन् and ब्रह्मन् is = ब्रह्मण्य ॥

The word च in the sūtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated Thus रथाय हित = रथ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजाविष्यां यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजय्या वृथि । अविथ्या ॥

1669 The affix य्यन् comes in the senses of 'good for that,' after the words 'aja' and 'avi'

This debars 'chha' Thus अजय्या वृथि 'the yellow jasmine called yāthi अविथ्या वृथि ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्तः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670 The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the words 'ātman,' and 'viśvajana' and after compounds having the word 'bhoga' as their second term

This debars छ ॥ In the sūtra the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sūtra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakṛti Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीयम् 'suitable for one's self' the न् of ātman, which required to be elided by VI 4 149 S 679, is saved by the next sūtra

१६७१ । आत्माध्वानौ खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्त । आत्माने हितमात्मनीयम् । विश्वजनीयम् । कर्मधारयोद्वेष्यके * ॥ षष्ठी-
तत्पुरुषाद्बहुव्रीहिश्च छ एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ पञ्चजनादुपसख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चजनीयम् ॥ सर्वजनादु-
खश्च * ॥ सावजनिक । सर्वजनीन । महाजनादु- । माहाजनिक । मातृभागीण । पितृ भोगीण ।
राजभोगीन ॥ आचार्यावणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यभोगीन ॥

1671 The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्माने हित = आत्मनीन (V 1 9 S 1670)

Note — अध्वानमलङ्कानी (V 2 16 S 1817) अध्वनीन ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samāsānta affix टच् added to the avyayibhāva (V 4 108 S 678), and the latter by षच् (V 4 85 S 903)

So also विश्वजनीयम् 'suitable for all men' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhāraya compound, meaning 'all men,' for the application of this rule, when it is a Tatpurusha or a Bahuvrīhi compound, it will take छ ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हित = विश्वजनीयम् 'beneficial for man kind

Vat — So also after Karmadhāraya Compound पञ्चजन, e, g, पञ्चजनीयम्, otherwise पञ्चजनीयम् ॥

Vat — After the Karmadhāraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes डम् and ख, as सर्वजनीन and सर्वजनिकम्, otherwise सर्वजनीयम् ॥

Vat — The affix डम् comes always after the word महाजन whether it be a Karmadhāraya or a Tatpurusha, but not so when it is a Bahuvrīhi Com-

pound As महाजनाय हित माहाजनिक ॥ In a Bahuvrīhi it will be महाजनीय with क् ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख as, मानुभोगीय and पितृभोगीय ॥ The word भोग means 'body' But माचीय and पित्राय with क्, when the word भोग does not follow

Vart —The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीन and आचार्यभोगीन ॥

Gaṇa sūtra —In the case of आचार्यभोगीन: the न is not changed into ण (VIII 4 4) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly As, राजोद्दितम्, आचार्याय हितम्, no affix being employed

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णदञौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वोणा वेति वक्तव्यम् * सर्वस्मै हित सार्वम् । सर्वयिम् ॥ पुरुषादधिकारसमूहेनकृतेषु * ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगात्तन्नेत्यस्य द्वन्द्वमध्ये निवेद्य । पुरुषस्य वध पौरुषेय । तस्येदमित्यणि प्राप्ति । पुरुषस्य विकार पौरुषेय । प्राणिरजतादियोऽञ् इत्याञि प्राप्ति । समूहेऽप्याणि प्राप्ति । एकाकिनोऽपि पारित पौरुषेयवृत्ता इवेति माध । तेनकृतेग्रन्थेऽणि प्राप्ति अग्रन्थे तु प्रासादादावप्राप्त एवेति विवेक ॥

1672 The affixes ण and दञ् come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'purusha'

Vart —The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मैहित = सर्वयिम् or सार्वम् ॥

Vart —The affix दञ् comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahābhāṣhya

Thus पुरुषस्यवध = पौरुषेय 'man slaughter' Here अण् (IV 3 120 S 1500) is debarred So also पुरुषस्य विकार = पौरुषेय "human" Here अञ् (IV 3 154 S 1532) is debarred

Similarly in the sense of समूह "crowd," as in the following line of Māgha,—

एकाकिनोऽपि पारित पौरुषेयवृत्ता इव ॥ Here also the अण् of तस्य समूह is debarred

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix अण् would have come, but this debar it When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sūtra applies, and this ordains दञ् as a vidhi Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थ "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेया वेदा "the non-human Vedas" So also पौरुषेय प्रासाद "a man-built palace"

१६७३ । मानवचरकाभ्यां खञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

मानवाय हित मानवीनम् । चारकीणम् ॥

1673 The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mānava', and 'charaka'

This debars छ ॥ As माणवाद्य हित = माणवीनम् ॥ So also चारकीणम् ॥

१६७४ । तदर्थविकृते प्रकृतौ । ५ । १ । १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाच्चतुर्थ्यन्तर्ध्याया प्रकृतौ वाच्याया छप्रत्यय स्यात् । अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि । प्राकारीया इट्का । शङ्खव्य दारु ॥

1674 After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that

Note — The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product. The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive' तदर्थ 'serviceable for that' ; i.e. the primitive being serviceable for the product. The word तदर्थ shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else. That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a particular product and nothing else. The word तदर्थ shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added. Some read the words तस्मै हित also into this sūtra.

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal,' so also प्राकारीया इट्का 'bricks serviceable for making a wall' Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V 1, 1 S 1661. Similarly शङ्खव्य दारु 'wood serviceable for a spear'

Note — Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto'? Observe धाना धाना, धानाना सक्तव ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तु is the product also of other things than धाना such as लाजा &c

Why do we say विकृते 'after a product'? Observe उदकार्यं कुप, there is no affix. For कुप 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति ; i.e. material cause and effect. As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed.

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive'? Observe अस्यर्था कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword'. The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword.

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the प्रकृति is liable to modification or vikāra.

१६७५ । छदिरुपधिबलेर्दञ् । ५ । १ । १३ ॥

छादिषेयाणि नृणामि । बालेयस्तण्डुला ॥ उपधिशब्दास्वार्ये ह्यन्ये * ॥ उपधीयेत इत्युपधी रयाङ्ग सदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675 The affix दञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'chhadis,' 'upadhi,' and 'bali' denoting the product.

This debars छ. Thus छादिषेयाणि नृणामि, बालेयस्तण्डुला ॥

Ishu —The affix comes after the word उपधि without changing the sense उपधित इत्युपधि = रयागश्च part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself The word औपधेय also means the same

१६७६ । ऋषमोपानहोऽर्थः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

ऊरुशपवारः । आर्षभ्यो वत्स । औपानहोऽञ्ज । चर्मण्यप्यमेव पूर्वविप्रतिषधेन । औपानह्य चर्म ॥

1676 The affix *ञ्ज* comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rishabha' and 'upānah' denoting the products

This debars छ ॥

Thus आर्षभ्यो वत्स औपानहोऽञ्ज ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म' the affix 'nya' will come after उपानह् debarring by anticipation the अञ् of V I 15 S 1677 Thus औपानह्य चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ्ज । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो या विकृतिस्तद्वाचकादञ्ज स्यात् । वध्न्यै इव वार्ध्न्यं चर्म । वारत्र चर्म ॥

1677 The affix *ञ्ज* comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather

The word चर्मण in the aphorism is in the genitive case This अञ्ज debars छ ॥ Thus वाङ् चर्म and वारत्र चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vārdhra' and 'vāratra' i e a leather thong

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात्प्राकारीया इष्टका । प्रासादीयं वारः । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारीयो देशः । इतिशब्दो लौकिको विवक्षामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादा देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678 The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syāt',—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein'

Note —The word तद् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinctness

Thus प्राकार आसाम् इष्टकानां स्यात् = प्राकारीया इष्टका 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall' So also प्रासादीयं वारः ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन् देशे स्यात् = प्राकारीयो देश 'place sufficient to make a wall therein' प्रासादीया भूमि ॥

Note —The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधालिङ्) of भव् 'to be', has the force of सभावन् 'potentiality, sufficiency as given in Sûtras III 3 154 S 2811 &c Such as when the large number of bricks makes it *possible* to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it *possible* to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादाऽस्मिन्देवो स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sūtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sūtra V 1 12 S 1674 The examples under this sūtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose Herein lies the difference between this sūtra and the previous ones

The repetition of the word तद् twice in this sūtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येकं समर्थं विभक्तिं सम्बन्धनीय 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case'

Why there is no affixing in this case प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्? The use of इति in the Sūtra would prevent this, the force of इति being that the classical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives

१६७६ । पारिखाया दञ् ॥ ५ । १ । १७ ॥

पारिखेयी भूमि ॥

1679 The affix दञ् comes, after the word 'parikhā' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'

This debars छ ॥ Thus पारिखेयी भूमि, 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'

Up to this Sūtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यत् Hereafter another affix will be taught

Here ends the chapter on छ and यत् affixes

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix डञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + डञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule

Note —The following seven are nishkâdi words —1 निष्क, 2 पण 3 पाद, 4 भाष, 5 बाह, 6 द्रोण, 7 दण्ड ॥ Drona denotes measure, shashti denotes numeral and would have taken डञ् ॥

१६८३ । परिमाणान्तस्यासङ्गाशाण्यो । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धि स्यात् त्रिद्वयोः ॥ परमनैष्किक । असमासमहण ज्ञापक भवति । इत प्राक् तदन्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगव्यम् । यवापूयमित्यादि ॥ इत ऊर्ध्वं तु सख्यापूर्वपदाना तदन्तमहण प्राग्वत्तेरिष्यते तच्चालुकि ॥ पारायणिक, । द्वैपारायणिक । अलुकीति किम् । द्वाभ्या शर्पाभ्या क्रीत द्विशर्पम् । द्विशर्पेण क्रीते शर्पावञ् ना भूत् । किं तु डञ् । द्विशौषिकम् ॥ 'असङ्गा' इति । कम् । पञ्चक लापा परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकलापिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति डञ् ॥

1683 After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vriddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicator य्, ण्, 01 क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name

Thus परमनैष्किक ॥

The words ' asamāse etc when they are not parts of a compound ' of the last sūtra are jñāpaka, indicating that in the preceding sūtras the tadanta-vidhi applied Thus we have not only गव्य but सुगव्यम् also (V 1 2 S 1662), not only अपूयम् but यवापूयम् also (V 1 4 S 1664) But in the sūtras that follow, the tadanta viddhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix As पारायणिक and द्वैपारायणिक ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta vidhi does not apply as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।) Why do we say ' when there is no luk ' Observe द्वाभ्या शर्पाभ्या क्रीत = द्विशर्पम् ॥ द्विशर्पेण क्रीते = द्विशौषिकम् with डञ् not अञ् ॥ V 1 36 S 1691)

Why do we say ' when it is not a name ? ' Observe पञ्चकलापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix डञ् by V 1 57 S 1723

Note —The word परिमाण in this sūtra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense Technically परिमाण does not include सख्या, etymologically it does Pāṇini has used this word परिमाण in some sūtras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense Thus in sūtras IV 1 22 S 480, and V 1 19 S 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sūtras IV 3 156 S 1534 and V 1 57 S 1723 the etymological sense is meant Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मान or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as प्रस्थ &c i e a cubic measure and a square measure In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्व 'a cubit &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्मान such as पल, &c on the other side In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a सख्या is beyond all these

Note —Q Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sūtra redundant? For by the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रतिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not, contrary to I 1 72, S 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself," the prātipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sūtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A The employment of the word असमासे in this Sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधि I 1 72 S 26 applies to the previous sūtra, while in the subsequent sūtras it does not As उगवादिभ्यो यत् (V 1 2, S 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c As गव्यम् and सुगव्यम्, अतिसुगव्यम् ॥ Not only अपूयम्, अपूपीयम् (V 1 4 S 1664) but also यवापूयम् यवापुपीयम् ॥ Not only इन्त्य (V 1 6 S 1666) but also राजदन्त्यम् ॥

While in the sūtras subsequent to this V 1 20, S, 1682 the tadanta vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyā and that also in Sūtras upto V 1 115 S 1778 and not there after as, द्वैपारायणिक and त्रैपारायणिक (V 1 72 S 1726 Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta vidhi does not apply Thus द्वाभ्यां शुपाभ्यां क्रीत = द्वि शूर्प + टञ् (V 1 18 S 1680) = द्विशूर्पम्, (the affix being elided by V 1 28 S 1693) Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्विशूर्पम्, the tadanta vidhi will not apply Thus द्विशूर्पेण क्रीत, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta vidhi applied, we get the affix छञ् (V 1 26 S 1691) in the alternative But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix टञ् V 1 8 S 1669, and have द्विशूर्पिकम् ॥ Here the affix टञ् is not elided by V 1 28 S 1693 as there is no Dvigu compounding The above rule is summarised in the following *ishā* प्राग्वते सख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४। अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा । ७। ३। २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धि पूर्वपदस्य तु वा भिति णिति किति च । अर्धद्वौणेन क्रीतम् आर्धद्वौणीकम् । अर्धद्वौणीकम् ॥

1684 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicative अ्, ण्, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्थ precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्थ ॥

As अर्धद्वौणीकम् or आर्धद्वौणीकम्, with टञ् (V 1 18)

Note —Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धक्रौञ्चिकम् only (= अर्धक्रौञ्च प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

१६८५ । नात परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धपरस्य परिमाणकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपस्य तु वा भिन्नौ । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् । आर्धप्रस्थिकम् ॥ अत किम् अधकौडविकम् । तपर किम् । अर्धखाया भवा अधखारी । अधखारीभाय इत्यत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति पुनश्चात्रानिवेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685 When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vriddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (1 e अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिक or आधप्रस्थिक (V 1 18 S 1680) ॥ अर्धकालिक or आर्धकालिक ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe अर्धकौडविक ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भव = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vriddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vriddhi in forming a Bahuvrīhi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI 3 39 S 840 as अर्धखारीभार्य (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c)

Note — Wherever Vriddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrīhi compound referring to a male person वैयाकरण्यी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणाभार्य ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by prohibition of Vriddhi See VII 3 8

१६८६ । शताच्च ठन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन क्रीत शतिकम् । शत्यम् । अशते किम् । शत परिमाणस्य शतक सङ्ग । इह प्रत्ययार्थो वस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्निमित्तः । तेन ठन्यतौ न किंतु कनव । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन क्रीत द्विशतकम् ॥

1686 The affix ठन् and यत् come in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the word शत when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred'

The word आर्हांत् V 1 19 S 1681 is understood here also These affixes ठन् and यत् debar the affix कन् V 1 22 S 1687 Thus शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्यम् or शतिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'

Why do we say अशते 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतपरिमाणस्य = शतकनिर्माणम् 'a band whose measure is hundred' The word अशते qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible, for the word शत as a base must always mean 'a hundred' The following examples will illustrate the meaning, शतमध्याया परिमाणस्य ग्रन्थस्य

शतक a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas' In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyaya āitha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix For शतक is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शत 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part Similarly शतको गोलघ 'a herd of cows hundred in number' Here the सघ essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not ढन् or यन् (V, I 58) But not so in the case of शत शतकशत, शतिक शतकशत, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word Hence the following Vārtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽन्यशतत्वेऽप्रतिषेधः ।

The word च in the sūtra draws in the word असमासे from the previous sūtra Thus द्वौ च शत च = द्विशत द्विशतेन क्रीत = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins' Here the affix is कन् V I 22 S 1687 So त्रिशतकम् ॥ According to the Ishti given in the Sūtra VII 3 17 S 1683 the tadanta vidhi applies here

१६८७ । सख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

सख्याया कन् स्यादाहियेऽर्थे नतु त्यन्तशदन्ताया । पञ्चभि क्रीत पञ्चक । बहुक । त्यन्तायास्तु साम्नतिक । शदन्ताया चत्वारिंशत्क ॥

1687 The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शत्, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V 1 63 S 1728

The word आर्हांत् is to be read into this sūtra also The word सख्या is defined in I 1 23 S 258 This कन् debars ढञ् ॥ Thus पञ्चभि क्रीत = पञ्चक, बहुक, गणक ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शत्'? Observe साम्नतिक, चत्वारिंशत्क formed by ढञ् ॥

१६८८ । वतोरिद्धा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

वत्यन्तात्कन इद्धा स्यात् । तावतिक । तावत्क ॥

1688 The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with वत् takes optionally the augment इद्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V 1 62

The words ending in वत् are सख्या, see I 1 23 and would consequent take कन् by V 1 22 The present sūtra ordains the optional affixing of इद् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावत्क or तावतिक ॥

१६८९ । विंशतित्रिंशद्ग्रां ड्वुनसज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४

योगविभाग कर्तव्य । भाग्या कन् स्यात् । शसज्ञाया ड्वुन स्यात्कनोऽपवाद । विंशत्क विंशक । सज्ञाया तु विंशतिक । त्रिंशत्क ॥

1689 The affix इवुन् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the words 'Vinsati' and 'trinsat' when it does not denote a Name ann the ति and अन् of the base are dropped before this affix

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sutra into two viz (1) विशतिर्विंशद्भ्या (2) इवुनसज्ञायाम्, the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to vinsati and trinsat, (2) The affix dvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name

Thus विशति + इवुन् = विश + भक (VI 4 142 S 844) = विशक, विंशत + इवुन् = विंश + भक (VI 4 143 S 316) = विंशक ॥

When not denoting a Name विशतिक विंशक formed by affix कन् V 1 22

१६९० । कंसाद्विठन् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

दो डीबर्थ । इकार उच्चारणार्थ । कसिक । कसिकी ॥ अर्धाद्येति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अर्थिक । अर्थिकी ॥ कार्षापणाद्विठन्वक्तव्य प्रतिरादेशश्च वा * ॥ कार्षापणिक । कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिक । प्रतिकी ॥

1690 The affix टिठन् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars डञ्, the anubandha टि of टिठन् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by डीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the न् of टिठन् is for accent (VI 1 197 S 3686) Thus कसिक fem कसिकी ॥

Vart —So also it must be stated after the word अर्थ, e g अर्थिक अर्थिकी ॥

Vart —So also after the word कार्षापण, e g कार्षापणिक fem कार्षापणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्राति is substituted for कार्षापण before this affix, as प्रातिक, fem प्रातिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शौर्यम्, शौर्यिकम् ॥

1691 The affix अञ् comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI 1 63, S 1728 after the word 'śūpa'

This debars डञ् which comes in the alternative As, शूर्पेण क्रीत = शौर्येण or शौर्यिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यादडञ्कनानपवाद । शतमानेन क्रीत शतमानम् । विंशतिकम् । सहस्रम् । वासनम् ॥

1692 The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63, S 1728 after the words 'śatamāna', 'vinśatīka', 'sahasīa', and 'vasana'

This debars ढञ् ढक and कञ् ॥ Thus शतमानेन क्रीत = शतमानम्, so also वैशतिकम्, साहस्रम् and वासनम् ॥

१६९३ । अर्धपूर्वादिगोलुगसञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥

अर्धपूर्वादिगोश्च परस्यार्हायत्य लुक् स्यात् । अर्धकसम् । द्विकसम् । सज्ञाया तु पाञ्चकलापिकम् ॥

1693 The affix having the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyaidha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name

The word भार्हात् is understood here also Thus अर्धकसम् द्विकसम्, अर्धद्विशूर्पम्, द्विशूर्पम् त्रिकसम् त्रिशूर्पम् ॥ Here the affixes टिटन् and अञ् are elided

Note — Though in the word द्विशूर्पम् &c the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II 1 51 S 728) such as in द्वाभ्या शूर्पाभ्या क्रीत = द्विशूर्पम् ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विशूर्पेण क्रीत = द्विशौर्पिकम् ॥ Hence the following rule द्विगोलुकि तन्निमित्तग्रहणम् ॥ See IV 1 88 V 1 20

Why do we say असज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name'? Observe पाचलोहितिकम् or पचलोहितिकम् and पाचकलापिकम् being names of certain measures The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vārtika भस्यादे तद्धिते given under VI 3 35 The lohini is the red seed with which gold &c is weighed

Note — The word अर्धर्द्ध is a Sankhyā (See I 1 23 S 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound Its separate mention in this sūtra may appear superfluous It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñāpaka) that this word is not always a Sankhyā Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वसूच् (V 4 17 S 2085) this word is not a sankhyā,

१६९४ । विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥

लुक्वा स्यात् । अर्धकार्षापणम् । अर्धकार्षापणिकम् । द्विकार्षापणम् । द्विकार्षापणकम् । औपसहस्रानिकस्य टिटना लुक् । पक्षे अर्धधप्रतिकम् । द्विप्रतिकम् । अर्धसहस्रम् । अर्धसहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

1694 The affix having the senses taught up to V 1 63 S 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kārṣāpana, and sahasīa, when they are preceded by adhyaidha or are members of a Dvigu compound

This sūtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sūtra. Thus अर्धकार्षापणम् or अर्धकार्षापणिक, द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix दिङ् (V 1 25 S 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other. When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V 1 25 S 1690) अर्धप्रतिकम्, द्विप्रतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सहस्र, e.g. अर्धसहस्रम् or अर्धसहस्रम्, द्विसहस्रम् or द्विसहस्रम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vriddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sūtra VII 3 15 S 1752

१६६५ । द्विप्रपूर्वाभिष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

लुग्व स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाभिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुनैष्किकम् ॥

1695 The Ârīhya-affix (V 1 63 S 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvī and tī ॥

The word द्विगो 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V 1 28 S 1693 is to be read into this sūtra. Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम् or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII 3 17 S 1683) ॥

Vart —So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e.g. बहुनिष्कम् or बहुनैष्किकम् ॥ The irregular Vriddhi of the second term is caused by VII 3 17

१६६६ । विस्ताच्च । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्विबिबहुपूर्वाविस्तासार्धस्य लुग्व स्यात् । द्विविस्तम् । द्विवैस्तिकमित्यादि ॥

1696 The ârīhya-affix (V 1 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvī or tī ॥

The word च in the sūtra draws in the words द्विप्रपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विविस्तम् or द्विवैस्तिकम् ॥

Note —The separation of this sūtra is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra

१६६७ । विंशतिकात् । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोरित्येव । अर्धविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

1667 The affix 'kha (ईन्) comes in the ârīhya senses (V 1 37-63) after the word vīṣatīka when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu,

Thus अर्धविंशतिकीनम् द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

Note.—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V 1 28

१६६८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारीकम् ॥ केवलायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ खारीकम् ॥

1698 The affix *īkan* comes in the *Ārhiya* senses (V 1 37-63), after the word *khārī*, when preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

Thus अध्यर्धखारीकम्, द्विखारीकम् ॥

Vart — So also after the word *खारी* alone, as *खारीकम्* ॥

१६६९ । पणपादमाषशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पाद पादिति न । यस्थेति लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पद्यत्तदर्थे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्थस्यैव तत्र महणात् ॥

1699 The affix *yat* comes in the *ārhiya* senses (V 1 37-63) after the words *pana*, *pāda*, *māsha* and *śata* when preceded by the word *adhyardha*, or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

Thus अध्यर्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्, so also अध्यर्धपाद्यम् द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI- 4 130 S 414, because the elided अ of पाद is *sthānivat*

Thus द्विपाद + यत् = द्विपाद् + ० (अ eloped by यस्थेतिच VI 4 148 S 311) + यत् ॥ This lopa elided अ becomes *sthānivat* and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद and so VI 4 130 S 414 does not apply

Nor is पाद् not changed into पद्, by VI 3 53 S 991 the substitution enjoined by VI 3 53 takes place when पाद् means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity

१७०० । शोणाद्वत् । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्त्वाल्पश्चे ढम् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700 The affix *yat* comes optionally after the word *śāna* in the *ārhiya*-senses (V 1 63), when it is preceded by the word *adhyardha* or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

This debars ढम् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1 28 S 1693 Thus अध्यर्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वाद्यन् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणादित्येव । आद्यन् । तेन कैरूप्यम् । परिमाणान्तस्या सज्ञाशाणयोस्ति पशुदासादादिवृद्धिरिव । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाण्यम् । इह ढम् आदयस्त्रयोदशप्रत्यया प्रकृतास्तेषा समर्थविभक्तयोऽर्थाभावाद् द्विशास्ते इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701 The affix अण् as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word sâna, in the âhîya-senses (V 1 37-63) when preceded by the words द्वि and त्रि

The यत् comes optionally by the last sūtra and is also drawn into this by the word च Thus we have three forms, द्विषाण्यम् द्वेषाण्यम् and द्विषाण्यम् ॥

Note :—The irregular Vriddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII 3 15-17 S 1752, 1754, 1688, does not however take place in the case of षाण् this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII 3 17 The Vriddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII 2 117

Thus in the preceding sūtras V I 18 to V I 36 thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added In the following sūtras are given the meanings and the construction

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् ॥ १२ । ३७ ॥

उच् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीत गौपुच्छिकम् । साप्ततिकम् । मास्थिकम् । ठक् । नैष्किकम् ॥

1702 The thirteen affixes taught in V 1 18-36, have the sense of " purchased with this price ", and are added to a word in the third case in construction

The thirteen affixes उच्, ठक्, ठन्, यत्, कन्, ड्वन्, दिठन्, अम् अण्, ख, ईकन्, यत्, and षण् have already been taught Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added The तेन shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction and क्रीतम् shows that the sense is that of ' purchased ' The illustrations have already been given in the previous sūtras Some more may be mentioned here Thus गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम् = गौपुच्छिकम् (the accent falling on गौ), so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as सप्तत्याक्रीतम् = साप्ततिकम्, मास्थिकम्, नैष्किकम् ॥

१७०३ । इङ्गोण्या । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्थ्यात्तद्धितलुकि । लुकोऽपवादः । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभिः क्रीत पद पञ्चगोणि ।

1703 The short इ is substituted in the place of gonî, when the Taddhita affix is elided by luk

By the sūtra I 2 49 S 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पञ्चगोणि purchased for five gonis Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of " purchased," has been

rejected after गोणे by V 1-28 S 1693 therefore by the previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

Note —This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चानि सूचीभिः क्रीत = पञ्चसूचि दशसूचि ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातो । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

संयोग संबन्ध । उत्पात शुभाशुभसूचक । शक्तिक शक्त्यो वा धनपतिसंयोग । शक्तिक शक्त्य वा दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थः ॥ वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्यः शमनकोपनयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ वातस्य शमन कोपन वा वातिकम् । पौत्तिकम् । श्लैष्मिकम् ॥ सान्निपाताद्योति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704 The above affixes have further the sense of “for its sake”, when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्तं ‘cause or occasion’ gives the sense of the affix, संयोग means ‘a connection, or relation’ उत्पात means ‘a portent indicative of good or bad luck’ Thus शतस्य निमित्तं धनपतिना संयोग = शत्य ‘a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred’ So also शक्तिक, साहस्य ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पातो दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् = शतस्य, शक्तिकम्, साहस्यम् “the twitching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred” i. e. indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c

Vārt —The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating As वातिकम् ‘allaying or vitiation of windy humour’ So also पौत्तिकम्, श्लैष्मिकम् ॥

Vārt —Also after the word सान्निपात, as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोद्वयोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्निमित्तं संयोग उत्पातो वा गव्य । द्वय, धन्य । यशस्य । स्वर्ग्य । गोद्वय किम् । विजयस्य वैजयिक । असंख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चाना पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । खारीकम् । भग्नादि, आश्विकम् । आदिमकम् ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चसादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् ॥

1705 After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or aśva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of ‘a relation or a portent for the purpose of that

This debars डम् ॥ As गो निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = गौर्वा 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow' So also after a word of two syllables, as, ईन्द, स्वर्ग्य, वरास्व ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c" ? Observe पचाना निमित्त = पचकम्, सन्नकम्, भट्टकम्, प्रास्थिकम्, खारीकम्, आश्विक formed by V 1 22, 18, 19

Vdt — The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated e g ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य निमित्त गुरुणा सयोग = ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa"

1 अश्व, 2 अश्वम्, 3 गण, 4 ऊर्णा, 5 डमा, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग मङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वस्तु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

आद्यत् । प्रतीय । पुत्र्य ॥

1706 After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken चत् by the last aphorism This ordains छ also Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = पुत्रीय or पुत्र्य ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणजौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा सर्वभौम । पार्थिव । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणजौ पठ्यते ॥

1707 The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhūmi and prithivī, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose"

This debars डक् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = सर्वभौम, so also पार्थिव ॥ In सर्वभौम there is Vṛddhi of both members of the compound by VII 3 20 S 1438

१७०८ । तस्येश्वर । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708 To the same bases sarvabhūmi and prithivī, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof"

Note — Thus सर्वभूमेरीश्वर = सर्वभौम 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिव 'the lord of the earth'

Note — The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was running into it from V 1 38 S 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V 1 38 do not extend further

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word इश्वर would have been an attribute, like the words सयोग and उत्पात, of the word निमित्त ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमीश्वर सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सर्वभौम । पार्थिव ॥

1709 To the same bases sarvabhūmī and prithivī, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of “known therein”

The word विदित means known, published &c सर्वभूमौ विदित = सर्वभौम “known in the whole world” So also पार्थिव ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकादृज् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिक । अशुशतिकादित्वादुभयपदवृद्धि । सार्वलौकिक ॥

1710 The affix thañ comes in the sense of ‘known therein’, after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction

Thus लोके विदित = लौकिक, सार्वलौकिक ॥ The irregular Vriddhi of both members takes place by VII 3 20 S 1438

१७११ । तस्य वाप । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

उच्यते अस्मिन्निति वाप क्षेत्रम् । प्रस्थस्य वाप प्रास्थिकम् । द्वैष्टिकम् । खारीकम् ॥

1711 The above mentioned affixes (V 1 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of ‘sown with so much’

The word वाप means ‘sown therein’, i.e. a field Thus प्रस्थस्य वाप क्षेत्र = प्रास्थिकम् ‘sown with a Prastha’, द्वैष्टिकम्, खारीकम्, i.e. a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Drona or a Khârī

१७१२ । पात्रात् छन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वाप क्षेत्र पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्ति ॥

1712 The affix shthan comes in the sense of ‘sown with so much’, after the word pātra

This debars दृञ् ॥ The ण् of छन् is for accent (VI 1 197, S 3686) the ण् is for ङीष् (IV 1 41) The word पात्र denotes a measure of capacity Thus पात्रस्यवाप = पात्रिक क्षेत्रम्, fem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्ति ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायत्नाभयल्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयत इत्यादि क्रमेण प्रत्येक संबन्धादेकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि आय लाभ शुल्कम् उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चक । शतिक । शत्य । साहस्र । उत्तमणेन मूलातिरिक्त ग्राह्य वृद्धि । ग्रामादिषु स्थानि-
ग्राह्यो भाग आय । विक्रेषा मूल्यावधिक ग्राह्य लाभ । रक्षानिवेशो राजभाग शुल्क । उत्कोच उपदा ॥
चतुर्थ्यर्थ उपसख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्ध्यादिदीयते पञ्चका देवदत्त । सममब्राह्मणे दानमितिवधिकरण
स्वविवक्षा वा ॥

1713 The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of “an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that”

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction. The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्) The word दीयते ‘is given’ in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धि, आय &c The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest. The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c is called आय or rent. The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c is called लाभ or profit. The share of the king for protection &c is called शुल्क or tax. The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि वा आयो वा लाभो वा शुल्को दीयते = पञ्चक ‘that transaction &c in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe’ Similarly शत्य, शतिक, साहस्र &c

Vart.—So also in the sense of a Dative As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आयो वा लाभो वा उपदा दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्त “Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as Interest &c” This Vārtika may be redundant, if we take the locative as some-
time having the force of dative also As in the sentence सममब्राह्मणे दान ॥

१७१४ । पूरणार्थादुठन् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

ययाक्रम ठक्ठिनोरपवाद । द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिक । तृतीयिक । अधिक ।
अर्धशब्दो रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् ॥

1714 The affix than comes in the same sense of “an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein” after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word andha

This debars ठक् and ठिठन् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिक, तृतीयिक, पञ्चमिक, सप्तमिक, अष्टमिक ॥ The word अर्द्ध is technically the name of रूपकार्थ ॥

१७१५ । भागाद्यञ्च । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

चाडन् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्थे कृत् । भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते भाग्य भागिक सप्तम् ।
भाग्य भागिका विज्ञाति ॥

1715 The affix yat (य) comes after the word bhâga in the sense of “an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein.”

By the word च in the sūtra ढञ् also comes This denars ढञ् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्धादिरस्मिन् दीयते = भाग्य or भागिक शतम्, भाग्या or भागिका विद्यति ॥ The word भाग also denotes रूपकार्थं ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वशादिभ्य । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

वशादिभ्य परा यो भारशब्दस्तदन्त यस्मात्तपत्तिक तत्प्रकृतिकाद्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थ । वशभार हरति वहत्यावहति वा वाशभारिक । ऐक्षुभारिक । भाराद्वशादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यानतर भारभूतेभ्यो वशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्वशान् हरति वाशिक । ऐक्षुक ॥

1716 The above mentioned affixes, after the word भार preceded by the word वश &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'

The case in construction here is accusative (तद्) ॥ Thus वशभार हरति, वहति आहवति वा वाशभारिक, ऐक्षुभारिक ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भाराद् वशादिभ्य is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वशादिभ्य ॥ Then the sūtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वश &c when they denote a load" Thus भारभूतान् वशान् हरति = वाशिक, ऐक्षुक ॥

Note —The word हरति means 'to carry to another place or to steal', वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means 'to produce or bring

1 वश, 2 कुटज, 3 बल्वज, 4 मूल, 5 स्थुया, (स्थुण) 6 अक्ष, 7 अक्षमन्, 8 अक्ष, 9 लक्षण, 10 वृद्ध, 11 खट्वा ॥

१७१७ । वज्रद्रव्याभ्यां ढञ्कनौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

वयासख्य स्त । वज्र हरति वहत्यावहति वा वज्रिक । द्रव्यक ॥

1717 The affixes than and kan come respectively after the words vashna and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'

Thus वज्र हरति वहति वा = वज्रिक, द्रव्यक ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रस्थ सभवाति प्रास्थिक कटाह । प्रस्थ स्वस्मिन्समावेशयतीत्यर्थ । प्रास्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रस्थमवहरति पचति वेत्यर्थ ॥ तत्पचतीति द्रोणादण् च * ॥ चाडन् । द्रोण पचतीति द्रोणी । द्रौणिकी ॥

1718 The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that, or takes away that, or cooks that"

The word तद् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative The word सभव means the capacity to hold the exact quantity, अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing' Thus ग्रस्थं सभवति = ग्रस्थिक 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure' So ग्रस्थमवहरति or पचति = ग्रस्थिक 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure' Similarly कौडविक and खारीक ॥ The word सभव does not govern the word पचति, thus ग्रस्थ पचति ब्राह्मणी = ग्रस्थिकी Brāhmanī who cooks a Prastha'

Vārt — The affix अण् also comes after the word द्राघ in the sense of 'who cooks that' e g द्रोण पचति ब्राह्मणी = द्रोणी or द्रोणिकी ॥

१७१९ । आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पक्षे ङम् । आढक सभवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितीना । आचितिकी । पात्रीणा । पात्रिकी ॥

1719 The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word ādhaka, āchita, and pātra

This ख debars ङम् which comes in the alternative Thus आढक सभवति, अवहरति पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिकी, आचितीना or आचितिकी, पात्रीणा or पात्रिकी ॥

१७२० । द्विगो छश्च । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादित्येव । आढकाद्यन्ताद्द्विगो संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु छन्खौ वा स्त । पक्षे ङम् । तस्याध्यर्थेति लुक् । चित्वाङ्गीष् । आढकिकी । आढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । आढकी । आचितिकी । आचितीना । अपरिमाणेति ङीपनिषेधात् आचिता । द्विपात्रिकी । द्विपात्रीणा द्विपात्री ॥

1720 The affix shthan as well as the affix ख (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words ādhaka, āchita, and pātra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c

The ख is read into the sūtra by the word च of the aphorism These two affixes ख and छन् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V 1-28 S 1693 But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ङम्, then it is elided by V 1 28 S 1693 The न् of छन् is for accent (VI 1 19 S 2645), and the प् for ङीष् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms, —आढकिकी, आढकीना, or आढकी, आचितिकी, आचितीना, आचिता ॥ In this case of आचिता the feminine is not formed by ङीष् (IV 1, 21 S 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV 1 22 S 480 So also द्विपात्रिकी, द्विपात्रीणा and द्विपात्री ॥

१७२१ । कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्द्विगो संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्खौ वा स्त । चात् छश्च । लुगभावे ङम् अणणम् । द्विकुलिजी । द्विकुलिजिकी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिकी ॥

1721 After the word kulja, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन्), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix इन् is also added. The elision being optional, the affix इन् V 1 18 S 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V 1 28 S 1693. Thus we get *four* forms द्विकुलिजिकी (इन्), द्विकुलिजीना (ख), द्विकुलिजो (उच् लुक्), द्विकुलिजिकी (उच्) ॥ In the last example, there is not vṛddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII 3 17 S 1683. The anomaly is explained by holding that the word कुलिज should be included in the exception along with सज्ञा and शाख of VII 3 17

१७२२ सोऽस्यांशवस्नभृतय । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अथो भाग । वस्न भृतयम् । भृतिर्वेतनम् । पञ्च भक्षो वस्नो भृतिर्वास्त्य पञ्चक ॥

1722 The affixes taught in V 1 18 S 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay'

The स shows that the case in construction is nominative. The word भक्ष means 'share', वस्न means 'price' भृति means 'wages'. Thus पञ्च भक्षो वस्नो वा भृतिर्वास्त्य = पञ्चक 'whose portion, price or pay is five'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

प्रस्य परिमाणमस्य प्रास्थिको राशिः ॥

1723 The affixes V 1 18 S 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure"

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case. Thus प्रस्य परिमाणमस्य = प्रास्थिको राशि 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha'. So also खारीक, शस्य, शतिक, साहस्य, शैणिक, कौडविक, वार्षशतिक, वार्षसहस्रिक ॥ So also षष्ठिर्द्विवित परिमाणमस्य = षाष्टिक, द्विसप्ततिक ॥

Note — Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sūtra, when their anvṛtti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word सोऽस्य and तदस्य being the same? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V 1 28 S 1693 does not apply. Thus द्वेषडीजीवितपरिमाणमस्य = द्विषाष्टिक, द्विसप्ततिक, ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V 1 24

१७२४ । सख्याया संज्ञासङ्ख्यसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रमनुवर्तते । तत्र संज्ञाया स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो वाच्य । यद्वा लोकोपयोगित्वेन सख्यामात्रवृत्ते परिमाणानि प्रत्यय । पञ्चवै पञ्चका शकुनय । पञ्च परिमाणमवाप्नोति वा । सङ्ख्य पञ्चक । सूत्रे षष्टक पाणिनीयम् । सङ्ख्यसङ्ख्ये प्राणिसङ्ख्ये रूढत्वात्सङ्ख्य प्रयुक्तपान्तर । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोमे ऋषिधि * ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्रा परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदश । सप्तदश । एकविंश । सोमयागेषु छन्दागैः क्रियमाणा पृथ्यादिसंज्ञिका स्तुति स्तोम ॥

1724 The affixes V 1 18 S 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of stud,

The phrase तदस्य परिमाणम् is understood here The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical Thus पञ्चका = पञ्च 'the Five' as पञ्चका सङ्कुलम्, त्रिका 'the Three' 'शालङ्कायना' ॥ The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a सङ्घ 'a multitude or flock' as पञ्चक सङ्घ, अष्टक ॥ So also when it means a सूत्र 'a Book', as अष्टाव-ध्याया परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य = अष्टक पण्डिनीयम् 'The Ashtaka of Pāṇini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyāyas' So also द्वाक वैशालपरीयम्, चिकन काशकृत्स्नम् ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyāyas the same as सङ्घ, ? No, the word सङ्घ is confined to a collection of living beings only,

The word मध्ययन means 'study' Its numerical measure (संख्या परिमाण) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read Thus पञ्चकोऽधीत 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes सप्तकोऽधीत so also अष्टक or नवकः ॥

Vart —The affix इ comes after the words पञ्चदश &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, पञ्चदश मन्त्रा परिमाणमस्य = पञ्चदश स्तोमः, सप्तदश 'स्तोमः, &c. The indicatory इ causes the elision of final (दि) by VI 4 143, S 316 in the cases of words like एकविंश &c In the case of पञ्चदश the इ is elided by VI 4 144 S 679 Stoma is the praise hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma sacrifice A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in sapta daśa stoma the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have pancha-daśa stoma When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes eka vimśa stoma &c

१७२५ । पङ्क्तिर्विंशतिर्त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् ।
५ । १ । ५६ ॥

एते रुदिराव्या निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725 The following words are anomalous - paṅkti 'a verse', viṁśati 'twenty', trīṁśat 'thirty', chatvāriṁśat 'forty', pañchāśat 'fifty', śaṣṭī 'sixty', sapṭatī 'seventy', aṣṭī 'eighty', navatī 'ninety', and śata 'a hundred'

Note —The words तदस्य परिमाणम् are understood here also पङ्क्ति is formed by adding ति to पञ्च, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', १ ० a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables The word विंशति is formed by adding शतिच to the word विन् which replaces the two word द्वयो-

दशत as दशतौ परिमाणमस्य सप्तस्य=विंशति ॥ So the affix दशत comes after चिन् representing चयोदशत , so for चतुर्था दशना we have चत्वारिन् and then add दशत, similarly with पञ्चाशत् ॥ Similarly with the rest

Note —All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kāśikā Kara, and hence it is omitted

Note —The word पन्क्ति also means 'a line' As ब्राह्मणपङ्क्ति, पिपीलिका पन्क्ति ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology

१७२६। पञ्चदशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदशतौ । दशत । पक्षे पञ्चक । दशक ॥

1726 The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'

This ordains इति instead of कन् V 1 22, which also comes in the alternative As पञ्चदशतौ, दशदशतौ or पञ्चकोवर्ग दशकोवर्ग ॥

१७२७। त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतो ब्राह्मणे सत्रायां ङण् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणमेवा ब्राह्मणानां त्रैशानि । चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727 The affix ङण् comes after the words trīṁsat and chatvāṁśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brāhmaṇa-book

The word वर्ग does not govern this sūtra The indicator दृ causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI 4 143 S 316) The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिषेय and not विषय, i e when the word means a Brāhmaṇa itself Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brāhmaṇa literature' As त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणमेवा ब्राह्मणानां=त्रैशानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brāhmaṇa containing thirty Adhyāyas' So चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brāhmaṇas

१७२८। तदर्हति । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

लब्धु योग्यो भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीयान्ताद्भास्य स्यु । श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति श्वेतच्छत्रिक ॥

1728 The affixes V 1 18 S 1680 &c, have also the sense of 'who deserves that'

The case in construction here is accusative Thus श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति = श्वेतच्छत्रिक "who deserves the White Umbrella"

१७२९। छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

नित्यमाभीक्ष्यम् । छेदं नित्यमर्हति छेदिको वेतस । छिन्नप्रकटत्वात् ॥ विरगं विरङ्गम् * ॥ विरगं नित्यमर्हति विरङ्गिका ॥

1729 After the words छेद &c in the second case in construction, the above-mentioned affixes have the sense of "who deserves that under all circumstances"

Thus छद् नित्यमर्हति = छेदिक , so also वैरङ्गिक ॥

1 छेद, 2 अेद, 3 द्रोह, 4 दोह, 5 नर्त (वत), 6 कर्ष 7 तीर्थ* 8 सप्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग 10 प्रयोग*, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 सप्रस, 54 विप्रस* 15 विकर्ष*, 16 प्रकर्ष*, 17 विराग विरङ्ग च (from विराग is formed वैरङ्गिक) ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्य । शीर्षच्छेदिक ॥ यद्वको सन्नियोगेन शिरस शीर्षभावे निपात्यते ॥

1730 The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'

Thus शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्य , or शीर्षच्छेदिक ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

दभ्यो यत् स्थात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्डय । अर्ध्य । वध्य ॥

1731 After the words danda &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'

The word नित्य does not govern this sūtra This य debars ङक् V 1 19 S 1681 Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्डय 'deserving to be killed' अर्ध्य , वध्य ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 हुसल, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कथा 5 अघ, 6 मेघ, 7 मेधा, 8 सुवर्ण*, 9 उदक, 10 वध, 11 युग, 12 युद्धा, 13 भाग, 14 इभ, 15 भङ्ग* ॥

Note —The Kāśikā gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्यो य , another version gives the sūtra as दण्डादिभ्य only drawing the affix यत् from the last sūtra

१७३२ । पात्राद् घञ्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

चाद्यत् तवर्हीतीयर्थे । पात्रिय । पात्र्य ॥

1732 The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pātra

This debars ङक् and ङञ् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्र्य or पात्रिय ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

चाद्यत् । कड कपेतीति विमहे अत एव निपातनात् खच्च । कडङ्कर नाषपुत्रादिकाश्चमर्हतीति कडङ्करीयो गो । कडङ्कुर्य । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीय । दक्षिणय ॥

1733 The affix chhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kadankara and dakṣhinâ

This debars ङक् ॥ Thus कडङ्करमर्हति = कडङ्करीय or कडङ्कुर्य 'one deserving straw' such as a cow So also दक्षिणीय or दक्षिणयो ब्राह्मण 'a Brahmana deserving alms'

१७३४ । स्थालीबिलात् । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीबिलमर्हति स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुला । स्थालीबिल्या । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थे ॥

1734 The affixes chha (ईथ) and yat (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word sthālībīla

This debarṣ ṭक् ॥ Thus स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुला or स्थालीबिल्या 'rice deserving the pot' i e cookable rice

१७३५ । यज्ञात्विग्भ्यां यज्जौ । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासख्य स्त । यज्ञमृग्विज वाऽर्हति यज्ञिय । आर्त्विजीनो यजमान ॥ यज्ञात्विग्भ्या तत्कर्माह-
सात्युपसख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो वेश । आर्त्विजीन ऋत्विक् ॥

1735 The affixes gha and यज् come respectively after the words yajña and ṛitvija, in the sense 'of deserving that'

This debarṣ ṭक् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice' आर्त्विजीनो ब्राह्मण ॥

Not —After the words yajña and ṛitvija, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof" Thus यज्ञकर्माहति = यज्ञियो वेश 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice' ऋत्विक् कर्माहति = आर्त्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ṭक् V, 1 19 S 1681 hence forward is the government of यज् V 1 18

अथ तद्धित ठञधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE AFFIX ठञ् ।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायण वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायण वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्र । तुरायण यज्ञविशेष । त वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमान ।

1736 The affix thañ comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words pârâyana, turâyana and chândrâyana being in the 2nd case in construction

The force of वर्तयति ceases Thus पारायणिकश्छात्र, a pupil, who reads under a teacher' तैरायणिको यजमान, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (परस्य करोति) ॥

१७३७ । सशयमापन्नः । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

सशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थः साक्षयिकः ॥

1737 The affix thañ comes after the word sanśaya in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it"

Thus सशयमापन्न प्राप्त - साक्षयिक स्यात् ' a doubtful pillar ", i e in a precarious state

१७३८ । योजन गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

योजनिकः । क्रोशशतयोजनशतयोरुपसख्यानम् * ॥ क्रोशशत गच्छति क्रोशशानिकः । योजनशतिकः ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हतीति क्रोशशतिको भिक्षुः । योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

1738 The affix than comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word yojana in the accusative construction

Thus योजनगच्छति = योजनिकः ॥

Vart — So also after the words क्रोशशत and योजनशत ॥ As क्रोशशतिकः योजनशतिकः ॥

Vart — The affix after these two words means also "who is worthy to be approached from so far" As क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हति = क्रोशशतिको भिक्षुः योजनशतिक आचार्यः ॥

१७३९ । पथ पकन् । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

पथोऽर्थः । पन्थान गच्छति पथिकः । पथिकी ॥

1739 The affix shkan comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word patha, being in the 2nd case in construction

Of the affix स्कन्, ष् is for डीष् (IV, 1 41 S 498) and न् for accent (VI 1 197 S 3686) As पन्थान गच्छति = वैयिक fem पथिकी ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थान नित्य गच्छति पान्थ । पान्था ॥

1740 The affix na comes after the word pantha which becomes the substitute of pathin, the sense of the affix being "who always goes"

The word नित्य qualifies the sense, of the affix Thus पन्थान नित्य गच्छति = पान्थ as पान्थो भिक्षा याचते ॥ Why नित्य ? See पथिक ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहत च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहन औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिक ॥ आहतप्रकरण वारिजङ्गल स्थलकान्तरपूर्वादुपसख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741 The affix ठञ् comes, after the word uttara-patha in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way'

The construction of the sūtra shows that the base must be in the 3rd case The word च shows that the word गच्छति 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism Thus उत्तरपथेनाहत = औत्तरपथिकम् or उत्तरपथेन गच्छति = औत्तरपथिक ॥

Vart —So also after the word पथ preceded by the words वारि, जङ्गल, स्थल कान्तर the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way As वारिपथेनाहत = वारिपथिकम्, वारिपथेन गच्छति = वारिपथिक masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing

१७४२ । कालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

श्रुष्टादिभ्याऽणित्यत प्रागधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1742 In the following sūtras, the phrase "after a word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense

The word कालात् bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V 1 97 S 1761 exclusive Thus the next sūtra तेन निर्वृत्तम् means 'accomplished by means thereof' We must read the word काल into it As मासेन निर्वृत्तम् मासिकम् &c

१७४३ । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

अद्वा निर्वृत्तमाहिकम् ॥

1743. The affix thañ comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time"

Thus अद्वा निर्वृत्त = आहिकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i.e. a certain portion of reading &c, आर्धमासिकम्, सावसरिकम् ॥

१७४४ । तमधीष्ठोभृतोभावी । ५ । १ । ८० ॥

अधीष्ट सङ्कल्प व्यापारित । भृतो वेतनेन क्रीत । भृत स्वसत्तया व्याप्तकाल । भावी साहसएवा नागत काल । मासमधीष्टो मासिकोऽव्यापक । मास भृतो मासिक कर्मकर । मास भृतो मासिको व्याधि । मास भावी मासिक उत्सव ॥

1744 The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long"

The word अधीष्ट means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III 3 161, भृत means "engaged on wages", भृत means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and भावी the same as last in the future The word denoting time will be in the second case by II 3 5 S 558 Thus मासमधीष्ट = मासिकोऽव्यापक, so also मासभृत = मासिक कर्मकर, मासभृत = मासिको व्याधि, मासभावी = मासिक उत्सव ॥

१७४५ । मासाद्वयसि यत्नञौ । ५ । १ । ८१ ॥

मास भृतो मास्य । मासीनः ॥

1745 The affixes yat and khañ come after the word māsa, in denoting 'age'

This debars उञ् ॥ The word भृत of the previous sūtra should be read into this Thus मासभृत = मास्य or मासीन 'a month old'

Note :—Why do we say when denoting 'age' P Observe मासिक ॥

१७४६ । द्विगोर्यप् । ५ । १ । ८२ ॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते । द्वौ मासौ भृतो द्विमास्य ॥

1746. The affix yap comes after the word māsa when forming a Dvigu compound, and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भृत = द्विमास्य, त्रिमास्य ॥

१७४७ । वयमासाण्यच्च । ५ । १ । ८३ ॥

वयसीत्येव । यवप्यनुवर्तते । चाडम् । बाण्मास्य । वयमास्य । बाण्मासिक ॥

1747 After the word shanmāsa, come the affixes nyat as well as यप् and ठञ्, in the sense of 'age'

The word vayasī is understood here So also the affix यप् ॥ By force of च we draw in ठञ् also

Thus बाण्मास्य, वण्मास्य, and बाण्मासिक ॥

१७४८ । अवयसि ढञ्च । ५ । १ । ८४ ॥

चाण्यत् । वण्मासिको व्याधि । बाण्मास्य ॥

1748 The affix than comes also after the word shanmāsa, when 'age' is not meant

The च draws in the affix ण्यत् also Thus वण्मासिको व्याधिः or वण्मास्य 'a disease lasting six months'

१७४९ । समाया ख । ५ । १ । ८५ ॥

समानधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा समीन ॥

1749 The affix kha (ईन) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word samā.

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus समानधीष्टो भूतो भूतो भावी वा = समीन ॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is तेन निर्वृत्त V 1 79, S 174, as समया निर्वृत्त = समीन ॥

१७५० । द्विगोर्वा । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

समाया ख इत्येव । तेन परिजघ्येत्यत प्राङ्निर्वृत्तादिषु पञ्चस्वर्येषु प्रत्यया । द्विसमीन । द्वैसमिक ॥

1750 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V 1 79 80 S 1743 and 1744 after the word Samā, forming a Dvigu

In the alternative ठञ् will also apply Upto sūtra V 1 93 S 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S 1744) Thus द्विसमीन or द्वैसमिक ॥ Then Vārtika taught in V 1 20 (प्राग्वत्ते सख्यापूर्वपदाना तदन्तमहणम-लुकि) applies here also Thus द्वैमासीन or द्वैमासिक, त्रिमासीन, or त्रैमासिक ॥

१७५१ । रात्र्यह. सवत्सराच्च । ५ । १ । ८७ ॥

द्विगोरित्येव । द्विरात्रिण । द्वैरात्रिक । अहीन । द्वैरात्रिक । समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वात् ठञ् । द्विसवत्सरीय ॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V 1 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words rātri, ahan, and samvatsara, occasioning a Dvigu

The word dvigu is understood in this sūtra

In the alternative क् will also come Thus द्विराशीण , द्वैरात्रिक , द्व्यहान VI 4 145 S 789 or द्वैयद्विक ॥ The samāsānta affix not being universally applicable, we have no क् ॥ द्विसवत्सरीण , द्विसावत्सरिक VII 3 15 S 1752 This form gets the irregular vriddhi by the following

१७५२ । सख्यायाः सवत्सरसख्यस्य च । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

सख्याया उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्याद् भिन्नस्यै । द्विसावत्सरिक । द्वे षष्ठी भूतो द्विषाष्टिक । सख्याया परिमाणान्तस्येव सिद्धे सवत्सरमहय परिमाणमहणे कालपरिमाणस्याग्रहणार्थम् । तेन द्वैसमिक इत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न ॥

1752 After a Numeral, the first vowel of सवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory अ, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसावत्सरिकः = द्वौ सवत्सरावधीष्टौ भूतो भूतो or भावी (V 1, 80 S 1744) द्विषाष्टिक = द्वे षष्ठी अधीष्टौ भूतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ The words द्वि, षष्ठी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII 3 16 S 1754) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under 'kalādhikāra (V 1 78 97) The special mention of सवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sūtra VII 3 17 S 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that sūtra does not mean the measure of time, but a measure of any other thing than time Therefore, with other time words than samvatsara, the Vriddhi takes place in the regular way as द्वैसमिक ॥

Note —Similarly in sūtra IV 1 22 S 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा मायविक्र ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sūtras (and elsewhere III 2 23, II 3 46 &c) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general

१७५३ । वर्षाल्लुक् च । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षाब्दान्ताद्द्विगोर्वा खः । पक्षे क् वा च लुक् । वीणि रूपाणि । द्विवर्षाणि व्याधि । द्विवार्षिक । द्विवर्ष ॥

1753 The above affixes kha and thañ may also be elided after a Dvigu ending in vaishā

The affix ख as well as क् come in the five fold senses V 1 79, 80, after the word वर्षा forming a Dvigu, and these two affixes may also be elided optionally —Thus we have three forms, द्विवर्षाणि, द्विवार्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधि 'a disease that lasted two years' (Compare VII 3 16, S 1754 but when the

sense is that of भावी, the form will be द्वैवर्षिक ॥) To get this irregular vriddhi, the following sūtra applies

१७५४ । वर्षस्याभविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् । द्विवर्षिक । भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिक । अधीष्टवृत्तयोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु तद्धितार्थः । द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥

1754 After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vriddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time

As द्विवर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो भूतो वा = द्विवर्षिक ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिक, त्रैवर्षिक "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिकं धान्यं निहितं भृत्यवृत्तये अधिकं वापि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥ (= बीणि वर्षाणि भावी) ॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भूत (V I 80 S 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भूतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवर्षिको मनुष्यः ॥ Here VII 3 17 S 1683 applies and it causes the vriddhi of the second member This sūtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासञ्ज्ञाशानयो । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौडविक । द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं द्विसौवर्णिकम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । असञ्ज्ञेति किम् । पञ्च कपाल परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकपालिकम् । तद्धितान्तं सञ्ज्ञा । द्वैशाणम् । कुलिजं शब्दमपि केचित्पठन्ति । द्वैकुलिजिक ॥

1754 A After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शान) gets the Vriddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ण, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name

As द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविक (V. I 109 S 1772) द्वाभ्यां सुवर्णाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V I 37 S 1702), द्विसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vārtika to V I 29 S 1694 When the affix is elided there can be no Vriddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, द्विनैष्किकम् (V I, 30 S 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पाञ्चकपालानि परिमाणमस्य V I 30 S 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शान? Observe द्वैशाणम् ॥ द्वैशाणम् formed with अण् (V I 35 S 1700 and 36 S 1701) Some read the sūtra as असञ्ज्ञाशानकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिजं is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिक (V. I 55 S. 1721) द्वैकुलिजे वेद्यशानमस्य ॥

१७५५ । चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८६ ॥

वर्षाशब्दान्ताद्द्विगो प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेतने प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो दारक ॥

1755 The affixes meaning “accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80” are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional Thus द्विवर्षो दारक ‘a boy two years old’

Note —Why do we say चित्तवति “when meaning endowed with reason”? Observe द्विवर्षीणो व्याधि ॥

१७५६ । षष्टिका षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

बहुवचनमसम्बन्धम् । षष्टिको धान्यविशेषः । तृतीयान्तात्कन् राजशब्दलोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

1756 The anomalously formed word shashtikâh has the meaning of “what are matured in six nights”

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sūtra

The word षष्टिका may be said to be formed by adding कन् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being ‘matured’ •Thus षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते = षष्टिका ‘a kind of barley’ It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days

१७५७ । तेन परिज्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

मासेन परिज्यो जेतुं शक्यो मासिको व्याधि । मासेन लभ्य कार्यं सुकरं वा मासिकम् ॥

1757 The affix than comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of “to be subdued”, “to be gained or attained”, “to be completed” and “to be easily completed in that time”

Thus मासेन परिज्य (शक्यते जेतुं) = मासिको व्याधि, मासेन लभ्यम् कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८ । तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । मास ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । आर्धमासिकः । यद्वा प्रथमान्तादस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्ययः । मासोऽस्येति मासिक ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्नादिभ्यः षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्यः उपसर्ख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्न्यो नाम विदामघवन्नित्याद्या कृच । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य मासानामसिकः । हरदत्तस्तु भस्मादिति पुत्रज्ञावान्माहानामिक इत्याह ॥ चातुर्मासाराण्यो यज्ञे तत्र भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ चातुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञकर्माणि ॥ सज्ञायामण्य * ॥ चातुर्षु मासेषु वसति चातुर्मासी भाषात्री । अण्यन्तत्वाऽपीप् ॥

1758 The affix *than* comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long"

The word *तद्* shows that the word must be in the accusative case *अस्य* shows the force of the affix *ब्रह्मचर्यं* joins both Thus *मास ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य* = *मासिको ब्रह्मचारी* "who practises abstinence for a month" So also *आर्धमासिक, सावत्सरिक* ॥ The second case is by II 3 5 S 558

Another explanation is, the affix *than* comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period As *मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यं* = *मासिक ब्रह्मचर्यम्* "an abstinence lasting for a month" *आर्धमासिक, सावत्सरिक* ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions

Vārt —So also after the words *महानामी* &c in the genitive construction As *महानामिक* । *Mahānāmni* are certain Rik verses But Haradatta gives the form *महानामिक* by applying the rule of masculinisation of the *Vārtika* *अस्याऽडे* (VI 3, 35 S 836) In this case VI 4 144 S 679 causes the elision of *दि* ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who' practises that' As *महानामीचरति* = *महानामिक, आरित्यमसिक, गौशानिक* ॥ *महानामी + डम्* = *महानामन् + डम्* (VI 3 35 S 836 *Vārt*) = *महानामिक* (VI 4 144 S 679)

Note —The affix *ङिनि* comes after the words *अवान्तरदीक्षा* &c, in the sense of 'who practises' As *अवान्तरदीक्षाचरति* = *अवान्तरदीक्षी, तिलव्रतिन्* ॥

Note —The affixes *ड्डुन्* and *ङिनि* come after the word *अष्टचत्वारिंशत्*, as *अष्टचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि व्रतचरति* = *अष्टचत्वारिंशक* or *अष्टचत्वारिंशिन्* ॥

Note —The same affixes comes after the words *चतुर्मास्य* &c, the final *ञ* being elided As *चतुर्मास्यानि चरति* = *चतुर्मासक* or *चतुर्मासिन्* ॥

Vārt —The affix *इय* comes after *चतुर्मास*, in the sense of 'produced there' As *चतुर्षु मासेषु भवानि* = *चतुर्मास्यानि* ॥ It refers to a sacrifice

Vārt —The affix *अण्* comes, when it is a Name, as *चतुर्षु मासेषु भवा* = *चतुर्मासी पौर्णमासी* ॥ So also *आषाढी, कार्तिकी, फाल्गुनी* ॥ The feminine *ङीप्* is added because it is an *अण्* formed word

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

ह्यदशाहस्य दक्षिणा ह्यदशाहिकी । आख्यामह्याहकालादपि । आग्निष्टोमिकी । वाजपेथिकी ॥

1759 The affix *than*, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof"

As *ह्यदशाहस्य दक्षिणा* = *ह्यदशाहिकी* । So also *आग्निष्टोमस्य दक्षिणा* = *आग्निष्टोमिकी, वाजपेथिकी* ॥

The word आख्या in the sūtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice denoting words which do not express time (V 1 78 S 1742) Had it not been used, the sūtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as एकाह, द्वादशाह which are time denoting words as well The Vārtika in V 1 20 S 1682 would apply to द्वादशाह, &c Some texts do not read च in the sūtra

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्यं वा प्रावृषेण्य चारदम् ॥

1760 The affixes having the sense of भव (IV 3 53, S 1428, IV 3 11 S 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of " what is given in that, and what is done in that "

As प्रावृषि दीयते or कार्यं=प्रावृषेण्य (IV 3 17 S 1388) चारदम् (IV 3 16 S 1387) All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons The words वत् in भववत् means that all the rules of तत्रभव (IV 3 53 S 1428) apply here

This sūtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sūtra, as तत्र च दीयते, यज्ञाख्येभ्य, as आग्निहोमिक भक्त, राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम् ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा वैयुष्टम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थ, सयाम, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761 The affix ण् comes after the words व्युष्ट &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of " being given therein or done therein "

Thus व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा=वैयुष्टम्, नैत्यम् ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेक्षण, 5 उपसक्रमण, 6 तीर्थ, 7 अस्तरण (आस्तरण), 8 स-याम, 9 सघात, 10 आप्रपद, 11 पीलुमूल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 सन्नम, 15 दीर्घ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाच्च हस्ताभ्यां ण्यतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाचैत्यव्ययसघातात्तृतीयान्ताद्धस्तशब्दाच्च यथासख्य ण्यतौ स्त ॥ अर्थाभ्यां तु यथासख्य नैत्यत * ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्यं वा यथाकथाचम् । अनावरेण द्वे कार्ये वेत्यर्थः । हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा हस्त्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes ण and यत् come respectively after the words yathā-kathā-cha, and hasta, being in the thud case in construction, having the sense of what is " given or is done in this way or with this "

The words क्षीयते and कार्य apply to both, the rule of यथासक्य (I 3 10 S 128) not applying to it The word यथा कथाच is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt Of course this word cannot take any case affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case As यथाकथाच क्षीयते कार्य वा = यथाकथाचम्, given with contempt or done with contempt, हस्तेन क्षीयते कार्य वा = हस्तम् ॥

१७६३ । सपादिनि । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

उम् । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्या सपादि कार्यवेष्टकिकं मुख्यम् । कर्णालकाराभ्यामवश्यं शोभत इत्यर्थः ॥

1763 The affix thañ comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of “fitted for that”

The word सपादिन् means ‘suitable, proper, fit’ The word सपादिन् is formed by adding णिनि to सपद्, the force of the affix being that of necessity (III 3 170 S 33II) as कर्णवेष्टकाभ्या सपादि मुख्य = कर्णवेष्टकिकं मुख्य ‘a face fit for ear-rings’ which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. वाङ्मयुगिकम् शरीरम् । e वङ्मयुगेन विशेषतः शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा सपादि कर्मण्य शौर्यम् । वेषेण सपादि वेप्यो नटः । वेष कृत्रिम आकारः ॥

1764. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of “being fitted with that”, after the words karma and vesha, in the third-case in construction

This debars thañ कर्मणा सपद्यते = कर्मण्य शौर्यम्, वेषेण सपद्यते = वेप्यो नटः ॥ ‘Vesha’ means artificial appearance, i e disguise.

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सान्तापिक । सामानिक ॥

1765 The affix thañ comes after the words santāpa &c in the dative construction, in the sense of “what is able to effect that”

The word प्रभवति means ‘able, capable’ The dative here has the force of अलम् (II 3 16 S 583) As, सन्तापाय प्रभवति = सन्तापिक, सामानिक

1 सत्ताप, 2 सनाह 3 सप्रान, 4 सयोग, 5 सपराय, 6 सवेदान, 7 सपेय, 8 निष्पेय, 9 सर्ग, 10 निसर्ग, 11 विसर्ग, 12 उपसर्ग, 13 प्रवास, 14 उपवास, 15 सघात, 16 सवेप, 17 सवास, 18 समेदन 19 सक्तु, 20 मासौदनाद्विगृहीतादि, 21 असर्ग, ॥

१७६६ । योगाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

चाहम् । योगाय प्रभवति योग्य । यागिक ॥

1766 The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga

By force of the word य 'and' the affix डञ् also applies Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्य or योगिक ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उकञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कारुणिकम् ॥

1767 The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'

This debars डञ् As कर्मणे प्रभवति = कारुणिक धनु ॥ This word कारुणिक means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else

१७६८ । समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समय प्राप्तोऽस्य सामयिकम् ॥

1768 The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it"

Thus सामयिक कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'

१७६९ । ऋतोरण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतु प्राप्तोऽस्य आर्तवम् ॥

1769 The affix an comes after the word ritu, meaning "that has come for it"

As ऋतु प्राप्तोऽस्य = आर्तव पुष्पम् (Guna by VI 4 146 S 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived"

१७७० । कालाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०७ ॥

काल प्राप्तोऽस्य काल्य धीतम् ॥

1770 The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'

As काल्य धीत ॥ See VI 1 213 S 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ठञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

कालादित्येव । तदस्येति य । प्रकृष्टो दीर्घ कालोऽस्येति कालिक वैरम् ॥

1771 The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding"

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकवृणम् "long standing debt" कालिकम् वैरम् "long-standing enmity"

In this sūtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्राप्तम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०६ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमह प्रयोजनस्य ऐन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजन फल कारण च ॥

1772 'The affix thañ comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this"'

As इन्द्रमह प्रयोजनस्य=ऐन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजन means fruit or cause

१७७३ । विशाखावाढादणमन्थदण्डयो । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आभ्यामण स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमान्मन्थदण्डयोरर्थयो । विशाखा प्रयोजनस्य वैशाखो मन्थ । माषाढो दण्ड ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । अद्धा, आद्धम् ॥

1773 'The affix an comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words viśākḥā, and aśhādhā, when the derivative of the first is combined with मन्थ and that of the second with दण्ड ॥

As वैशाखो मन्थ, आषाढो दण्ड ॥

Vat —So also after the words चूडा &c As चूडा प्रयोजनस्य=चौडम्, अद्धा प्रयोजनस्य=आद्धम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनदिभ्यश्छ । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचन प्रयोजनस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774 'The affix Chha (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words अनुप्रवचन &c

This debars छञ् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचन प्रयोजनस्य=अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेक्षण, 5 प्रवेक्षण, 6 अनुप्रवेक्षण, 7 अनुवासन 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 अन्वारोहण, 11 प्रारम्भण, 12 आरम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेक्षण, 15 अनुवादन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणसमापन प्रयोजनस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

1775 'The affix Chha comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the word samāpana, when it has a word in composition preceding it

This debars छञ् ॥ Thus व्याकरण समापन प्रयोजनस्य=व्याकरण समापनीयम् ॥

Note—The specific mention of the word पद in the aphorism indicates that the rule will not apply when a word other than a 'pada,' such as the affix 'bahuch,' V 3 68 S 2023 precedes the word Samāpana

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकद् चौरै । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसहायनगार प्रयोजनमस्य दुष्टविषो स ऐकागारिकश्चौर ॥

1776 The word ऐकागारिकद् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'

The feminine will be in डीप् ॥ Thus एकागार प्रयोजनमस्य = ऐकागारिक fem^o की ॥

Note —This word can be regularly formed by डञ्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief When any other thing is designated, it will not take this affix Thus एकागार प्रयोजनमस्य मिच्छा, here there will be no affixing The feminine moreover will be in डीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इकद् with the irregular Vriddhi of the first syllable

१७७७ । आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाद्यन्तौ यस्येत्याकालिक । समानकालस्थाकाल अ.देश । आशु विनाशीत्यर्थ । पूर्वदिने मध्याह्नादुत्पद्य दिनान्तरे तत्रैव नश्यति वा ॥ आकालादस्य * ॥ आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

1777 The word ākālīkat is irregularly formed in the sense of " what coincides with the beginning and the end i e what lasts only an instant "

The word आकाल is substituted for समानकाल ॥ Thus आकालिक. स्तनविद्युत् 'a thunder lasting for an instant' अकालिकी विद्युत्—"a lightening lasting a twinkling" i e whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born

Vari —The affixes डञ् and डञ् also come after आकाल, as आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix डञ् V. I. 18.

अथ तद्धित तत्त्वजधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION

१७७८ । तेन तुल्य क्रिया चेद्वति । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्य ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेद्वति किम् । गुणतुल्ये ना भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्य स्थूल ॥

1778 The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of “like that”, when the meaning is ‘similarity of action’

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्य वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत्, as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say “action”? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in ‘quality’ As पुत्रेण तुल्य स्थूल ‘as big as the son’

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकार । चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गाव ॥

1779 The affix vati comes also in the sense of “like what is there in or thereof”

As मथुरायामिव = मथुरावत् ‘like that in Mathura’ as मथुरावत् सुप्ते प्राकार, चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गाव &c

१७८० । तदर्हम् । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिमर्हति विधिवत्पूज्यते । क्रियामहण मयद्ब्रूकण्डुत्यानुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780 The affix “vati” comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of “befitting that or suited to that”

Thus विधिमर्हति = विधिवत् पूज्यते “respected as god” The word kriyā should be read into this sutra from V 1 115, S 1778, by ‘frog-leap’ anuvṛtti, for it is not to be read in S 1779

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ‘the umbrella as befits a king’.

१७८१ । तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ । ५ । १ । ११८ ॥

प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भाव । गोर्भावो गोस्त्वम् । गोता । स्वान्त क्लीब. सलन्त स्त्रियाम् ।

1781 The affixes tva and tal come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of “the nature thereof”

As गोर्भाव = गोत्वम् or गोता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

ब्रह्मणस्त्व इत्यत प्राक् स्वतलावधिक्रियेते । अपवादे सह समावेशार्थे । गुणवचनादिभ्य कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । चकारो नञ्कञ्भ्यामपि समावेशार्थे । स्त्रिया भाव स्त्रीणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीता । पौकम् । पुस्त्वम् । पुस्ता ॥

1782 From this forward as far as the aphorism V 1 136, S 1801 the affixes त्व and तल् bear rule

Thus in V 1 122, S 1784 त्व and तल् are read, giving the forms पृथुत्वम् and पृथुता &c This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V 1 124 S 1788 The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and कञ् (VI 1 87 S 69) Thus स्त्रिया भाव = स्त्रीणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female' पुस्तम्, पुस्ता, पौकम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलवणवटयुधकतरसलसेभ्यः । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इत पर ये भावप्रत्ययास्ते नञ्त्तत्पुरुषान्न स्युश्चतुरादीन्वर्जयित्वा । अपतित्वम् । अपटुत्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्किम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । नास्य पदव सन्तीत्यपटुस्तस्य भाव आपदवम् । अचतुरेति किम् । आचतुर्थम् । आसङ्ग्यम् । आलवण्यम् । आवक्यम् । आयुध्यम् । आकत्यम् । आरस्यम् । आलस्यम् ॥

1783 The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpurusha compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following —chaturā, sangata, lavana, vata, budha, kata, lasa, and lasa

Thus the words अपति and अपटु will have two forms only i. e अपतित्वम् or अपतिता, अपटुत्वम् or अपटुता ॥

Note —While by V 1 128, S 1793 other compounds will have यक् also, as नैनापत्यम् ॥ An exception to this is आविदुर्य (VII-2 25 S 3065) as used by the author himself

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् "a Tatpurusha whose first member is नञ्" Observe बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpurusha ?' Observe, when the word अपटु is a Bahuvrīhi compound meaning नास्य पदव सन्ति its derivative will be आपदवम्, ॥

So also the compounds of चतुर &c, with नञ् e.g. आचतुर्यम्, आसमलम्, आलवण्यम्, आवट्यम्, आबुध्यम्, आकल्यम्, आस्व्यम्, आलस्यम् ॥ In some texts, there is बुध instead of बुध ॥

१७८४ । पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा । ५ । १ । १२२ ॥

वाचचनमयादिसमावेशार्थम् ॥

1784 The affix imanich (इमैन्) comes optionally in the sense of 'nature', after the words prithu &c.

The word वा 'optionally' is employed with the intention of securing admission for the affixes अण् &c. Thus पृथु + इमन् । Now applies the following:

१७८५ । २ ऋतो हलादेर्लघो । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

हलादेर्लघोर्ककारस्य र स्यात् इष्टमेयस्त्वे ॥

1785 Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant)

Thus पृथु इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् । Now applies the following

१७८६ । टे । ६ । ४ । १५५ ॥

भस्य टेर्लोप स्यादिष्टमेयस्त्वे । पृथार्भाव प्राथिना । पार्थवम् । स्रविना । मार्थवम् ॥

1786 The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and इयस् follow

Thus पृथोर्भाव = प्राथिमन् nom प्राथिना (पृथु + इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् VI 4 161 = प्रथु + इमन् VI 4 155 = प्राथिना), or पार्थवम् by V I 131 S 1796 So also स्रविना or मार्थवम् ॥ The उ of पृथु and वृद्ध is elided by the present Sûtra and र is substituted for ऋ by VI 4, 161 S 1785 Of course, the affixes स्व and तल् come here also as, पृथुत्वम्, वृद्धत्वम् पृथुता वृद्धता ॥

1 पृथु, 2 वृद्ध 3 महत् 4 पट्, 5 तनु 6 लघु, 7 बहु 8 साधु, 9 भाशु, (भाशु'), 10 उरु (ऊरु), 11 गुरु 12 बहुल, 13 खण्ड, 14 दण्ड 15 चण्ड, 16 अकिचन, 17 बाल*, 18 होड, 19 पाक, 20 वस्त 21 मन्द 22 स्वाहु 23 ह्रस्व, 24 दीर्घ, 25 प्रिय, 26 वृष, 27 ऋतु 28 क्षिप्त, 29 क्षुब्ध, 30 अणु*, 31 वेणु (')

१७८७ । वर्णहतादिभ्य श्यञ्च । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

चादिमानिच । शौक्ल्यम् । शुक्लिना । दाढर्यम् । *

पृथुवृद्धशुक्लशुद्धपरिवृणानामव रत्वम् । * द्रुहिना । बो डीवर्य । ओचिति । यथाकामी ॥

1787 The affix shyañ also comes, as well as imanich after a word denoting colour, and after the words diidha &c, in the sense of 'nature thereof'.

Thus शुक्लस्य भाव = सौक्यम्, शुक्लमन्, शुक्लस्य शुक्लता ॥ काण्यम्, कृष्णमन्, कृष्णत्वम्, कृष्णता, दाढ्यम् द्विदिनम् (nom मा) दृढत्वम्, दृढता ॥

The ङ् of ण्यञ् shows that the feminine is formed by डीष् (IV 1 41) As औचित्य fem औचिती (VI 4 148 and 150 S 311 and 472) So also यथाकामी ॥

Vart —The following are the six words which substitute र for ऋ under VI 4 161 S 1785 पृथु वृद्ध भृश कृश दृढ, वरिवृढ ॥ Thus द्विदिना ॥

Note —It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत मात् भ्रातृ, &c as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥ See III 1 21 S 2677

१७८८ । गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्य कर्मणि च । ५ । १ । १२४ ॥

आज्ञावे । जडस्य कर्म भावो वा जाड्यम् । मृदस्य भाव कर्म वा मौढ्यम् । ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥ *

अर्हतो नुम च ॥ अर्हतो भाव कर्म वा आहन्यम् । आर्हन्ती । ब्राह्मणादिराकृतिगण ॥

1788 The same affix shyan has after a word expressive of quality, and after Brāhmana &c, the sense of 'the activity or occupation of something or some one'

The च in the aphorism is employed with the intention of including भाव or "nature" The word कर्म denotes activity जडस्य भाव कर्म वा = जाड्यम् ॥ So also मौढ्यम्, ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम् ॥

This class of ब्राह्मण्य &c is âkṛitigana i e the fact of a word belonging to which is known only from the forms met with in writers of authority

Vart —The augment नुम् is added to अर्हन् when it takes the affix ण्यञ् ॥ Thus the activity or nature of अर्हन् will be आहन्यम् fem आर्हन्ती the च is elided by VI 4 150 S 472

The words यथा तथा and यथापुर preceded by the negative particle अ, i e the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर belong to the Brāhmanâdi class They also take ण्यञ्, the vṛiddhi in their case is governed by the following sūtra

१७८९ । यथातथयथापुरयो पर्यायेण । ७ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नञ् पर्योरेतयो पूर्वोत्तरपर्ययो पर्यायेणादेत्त्वो वृद्धिर्निदादौ । अयथातथाभाव अयथातथ्यम्, अयथातथ्यम् । अयथापुर्थम् । अयथापुर्थम् । आपादसमन्तिर्भावकर्माधिकार ॥ चतुर्वणादीना स्वाथ उपसख्यानम् * ॥ चत्वारो वर्णाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यम् । चातुराश्रम्यम् । वैश्वर्यम् । बाह्युण्यम् । सैन्यम् । सान्निध्यम् । सामीप्यम् । औपम्यम् । ब्रह्मोक्तमित्यादि । सर्वे वेदा सर्ववेदास्तानधीत सर्ववेद । सर्वादेरिति लुक् । स एव सार्ववद्य । चतुर्वेदस्योभयपदवृद्धिश्च * ॥ चतुरो वेदानधीते चतुर्वेद स एव चातुर्वेद्य । चतुर्विद्यस्येति पाठान्तरम् । चतुर्विद्य एव चातुर्वेद्य ॥

1789 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory अ, ए, or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vṛiddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vriddhi, the words remain unchanged, and when these words are vriddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered As आद्यथातद्व्यम् or अद्यथातद्व्यम्, भायथापुर्वम् or अद्यथापुर्वम् ॥ In the sūtra the compounds are exhibited as यथातथ and यथापुर and are Avy-ayībhāvas (II 1 7 S 661), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened

The words भाव and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three

Vārt —The affix does not change the sense in चतुर्वर्ण्य &c, as चत्वार एव वर्णा = चतुर्वर्ण्यम् ॥ चतुराश्रम्यम्, त्रैस्वर्ण्यम्, षाड्गुण्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सामीप्यम्, औपम्यम् त्रैलोक्यम् ॥ &c

So also सर्ववेदा = सर्ववेदः All Vedas One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk elided by the vārtika under IV 2 60 S 1270 This word सर्ववेद takes the affix व्यम् without any change of sense As सर्ववेदः

Vārt —There is vriddhi of both members of the compound चतुर्वेद 'who studies four Vedas' before श्यान् As चतुर्वेद + व्यम् = चतुर्वेद्य ॥ Instead of चतुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vārtika is चतुर्विद्यस्य thus चतुर्विद्य + व्यम् = चतुर्वेद्य । चतुर्वेद is formed from विद्य by अण् luk elision (IV 1 88 S 1080), चतुर्विद्य by ङक् elision (IV 2 60 S 1270 vārt)

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यन्तलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

नेति सचातमहणम् । स्तेन चौर्ये पचाद्यच् । स्तेनस्य भाव कर्म वा स्तेयम् । स्तेनादिति योग विभज्य सैन्यमिति व्यञ्जन्तमपि केचिद्विच्छन्ति ॥

1790 The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix

The न in the sūtra is taken in its composite form, i e न् + य ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only The word स्तेन is formed by अच् of पचादि class

Note —Had न of the sūtra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + व्यम् = स्तेन् + य (the अ is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) Here the elided अ becomes sthanivat by I 1 57 S 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sūtra, we have स्ते + ० + ० + य ॥ The elided अ would cause the ए to be changed to अय &c the form would be स्तेयम् ॥ Hence the whole syllable न is elided by this sūtra and not separately by the application of S 311 and this sūtra

As स्तेनस्य भाव कर्म वा = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sūtra into two स्तेनाद्य व्यम् भवति (2) सतो यन्न लोपश्च, as सैन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । सख्युर्य । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भाव कम वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतवणिग्भ्या च * ॥ दूतस्य भाव कर्म वा दूत्यम् । वणिज्यमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु वणिज्याशब्द स्वभावात् स्त्रीलिङ्ग । भाव एव चाय प्रत्यया न तु कर्मणीत्याह । भाष्ये तु दूतवणिग्भ्या चति नास्तेव । ब्राह्मणादित्वाद्वाणिज्यमपि ॥

1791 The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'

Vārt —So also after the words, दूत and वणिक, as दूत्यम् ॥ According to Kāśikā we have वणिज्यम् ॥ Mādhava says "वणिज्या is inherently feminine The affix श्याणि is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action" In the Bṛāhmya this vārtika is not at all found The word वणिज्यम् is formed by V 1 124, S 1788 वणिक belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class

१७९२ । कपिज्ञात्योर्दक् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कपियम् । ज्ञातेयम् ॥

1792 The affix dhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jñāti

Thus कपेर्भाव कर्म वा = कपियम् ज्ञातेयम् ॥ The rule of यथासख्य (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply any where under this head

१७९३ । पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

सैनापत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽसे * ॥ राजशब्दोऽसमासे यक् लभते इत्यर्थ । राज्ञो भाव कर्म वा राज्यम् । समासे तु ब्राह्मणादित्वात् व्यञ्ज । अधिराज्यम् ॥

1793 The affix yak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c

Thus सैनापत भाव कर्म ज्ञा = सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजासे (असमासे, राजन् असे), 3 ग्रामिक (सग्रामिक) 4 पिण्डिक, 5 सुहिल *, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 दण्डिक, 10 वर्मिक (वर्मित), 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक *, 13 शिलिक (शीलिक), 14 सूतिक 15 मूलिक 16 तिलक (तिलिका), 17 अञ्जलिक, 18 अज्जलिक, (अज्जलिका), 19 ऋषिक, 20 पुषिक (पुषक), 21 अयिक*, 22 क्षात्रिक, 23 पर्विक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 चनिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (सारथिक), 28 आस्तिक*, 29 सूचिक, 30 सरक्ष*, 31 सूचक (सरक्षसूचक), 32 नास्तिक, 33 अजानिक, 34 शाकवर (राक्षवर), 35 नागर*, 36 चूडिक, 37 एषिक, 38 मिलिक, 39 स्तानिक, 40 चूडितिक, 41 कृषिक, 42 पूतिक, 43 पञ्चिक 44 सलनिक, 45 पञ्चिक, 46 अलिक, 47 चर्मिक, 48 सिधिविक, 49 प्रचिक, 50 प्रचिक, 51 परिशक, 52 पूजनिक, 53 सूचिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G Vārt —The word rājan gets yak augment, when not in a compound As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king royal" In the compound it will take श्याणि of the Brahmanādi class" As अधिराज्यम् ॥

१७६४ । प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । आश्वम् । औष्ट्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । औक्षाश्वम् । औन्नेश्वम् । सौष्टवम् । सौष्टवम् ॥

1794 The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after udgâtri &c

Thus आश्वस्य भाव कर्म वा = आश्वम्, औष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, औक्षाश्वम्, औन्नेश्वम् ॥ सौष्टवम्, सौष्टवम् ॥

1 उद्गात्र, 2 उन्नेत्र, 3 प्रतिहर्तृ 4 प्रशास्त्र, 5 होत्र, 6 पोत्र, 7 हर्तृ, (कर्तृ), 8 रथगणक 9 पत्तिगणक (पत्तिगणक पत्तिगणक), 10 सुष्टु, 11 दुष्टु, 12 अश्वर्तु, 13 वधू, 14 सुभग मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature subhaga takes अञ्, as महते सौभाग्य, sometimes there is no अञ् as सौभाग्य मन्त्रे दत्वाय ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

हैहायनम् । नैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्याविरम् । श्रीचित्रस्य यलोपञ्च * ॥ श्रीचम् । कुशलचपल निपुणपिशुनकुतूहलक्षेत्रज्ञा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पठ्यन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमित्यादि ॥

1795 The affix an comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in hâyana, and after yuvana &c

Thus द्विहायनस्य भाव कर्म वा = द्वैहायनम्, नैहायनम्, यौवनम्, स्याविरम् ॥

Gana Vârt — The अ of श्रीचित्र is elided, as श्रीचित्रस्य भाव कर्म वा = श्रीचम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्यविर, 3 होत्र, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष असमासे), 6 भ्रातृ (भ्रातृ), 7 कुतुक (कतक), 8 अमण (अमण), 9 कटुक, 10 कण्डुक, 11 कुक्षी, 12 सुक्षी, 13 दुक्षी, 14 सुहृदय, 15 दुहृदय, 16 सुहृद् 17 दुहृद् 18 सुभ्रातृ, 19 दुभ्रातृ, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 सप्तद्वारिन्, 23 अन्तश्च, 24 हन्यासे (हृदय असमासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुतूहल, 30 क्षेत्रज्ञ, 31 श्रीचित्रस्य यलोपञ्च, 32 यान्, 33 कृतक, 34 कुचुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36 मिथुन, 37 कुलली, 38 महस, 39 कितव, 40 पोत ॥

The word कुशल, चपल, निपुण, पिशुन, कुतूहल and क्षेत्रज्ञ belong both to the Yuvâdi and Brâhmanâdi class As कौशल्यम् or कौशलम् &c

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

शुचेर्भाव कर्म वा शौचम् । मौनम् । कथ काव्यम् । कविशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणादिस्वात्म्यम् ॥

1796 The affix an comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a stem ending in इक् (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or अङ् or ए), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light

Thus शुचेर्भाव कर्म वा = शौचम् मौनम् (मुनि), (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe कण्डुत्वम्, पण्डुत्वम्) ॥ Why काव्यम् from कवि? The word कवि takes अञ् as belonging to the Brâhmanâdi class V 124

१७९७ । योपधादुत्तमादुत्तमम् । ५ । १ । १३२ ॥

रामणीयकम् । आभिधानीयकम् ॥ सहायाद्वा * साहाय्यम् । साहायकम्

1797 The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is *य्*, and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy

Note —The word *उपोत्तम* means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more. That word whose penultimate syllable is *युह* 'heavy' is called *युहोत्तमम्*, the *योपधा* means 'having penultimate य्' ॥

Thus *रामणीयकम्* from *रमणीय*, *आभिधानीयकम्* ।

Note —Why do we say "the penultimate letter being *य्*" ? Observe *विमानस्त्र* *fion. विमान* ॥

Note —Why do say *युहोत्तम* "the penultimate syllable being heavy" ? Witness *क्षत्रियस्त्वम्* ॥

Vat —Optionally so after the word *सहाया*, as *साहायकम्* and *साहाय्यम्* ॥

Note —The words *उपोत्तम* and *उपधा* should be distinguished the first means *penultimate syllable* (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables).. and the second means *penultimate letter*

१७९८ । द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । १३३ ॥

द्वैव्योपाध्यायिका । मानोज्ञकम् ॥

1798 The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words *manojña* &c

Thus *गोपालपशुपालानां भावः कर्म वा* = *गोपालपशुपालिका* । *द्वैव्योपाध्यायिका*, *मानोज्ञकम्* ।

1 *मनोज्ञ*, 2 *मित्ररूप*, 3 *अभिरूप*, 4 *कल्याण*, 5 *मेधाविन्*, 6 *बाह्य*, 7 *कुलपुत्र*, 8 *छान्दस*, 9 *छान्द*, 10 *श्रीविद्य*, 11 *चोर*, 12 *धूर्त*, 13 *विश्वदेव* (*वैश्वदेव*), 14 *युवन्*, 15 *कुपुत्र* *, 16 *ग्रामपुत्र*, 17 *ग्रामकुलाल**, 18 *ग्रामखण्ड* (*ग्रामखण्ड*), 19 *ग्रामकुमार*, 20 *सुकुमार*, 21 *बहुल*, 22 *अवश्यपुत्र*, (*अवश्य*) 23 *असुख्यपुत्र*, 24 *असुख्यकुल*, 25 *सारपत्र* *, 26 *रातपुत्र*, 27 *कुशल*, 28 *अद्वैतपुरुष* ॥

१७९९ । गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतद्वेतेषु । ५ । १ । १३४ ॥

अत्याकारोऽधिलेप । *तद्वेतेस्ते* गोत्रचरणयोर्भावकर्मणीमात्र । *अवगतवान्वा* । *गार्गिकया* श्लाघते । *गार्ग्यत्वेन* विकस्यत इत्यर्थः । *गार्गिकयाऽ* स्यात्कुरुते । *गार्गिकामवेत* । *काठकेन* श्लाघते ॥

1799 The affix *vuñ* comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a family-name (*Gotra*), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof)

Note —The word श्लाघा means boasting, अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेत् means तद् प्राप्त 'who has gained that, or तद् ज्ञत् who inquires that' The word तत् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तद् वत् means "who has obtained that or who has known that"

To take first श्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाश्लाघते or काठिकयाश्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Katha" To take अत्याकार, as गार्गिकयात्याकुर्वते, काठिकयात्याकुर्वते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Katha" To take तद् वत् as गार्गिकमवेत् or काठिकमवेत् = प्राप्त or अवगतवान् ॥

Note —Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe गर्व्यत्वम्, कठत्वम् ॥ The य of गर्व्य is elided in the above examples by VI 4 148 & VI 4 151,

१८०० । होत्राभ्यश्छ । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राशब्दः कृत्विवाची स्त्रीलिङ्गः । बहुवचनविशेषग्रहणम् । अच्छावाकस्य भावः कर्म वा अच्छावाकीयम् । नैत्रावरुणायम् ॥

1800 The affix chha (ईय) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing Hotrî priests

The word hotrî is feminine and denotes a kind of priest होत्राभ्य is plural, to prevent the application of I 1 68 S 25, therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrî derived from हु + लृन् meaning a ritvij

Thus आच्छावाकीयम्, नैत्रावरुणीयम्, ब्राह्मणाच्छसीयम्, आग्नीध्रीयम्, प्रतिप्रस्थापीयम्, नेष्ट्रीयम्, पोषीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मणस्त्व । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्रावाचिनो ब्रह्मणस्त्वात् स्यात् । छस्यापवादः । ब्रह्मत्वम् । नेति वाच्ये स्ववचनं तलो वाधनोर्थम् । ब्राह्मणपर्यायायाद्ब्रह्मणश्चत् त्वतलौ । ब्रह्मत्वम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801 The affix tva (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word Brahman, denoting a kind of Hotrî priest

This debars छे ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणो भावः कर्म वा = ब्रह्मत्वम् ॥ This debars तत् ॥

When ब्रह्मण means a Brâhmana, by caste, we have ब्रह्मत्वम् or ब्रह्मता ॥

So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and छञ् (IV 1 87)

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE AFFIX मतुप् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवन्त्यस्मिन्निति भवनम् । धुनानां भवन क्षेत्रे नौक्षीनम् ॥

1802 The affix khañ comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of "a place of growing," when that place is a field

Note —The word धान्याना 'of grains', shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhānya (I 1 68 S 263) भवन means 'the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)' ॥

Thus धुनानां भवन क्षेत्र = नौक्षीनम्, कौद्रवीणम्, कौलथीनम् ॥

Note —Why do we say "of grains" ? There will be no affixing in a case like धुनानां भवन क्षेत्र ॥

Note —Why do we say "when it is a field" ? Observe धुनानां भवन कुर्यात् 'a granary where kidney-beans grow'

१८०३ । व्रीहिशाख्योर्दक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

त्रैहेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803 The affix dhak comes in the above sense of 'a place of growing, when it is a field', after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहिना भवन क्षेत्रे = त्रैहेयम्, शालेयम्, शालय 'a field fit for growing rice

१८०४ । यवयवकषाष्टिकाद्यत् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवन क्षेत्रे यव्यम् । यवक्यम् । षाष्टीक्यम् ॥

1804 The affix yat comes in the same sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', after the words yava, yavaka and śhashtika

This debars खञ् ॥ Thus यवानां भवन क्षेत्र = यव्यम्, यवक्यम्, षाष्टीक्यम् See VI 1 213 S 3701 for accent

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमभङ्गाण्यम् । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत्नं वा स्वात् । पक्षे खम् । तिल्यम् । तैलीनम् । माष्यम् । माषीणम् । उम्यम् । औमीनम् । भङ्ग्यम् । भङ्गीनम् । अण्यव्यम् । अणवीनम् ॥

1805 The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tila, māsa, umā, bhangā and anu

The affix khañ will come in the alternative Thus तिल्यम् or तैलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यम् or माषीणम् 'a field for growing beans', उम्यम् or औमीनम् 'a field of linseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अण्यव्यम् or अणवीनम् 'a field for small grain'

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मण कृतः खखञौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

असामर्थ्येऽपि निपातनात्समास । सर्वचर्मणा कृतं सर्वचर्मण । सर्वचर्मण ॥

1806 The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman

The word ख is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृत, and with चर्मम् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन there is no sāmānyā or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samāsa Sāmānyā is necessary for that purpose Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous Thus सर्वचर्मणकृत = सर्वचर्मण or सर्वचर्मणि "made wholly of leather"

१८०७ । यथामुखसमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिबिम्बम् । निपातनात्सादृश्येऽव्ययीभावः । सम सर्वं मुखं समुखम् । समश्चाद्वैतान्तलोपो निपात्यते । यथामुखं दर्शनी यथामुखीन । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनं समुखीन ॥

1807 The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathāmukha, and sanmukha being in the 6th case in construction

The word दर्शन means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayībhāva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II 1 0 S 652) Thus यथामुखं दर्शनं = यथामुखीन 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनं = समुखीन 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking glass सम means 'all', and in forming the compound the final अ of सम is elided.

१८०८ । तत्सर्वादे पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति । ५ । २ । ७ ॥

सर्वादे पथ्याङ्गान्ताद् द्वितीयान्तात्स्य स्यात् । सर्वपथ्यान् व्याप्नोतिसर्वपथीन । सर्वाङ्गीण , सर्वकर्मिण्य । सर्वपत्राणि । सर्वपात्राण्य ॥

1808 After the words pathi, anga, kairman, patra or pâtra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of "what pervades or fills the whole of that"

Thus सर्वपथ्यान् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोरथ , सर्वाङ्गीणस्ताप , सर्वकर्मिण्य पुरुष , सर्वपत्रीय स्त्रीरथि , सर्वपात्रीय ओदन ॥

१८०९ । आप्रपद प्राप्नोति । ५ । २ । ८ ॥

पादस्याप्यप्रपद तन्मर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम् । आप्रपदीन पद ॥

1809 The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word âpiapada, in the sense of "reaching thereto"

The word प्रपद means the 'top of the foot' आ means "upto" आप्रपद is an Avyayibhâva compound meaning 'to the top of the foot' Thus आप्रपद प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीन पद 'cloth reaching to the end of the feet', i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body

१८१० । अनुपदसर्वाङ्गानय बद्धाभक्ष्यतिनेयेषु । ५ । २ । ९ ॥

अनुपायानि सादृश्ये च । अनुपद बद्धा अनुपदीना रूपानत् । सर्वाङ्गानि भक्षयति सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षु । अयानय स्थलविशेष । त नेयोऽयानयनि शार ॥

1810 The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvânga, and ayânaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of 'so bound', 'eating that', and 'to carry thereto' respectively

Thus अनुपद बद्धा = अनुपदीना 'a kind of shoe', this word is always feminine The force of अनु here is that of 'length' or 'likeness' That is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot' So सर्वाङ्गानि भक्षयति = सर्वाङ्गीनो भिक्षु 'a mendicant who eats the whole food' So also अयानयनि शार 'a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayânaya' The word अयानय is compounded of two words अब, meaning 'going from right to left', and अनय 'from left to right', and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further and attack the other pieces

Note —According to some अयानयनि is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

of this affix The piece which is carried from one side to another, admits of this affix Others move only in one direction अथ ०१ अनय but not both Kaityata यस्तु शार एक पार्श्व एव सचरति तत्र न भवति प्रत्ययो यो हि शार पार्श्वान् पार्श्वान्तरमानीयते, स एव अयानय नीयत, अन्यास्तु मयमेव नीयते, अनयमेव नीयते वा ॥

१८११ । परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति । ५ । २ । १० ॥

पराश्चावराश्चानुभवतीति परोवरीण । अवरस्त्योस्त्व निपात्यते । पराश्च परतराश्चानुभवति परम्परीण । प्रकृते परम्परभावो निपात्यते । पुत्रपौत्रानुभवति पुत्रपौत्रीण । परम्पराशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्न शब्दान्तर स्त्रीलिङ्ग तस्मादेव स्वार्थे व्यञ्जिपारम्पर्यम् । कथं परोवर्यवदिति । असाधुरेवायम् । खप्रत्ययसन्निधौगेनेव परोवरेति निपातनात्

1811 The affix kha comes in the sense of “who witnesses or experiences that”, after the words parovara, parampara and putrapautia in the second case in construction

The word परोवर is compounded of पर and अवर the ओ in रो being irregular, the compounding being caused by the affix पराश्चावराश्च अनुभवति = परोवरीण ‘who lives to see high and low’ The word परम्पर is compounded of पर and परतर, the compounding being caused by the affix As पराश्च परतराश्चानुभवति = परम्परीण ॥ Similarly पुत्रपौत्रीण ॥

The word परम्परा is a separate word as well, not formed by or admitting this affix As मन्त्रिपरम्परा मन्त्र भिनत्ति ॥ This is a feminine word from this we get by śhyañ without change of meaning पारम्पर्यम् । How do you explain the form परोवर्यवत् ? It is certainly incorrect because the form परोपर is valid only before the affix ख and nowhere else

१८१२ । अवारपारात्यन्तानुकाम गामी । ५ । २ । ११ ॥

अवारपारगामी अवारपारीण । अवारीण । पारीण । पारावारीण । अत्यन्त गामी अत्यन्तीन । भृश गन्तेत्यर्थ । अनुकाम गामी अनुकामीन । यथेष्ट गन्तेत्यर्थ ॥

1812 The affix kha comes in the sense of ‘who purposes to go’, after the words avāpāra, atyanta, and anukâma, being in the accusative case in construction

The word गाम् means ‘गमिष्यति’, see III 3 3 S 3171 The genitive case is prohibited by II 3 70 the word गामी governing the accusative Thus अवारपारगामी = अवारपारीण ॥

So also when the words are reversed As पारावारीण ॥ So also when the words are taken separately, as अवारीण and पारीण ॥ So also अत्यन्त गामी = अत्यन्तीन = भृश गन्ता ॥ So also अनुकामान = यथेष्ट गन्ता ॥

१८१३ । समाप्तमां विजायते । ५ । २ । १२ ॥

यत्प्राप्तोऽवशिष्टविभक्तोरलुक च पूर्वपदनिपात्यत । समाप्तमां गौ । समाप्तमां सा द्वेव प्रतिर्वेष प्रसूयत ॥ खप्रत्ययानुत्पत्ता यत्प्रा वा वक्तव्य * ॥ समाप्तमा विजायत । समाप्ता समाप्ता वा ॥

1813 The affix *kha* comes after the word *samâmsa-mâm* in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'

The word विजायते means गर्भं धारयति 'who bears in the womb' This verb governs the accusative of time समासना by II 1 29 S 691 Thus समासना विजायते = समासमीना गौ, समासमीना वडवा ॥

According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young" i e विजायते = गर्भमोचन ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative समाया समाया विजायते = समासमीना, the *य्* of the first समाया being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आम) remains The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year" See Amarakosha II 9 72

Vārt —Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed As समा समा विजायते or समाया समाया विजायते ॥

१८१४ । अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य श्वो वा विजायते अद्यश्वीना वडवा । आसन्नप्रसवेत्यर्थः । केचित्तु विजायते इति नाशुवर्तयन्ति । अद्यश्वीन मरणम् । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814 The word *adyaśvīnā* is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery"

The word विजायते is understood here The word अवष्टब्ध means 'imminent, near' It is formed by अव + स्तब्ध + क्त, the being changed to व् by VIII, 3 68 S 2273 Thus अद्य वा श्वो वा विजायते = अद्यश्वीना वडवा "a mare likely give birth to day or to morrow"

Some do not read विजायते in to the sūtra, which then means "The word *adyaśvīnā* is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*" As अद्यश्वीन मरण imminent death

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आहपूर्वाज्ञौ कर्मकरे स्वप्रत्ययो निपात्यते । गो प्रत्यर्पणपर्यन्तं यं काम करोति स आगवीनः ॥

1815 The word *āgavīna* "a day-servant" is irregularly formed

This word is formed by adding ख to the word गो preceded by the preposition आ, as आगो + ख = आगवीनः ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant' A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i e a day-labourer

१८१६ । अनुग्वलगामी । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अनुगु । गो पश्चात्पर्याप्त गच्छति । अनुगवीनो गोपालः ॥

1816 The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'

Thus the word अनुगु means गो पश्चाद् ॥ Thus अनुगु पर्याप्त गच्छति = अनुगु-
वनि 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i.e. a cowherd

१८१७ । अध्वनो यत्खौ । ५ । २ । १६ ॥

अध्वानमल गच्छति अध्वन्य । अध्वनीन । ये चाभावकर्मणो । आत्माध्वनौ खे इति सूत्राभा-
प्रकृतिभाव ॥

1817 The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'

Thus अध्वानमलगामी = अध्वनीन or अध्वन्य 'able to undertake a journey'
By aphorisms VI 4 168, 169 S 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its
original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final अन्, which it
does before other affixes, by VI 4 144 S 679

१८१८ । अभ्यमित्राच्छ च । ५ । २ । १७ ॥

चाद्यत्खौ । अभ्यमित्राय । अभ्यमित्र्य । अभ्यमित्रिण । अभिजाभिमुख सुष्टु गच्छतीत्यर्थ ॥

1818 The affix Chha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'

The च draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus अभ्यमित्र अलगामी = अभ्यमित्राय, अभ्यमित्र्य
अभ्यमित्रिण 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = अभिजाभिमुख सुष्टु
गच्छति ॥

१८१९ । गोष्ठात्खज् भूतपूर्वे । ५ । २ । १८ ॥

गोष्ठो भूतपूर्व गोष्ठीनो देश ॥

1819 The affix khañ comes after the word goshtha in the sense of 'it formerly had been'.

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्थः i.e. a cow pen, it means the
place all around a cow pen. The word भूतपूर्व qualifies it. Thus गोष्ठो भूतपूर्व =
गोष्ठीनो देश 'a place which was formerly a Goshthā' Otherwise when not
meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२० । अश्वस्यैकाहगमः । ५ । २ । १९ ॥

एकाहेन गम्यते इत्येकाहगम । आश्वीनोऽध्व ॥

1820 The affix khañ comes after the word asva, in the genitive case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or travelled in one day'

The word अश्वस्थ being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix The एकाहगम means एकदिन गम्यते । e, what is or can be gone over in one day Thus अश्वस्थैकहागमोऽश्वा = आश्वीन ॥ आश्वीनानि दत्त पतिस्त्वा = यावन्ति योजनान्येकाहिनाश्वेन गम्यते तावता दत्त गत्वा ॥ सहस्राश्वीन वा इत स्वर्गो लोक ॥

१८२१ । शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययो । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालामवेशमर्हति शालीन अधृष्ट । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीन पापम् । तत्साधनत्वात्तद्व्योप्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषलिङ्गमपि । तत्सबन्धात्तदाच्छादनमपि ॥

1821 The word śālīna and kaupīna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively

The word अधृष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम् means 'unfit to be done' i e an infamous act The words come from शाला "a hall" and कूप 'a well' It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well' However some say शालामवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीन, कूपपतनमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीन, hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ, and the dress that conceals it As शालीनो अङ्ग, कौपीनं पापम् ॥

१८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन शरीरायासेन जीवति ननु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीन ॥

1822 The affix khañ comes after the word vrāta in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this"

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीनः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'

१८२३ । साप्तपदीनि सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभिः पदैस्वाप्यते साप्तपदीनम् ॥

1823 The word sāptapadīna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word साप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभिः पदैस्वाप्यते = साप्तपदीनम् "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words"

Note :—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable साप्तपदीन seems to have some connection

with that The word साप्रपदीन or न means 'a friend' also, the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well

१८२४ । हैयङ्गवीनिं सङ्गायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्योगोदोहस्य ह्यिङ्गुरादेश विकारार्थे खञ् च निपात्यते । दुह्यत इति दोह क्षीरम् । ह्योगोदोहस्य विकारो हैयङ्गवीनि नवनीतम् ॥

1824 The word "haiyangavîna" is anomalous when it is a Name

The word हैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter' The word comes from ह्य 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk' ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i e "fresh butter" The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means जलम् or 'milk'

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पीलवादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुण्जाहचौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीलना पाक पीलुकुण् । कर्णस्य मूल कर्णजाहम् ॥

1825 The affixes kunâp (कुण्) and jâhach (जाह्) come after the words pilu &c and karna &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive The affix कुण् comes after पीलवादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाह् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'

Thus पीलना पाक = पीलुकुण्, कर्कन्धुकुण्, so also कर्णस्य मूल = कर्णजाहम् ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 अक्षि, 3 नख, 4 मुख, 5 केश, 6 पाद, 7 गुल्फ, 8 भ्रू, 9 भ्रूज (भ्रूमज्ज' भ्रूमज्ज), 10 दन्त, 11 ओष्ठ, 12 पृष्ठ, 13 नख, 14 अङ्गुष्ठ ॥

1 पीलु, 2 कर्कन्धु (°न्धू), 3 शमी, 4 करीर, 5 कुवल्, 6 बर, 7 अश्वस्थ, 8 खरि ॥

१८२६ । पक्षान्ति । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

मूलमहणमात्रमनुवर्तते । पक्षस्य मूल पक्षति ॥

1826 The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'

Note —The word मूल of the last sūtra is drawn into this aphorism, and not the word पाक as well This is an exceptional case of अनुवृत्ति, generally the whole is drawn and not a portion Hence arises the following maxim क्वचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते "Sometimes it also happens that only a part of the words of a rule which are mutually connected is valid in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid"

Thus पक्षस्य मूल = पक्षाति । e प्रतिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'

१८२७ । तेन वित्तञ्चुञ्चुचणौ । ५ । २ । २६ ॥

यकार प्रत्ययबोराहो लुप्तनिर्विष्टेन चस्य नेस्तज्ञा । विद्यया वित्तो विद्याञ्चुञ्चु । विद्याचण ॥

1827 The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chanap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'

The word वित्त means known, illustrious Thus विद्यया वित्त = विद्याञ्चुञ्चु, विद्याचण, केशचण ॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I 3 7 S 189) because the affixes really are च्चुञ्चुप् and च्चणप् ॥ Thus च् is elided after words So च् is not the initial of an affix, and does not get इत् designation

१८२८ । विनञ्ज्यां नानाञौ न सह । ५ । २ । २७ ॥

असहार्थे पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्या स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ । विना । नाना ॥

1828 The affixes ना and नाञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without', नञ् + नाञ् = नाना 'several'

१८२९ । वे शालच्छङ्कटचौ । ५ । २ । २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनवाचकास्वार्थे । विस्तृतम् विशालम् । विशङ्कटम् ॥

1829 The affixes śālach (शालै) and śankatach (शङ्कटै) come after the preposition वि, without changing the sense

Thus विगत शृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशङ्कटम् ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशाल, विशङ्कट ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix

१८३० । सम्प्रोदञ्च कटच् । ५ । २ । २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । उक्कटम् । चाद्विकटम् ॥ अलावृत्तिजोनाभङ्गाभ्यो रजस्तुपसख्यानम् * ॥ अलावृत्ता रज अलावृकटम् ॥ गोष्ठजाव्य स्थानाविशु पशुनामभ्य * ॥ गवा स्थान गोशोष्ठम् ॥ सचाते कटच् * ॥ अर्थना सङ्घातोऽविकट ॥ विस्तारे पटच् * ॥ अविपद ॥ द्विस्वे गोशुगच् * ॥ द्वाड्विगोष्ठम् ॥ षडस्वे षड्गवच् * ॥ अश्वषडगवम् ॥ केहे तैलच् * ॥ तिलतैलम् । सर्षपतैलम् ॥ भवने क्षेपे शाकटशाकिनौ * ॥ इक्षुशाकटम् । इक्षुशाकिनम् ॥

1830 The affix katach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi)

The वि is read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus सङ्कटम्, प्रकटम्, उक्कटम्, विकटम् ॥

Vart —The affix कटच् comes after अलाडु, तिल, उमा, and भङ्गा in denoting dust thereof As अलाडूना रज = अलाडूकटम्, तिलकटम्, उमाकटम्, भङ्गाकटम् ॥&c

Vart —The affix गोष्ठच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places As गवा स्थान = गोगोष्ठ, &c

Vart —When a flock is denoted, the affix कटच् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vart —When spreading is denoted, the affix is पटच्, and अविपट ॥

Vart —When a couple is denoted, the affix is गोगुग्, as उष्ट्रगुग् ॥

Vart —When six is denoted, the affix is षड्गवच्, as अष्टषड्गवम् ॥

Vart —The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it As तिलतैलम्, सर्पतैलम् ॥

Vart —The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिन ॥

१८३१। अवात्कुटारश्च । ५ । २ । ३० ॥

चास्कटश्च । अवाचीनोऽयकुटार । अवकट ॥

1831 The affix कुटारच् as well as कटच् comes after the word अव ॥

As अवकुटार, अवकट 'downwards,' 'very deep'

१८३२। नते नासिकाया सञ्ज्ञायां टीटञ्जाटज्भूटच् । ५ । २ । ३१ ॥

अवादिषेव । नत नमनम् । नासिकाया नत अवदीटम् । अवनाटम् । अवभटम् । नद्योगान्नासिका अवदीटा । पुरुषोऽयवदीट ॥

1832 The affixes टीटच्, नाटच् and भूटच् come after the word अव, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name

Thus नासिकाया नतम् = अवदीटम्, or अवनाटम्, अवभटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवदीटा नासिका, अवदीट पुरुष ॥

१८३३। नेर्विडज्विरीसचौ । ५ । २ । ३२ ॥

निविडम् । निविरीसम् ॥

1833 The affixes विडच् and विरीसच् come after the word नि, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name

Thus निविडम् and निविरीसम् ॥

Note —How do you say निविडा केशा or निविड वस्त्रम् ? It is by analogy

१८३४। इनच् पिटश्चिक चि च । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

नरित्येव । नासिकाया नतेऽभिषेये इनच्पिटचौ प्रत्ययौ प्रकृतेश्चिक । च इत्यादशा च । कप्रत्यय-
चिकारेशोच वक्तव्यौ * । चिकिनम् । चिपिटम् । चिकम् ॥ क्लिप्तस्य चिल् पिल् लभास्य चक्षुषी * ।
क्लिप्ते चक्षुषी अस्य चिल्ल । पिल्ल ॥ चुल् च * ॥ चुल्ल

1834 The affixes इनच् and पिटच् come after the word नि in the above sense of a hooked nose, and चिक् and चि are the substitutes of नि before those affixes respectively.

Thus नि + इनच् = चिक् + इनच् = चिकिन, नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिट ॥

Vart — So also comes क, and चिक् replacing नि, as नि + क = चिक् + क = चिक ॥

Vart — The affix ल comes after the word क्लिन्न in the sense of 'its eyes', and चिल् and पिल् are substitutes of क्लिन्न as क्लिन्ने अस्य चक्षुषी = चिल्, पिल् 'blear-eyed'

Vart :—बुल is also the substitute As बुल ॥

Note — These words apply to the 'eye' also, as चिल्ले, पिल्ले बुले "sore-eyes" They apply to 'person' also

१८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

सजायामित्यनुवर्तते । पर्वतस्यासन्न स्थलमुपत्यका । भारूढ स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835 The affix tyakan (त्यक) comes after the words upa and adhi, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively, the words so formed being Names

Thus उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्नम् lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारूढम् a table land, high land

Note — The rule VII 3 44 S 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms उपत्यिका or अधित्यिका ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत इति घटः । पञ्चाद्याच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठ पुरुष ॥

1836 The affix athach (अठ) comes after the word karma, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it'

The word घट means zealous work It is formed from √घट् with the अच् of the Pachâdi Thus कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ पुरुष 'a clever, proficient person'

१८३७ । तदस्य सजात तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारका सजाता अस्य तारकित नभः । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1837 The affix itach (इत) comes after the words târakâ &c in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'

Thus तारका सजाता अस्य नभस = तारकित नभ 'a starry sky' i e a night in which stars are visible पुष्पितो वृक्ष 'a tree in which flowers have grown'

The तारकादि class is आकृतिगण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कणक, 4 मञ्जरी*, 5 मञ्जीष, 6 क्षण*, 7 क्षय (क्षयक), 8 मूष, 9 निष्क्रमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उच्चार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुङ्कुम, 15 कण्टक, 16 सुसल*, 17 सुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतूहल, 20 स्तम्भक, 21 किसलय, 22 पल्लव, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेग, 25 निद्रा, 26 सुप्ता, 27 बुभुक्षा, 28 धेनुत्या, 29 पिपासा, 30 मज्जा, 31 अभ्र, 32 पुलक, 33 अङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 द्रोह, 36 शोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठा (उत्कण्ठ), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्मेन्*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 शास्त्र, 46 तरंग, 47 तिलक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अन्धकार, 50 गर्व, 51 सुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रण*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्भ, 57 क्षुध (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त 59 क्वर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 तृष्*, 66 कौरक, 67 कल्लोल, 68 स्थपुट*, 69 फल, 70 कञ्जुक*, 71 शृङ्गार* 72 अङ्कुर, 73 शैवल*, 74 बकुल*, 75 श्वभ्र* 76 भाराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्म, 79 कन्वल, 80 मूर्छा*, 81 अङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिबिम्ब*, 84 विप्लवतन्त्र (वित्तज्ञ, तन्त्र)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 शिक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भादिप्राणिनि (गर्भिता शालय but गर्भिणी गौ), 89 तन्त्रा, 90 ज्वक 91 कर, 92 आन्वोल, 93 गोर, 94 राग ॥

१८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नमात्रच । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तदस्येत्यनुवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुद्वयम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे ल * ॥ शम । विष्टि । वितस्ति ॥ द्विगोनित्यम् * ॥ द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य द्विशमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणाभ्यां सख्यायाश्चापि सशये मात्रज्ज्वल्य * ॥ शमनात्रम् । प्रस्थमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । वस्वन्तात्स्वार्थे द्वयसज्मात्रचौ बहुलम् * ॥ तावद्वय तावद्वयसम् । तावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838 The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दघ्न) and mâtīach (मात्र), come in denoting “that whereof this is the lineal measure” after a word in first case in construction

The word तदस्य is understood here Thus ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य=ऊरुद्वयसम्, ऊरुद्वयम्, ऊरुमात्रम् ‘as high as the thigh’

Note —As ऊरुद्वयससुदकम् ‘water reaching upto the thigh’ According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths and not horizontal measures The affix मात्रच् comes in a general sense also As प्रस्थमात्रच् ‘a cubit long’

Vart —The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure Thus शम प्रमाणमस्य =शमः ‘that which is śama (a hand) in length’ Similarly विष्टि, वितस्ति ॥

Note —The affix mâtī only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words

Vart —The elision is invariable after a Dvigu As द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य =द्विशमम् ॥

Note —Why do we say “invariable”? The elision will take place even where there is doubt द्वे विष्टि स्याता वा न वा =द्विविष्टि ॥

Vart —The affix मात्रच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt As

चानामाचम् = शमः प्रमाणमस्य स्वात्म वा, प्रत्यमाचम्, पञ्चमाचम् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vārtika, where mātṛa is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word नित्य being used there

Vārt — The affixes द्वयसच् and माचच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वत्, as तावद्द्वयसम्, = तत् परिमाणमस्य धान्यादिस्तावत् तावन्माचम् &c

१८३६ । पुरुषद्वस्तिऽयामाच् च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयसम् । हास्तिनम् । हस्तिद्वयसम् ॥

1839 The affix an also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words puruṣa and haṣṭi, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाणं is understood here By च the affixes द्वयसच् &c are drawn in Thus पुरुष प्रमाणमस्य = पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयसम्, प्रत्यद्वयसम्, पुरुषमाचम्, हस्तिद्वयसम्, हस्तिद्वयम्, हस्तिमाचम्, हास्तिनम् ॥

Note — The affix is always elided after a Dvigu As द्विपुरुषपुरुषकम्, त्रिपुरुषम्, द्विहस्ति, त्रिहस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, द्विहस्तिनी, त्रिहस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेऽन्य. परिमाणे वतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840 The affix vatup (वत्) comes after the words yaḍ, taḍ, and etaḍ, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase तदस्य is understood here As यत् परिमाणमस्य = यावान् । This form is thus evolved, यत् + वतुप् = यावत् (the ti यत् being replaced by आ by VI 3 91) = यावान् (the वृत् being added by VII 1 70) = यावान् (the अ being lengthened by VI. 4 41), the vibhakti being elided by VI 1 68 S 252 and त् being elided by VIII 2 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदम्भ्यां वो घ. । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्या वतुप्स्याद्वत् च घः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम् + वतुप् = की + वतुप् (VI. 3 90) = क् + वतुप् (VI 4 148) = कियन् nom. कियान् Similarly इयम् nom, इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किम्. संख्यापरिमाणे ङति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

चाद्वतुप् । तस्य च वत्स घ त्यात् । का संख्या येषां ते ङति । कियन्तः ॥

1842 The affix dat₁ (अति with the elision of इम्) as well as the affix vatup comes after the word किम्, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'

The च introduces the affix वतुप् which is changed into वतुप् (इयत्) ॥ The word सख्यापरिमाणे means सख्याया परिमाणः । सख्यापरिमाणे making estimate by numbers As का सख्या परिमाण मेवा ब्राह्मणानां=कति ब्राह्मणा or कियन्तो ब्राह्मणा how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these This always comes in the plural

१८४३ । सख्याया अवयवे तयप् । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्य पञ्चतयस्य इति ॥

1843 The affix tayap (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many"

The word तदस्य is understood here. Thus पञ्च अवयवा अस्य = पञ्चतयम् having five parts The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा । ५ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844 The affix ayach (अयै) is optionally the substitute of tayap, after words dvi and tri

As द्वावयवावस्य = द्वयम्, or द्वितयम्, त्रयम् or त्रितयम् 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI 4 148)

१८४५ । उभादुदात्तो नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभशब्दात्तयोऽयच् स्यात् स चाद्युदात्तः । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word udha, ayach is always the substitute for tayap, having the acute (udâtta) accent on its first syllable

Note.—The affix अयैच् having indicator च takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI 1 163 S 3710) i.e. on अ, the special mention of udâtta in the sūtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i.e. the first syllable i.e. अ, for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word udâtta in the sūtra

If उभ is a Sankhyā word (I. 1 23 S 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken तयप्, the present sūtra ordains अयै instead as a substitute always If it is not a Sankhyā, then we should first ordain तयप् after it, by the process of splitting the sūtra V 2 42 into two, thus सख्याया तयप्, अवयवे तयप् and then replace तयप् by अयै ॥

Thus उभोऽपीतलोहितो अवयवो अस्य = उभय ॥ उभये देवनदुष्ठा, उभयो मयि ॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन्नाधिकमिति दशान्ताङ् । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रपरिवेष्टयेते * ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्या विशती ॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयस्य एवेष्टयेते * ॥ नेह । एकादश भाषा आधिक्ये, अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846 The affix da अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in daśan, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of " this is surplus in it ".

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शत = एकादश शत "hundred + eleven" So also, एकादश सहस्र ॥

Ishti — This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here — एकादशाधिक अस्या विशती ॥

Ishti — This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination As एकादश कार्षापणा अधिका अस्मिन् कार्षापण्य शते = एकादश कार्षापणशत ॥ But not here — एकादश भाषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note — The word इति in the sūtra is for clearness The rule applies to शतसहस्रं also, as एकादशं शतसहस्रं which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्रान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ।

१८४७ । शदन्तविशतेऽङ् । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

ङ स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । विशदधिका अस्मिन् विश शतम् । विशम् ॥

1847 The affix da comes in the sense of " this is surplus in it ", after a Numeral ending in शत and after विशति, with the elision of अन् and अति ॥

The Indicator ङ causes elision of the portion VI 4 142 S 844 Thus विशदधिका अस्मिन् शते = विश शत

Note — This rule applies to abstract Numerals Hence not here, गोविशदधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विशति, as विश शत ॥

१८४८ । सख्यायागुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये वर्तमानास्यमान्तासख्यावाचिनः षष्ठ्यर्थे मयट् स्यात् । यवानाहौ भागौ निमानमस्यौ दधिविभागस्य द्विमयमुदधिव्यवधानाम् । गुणस्येति किम् । द्वौ त्रीद्वयवौ निमानमस्यौदधितः । निमाने किम् । द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तेजस्य द्विगुण क्षीर पच्यते तेजनेन ॥

1848 The affix mayat् (मय with feminine in डीप्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of " containing so many times more of something " or " the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other ".

The word तदस्य from V 2 36 should be read in this The sense of the aphorism is " after a Numeral in the first case in construction (तद्), with the force of a genitive (अस्य), comes the affix मयद्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)" The word गुण means भाग or "portion", and निमान means 'price' In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price Thus यवाना द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदधिविभागस्य = द्विमयमुदधियवानाम् " two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udasvit " Similarly निमयद्, चतुर्नयद्, lit. "Udasvit is द्विमय or 'two times' the value of yava".

Note —The word गुणस्य is in the singular number The comparison must therefore, be made with *one* portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other The ratio must be $x:1$, but never $x:2$, or $x:3$ &c Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवाना यय उदधित् ॥ The x also must be more than one The rule therefore does not apply here एको भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction As द्वौ भागौ यवानामध्वर्ज उदधित् ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i. e. in denoting the thing received in exchange (निमेष) As उदधितो द्वौ भागौ निमेषमस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमया, as द्विमया यवा उदधित् = "उदधितो द्वौ गुणा निमेषौ येषामेकगुणाना यवाना" "the exchange value of Udasvita is twice as much as that of a Yava" The word निमान means the thing *given* in exchange, and निमेष the thing *received* in exchange Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ ग्रीहिबौ निमानमस्योदधित् ॥ Here being no comparison of ratios, there is no affixing

Why do we say निमाने "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य = द्विगुणं पच्यते तैलं क्षीरेण "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk" Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing

Note —In short मयद् has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विमय "two time", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निमेष, e. g. द्विमयमुदधित् यवाना "Udasvit is two times or two-fold or Yava in value", or द्विमया यवा उदधित् "two times Yava are equal to one Udasvit"

१८४९ । तस्य पूरणे ङङ् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एकादशाना पूरण एकावशा ॥

1849 The affix dat (अ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number"

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशाना पूरण = एकादश the "eleventh" (1 e the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven)

Note —By this affix, ordinals are formed The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this —एचाना घुष्टिकाना पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नान्तादसख्यादेर्मट् । ५ । २ । ४९ ॥

उटो मडागम स्यात् । पञ्चाना पूरण पञ्चम । नान्तात्किम् । विश । असख्योरे किम् । एकादश ॥

1850 The augment mat (म) comes before डट्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न् when no other Numeral precedes it

Thus पचमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five) Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशति पूरण = विंश 'twentieth' Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशाना पूरण = एकादश ॥

१८५१ । षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

एषा शुगागम स्याद्बुटि । षण्णा पूरण षष्ठ । कतिथ । कतिपयशब्दस्यासख्यत्वेऽप्यत एव ज्ञापकाद्बुट् । कतिपयथ । चतुर्थ ॥ चतुरद्वयतावाद्यक्षरलोपश्च * ॥ तुरीय । तुर्य ॥

1851 When dat follows, थुक् is the augment of the words shat, katī, katipaya and chatur

The डट् is to be read into this sūtra, and it should be changed into locative, as डटि 'when dat follows' The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डट् by force of this sūtra Thus षण्णा पूरणो = षष्ठ 'sixt', कतिथ the which in order'? कतिपयथ 'the one in order after several', चतुर्थ 'the fourth'

Vari —The affixes छ (ईय) and चत् come after चतुर् and there is elision of the first letter As तुरीय or तुर्यः ॥

Note —In this and the two following sūtras, the action of the ड् of डट् vanishes when an augment is added

१८५२ । बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

उटीत्येव । पूगसङ्घोसख्यत्वेऽप्यत एव डट् । बहुतिय । इत्यादि ॥

1852 When dat follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pūga, gaṇa, and sangha

The word डटि is understood here also The words पूग and सङ्घ are not Numerals, they take the affix डट् by virtue of this sūtra Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुतियः, पूगतिय, गणतिय, and सङ्घतिय &c

१८५३ । चतोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

उटीत्येव । चावतिय ॥

1853 When dat follows, इथुक् is the augment of a stem ending in vatu

The word इथि is understood here also The words ending in वतु are Numerals (I 1 23 S 258) and they will take इद् by V 2 48 , the present sūtra declares the augment Thus आत्तापूरणो = आवत्तिद्, ॥

१८५४ । द्वेस्तीय । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

इवेऽपवाद । द्वयो पूरणो द्वितीय ॥

1854 The affix तीय comes in the sense of 'completer thereof', after the word dvi

This debars इद् ॥ Thus द्वयो पूरणो = द्वितीय 'the second'—that which completes the two

१८५५ । त्रैः संप्रसारणं च । ६ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीय ॥

1855. The affix tīya comes in the sense of 'completer thereof,' after the word tri, and there is samprasāraṇa (vocalisation) of the stem

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is samprasāraṇa (I 1. 45) Thus वि + तीय = वृ + इ + तीय = तृतीय (VI 1. 108, the इ of वि assumes the form of the prior letter वृ which is substituted for इ)

Note — In तृतीय the वृ is not lengthened by VI 4 2 because that rule applies to the lengthening of the अण् letters only, this word being read into VI 4 2, by anuvṛitti from VI 3 111 S 174 The pratyāhara अण् is formed by the first ण and means the letters अ, इ and ऊ ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्याविंशस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो डटस्तमडागमो वा स्यात् । विंशतितम । विंश । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856 After the words viṁśati &c tamaṭ (तम with fem. in डीप्) is optionally the augment of dat.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of पूरण we must read the word इद् into this sūtra, as the affix to which the augment तमद् is added Thus विंशते पूरण = विंशतितम or विंश 'twentyeth' एकविंशतितम or एकविंश, त्रिविंशतितम or त्रिविंश त्रिशततमः or त्रिंश एकविंशततम or एकत्रिंश ॥

Note :—In the case of मद् and यद् there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augments Thus पचन् + मद् = पच्य + मद् (VI 4 144) = पच्यम ॥

१८५७ । नित्य शतादिमासार्धमासमवत्सरश्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

शतस्य पूरणं शतनम । एकशतनम । मासादिरत एव डट । मासनम ॥

1857 Always after the words śata &c, and after māsa, ardha-māsa and sam-vatsar, tamat is the augment of dat.

The words शतादय are numerals. The words मास &c are not numerals, they would not have taken ड् but by the implication of this sūtra. Thus शतस्य पूरणं शततम 'hundredth, सहस्रतम'. Similarly मासस्य पूरणं = मासतमोदिवत् the last day of the month, अर्द्धमासतम । सवत्सरतम ॥

Note —By the next sūtra the words शत &c, would have taken तमद्, but the scope of that sūtra is confined to numerals not preceded by another numeral. There is no such restriction here. Hence we have एकशततम । द्विशततम ॥

१८५८ । षष्ठ्यादेश्चाऽसख्यादे । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

षष्ठितम । सख्यादेस्तु विद्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव । एकषष्ठ । एकषष्ठितम ॥

1158 After the words shashhti &c when no other Numeral precedes them, tamat is always the augment of dat.

By sūtra V 2 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus षष्ठितम

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकषष्ठ एकषष्ठितम, एकसप्तम or एकसप्ततितम ॥ Here V, 2 56 S 18,6 applies also

१८५९ । मतौ छ सूक्तसाम्नो । ५ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्वर्थे छ स्यात् । अच्छावाकशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति अच्छावाकीय सूक्तम् । वारवन्तीय साम ॥

1859 When a Sūkta or a Sāman is to be expressed, the affix Chha (छ) comes after a prātipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V 2 94)

The word मतौ means 'in the sense of मतुप् affix'. The sense of मतुप् is "whose is it or in whom it is" / Thus अच्छावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अच्छावाकीयम् सूक्तम् । निवावरणीयम् साम, वारवन्तीयम् साम ॥

Note —The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अस्त्ववामीय 'the Sūkta containing the words अस्त्व वाम' e g Rig Veda Maṇḍala 1 sūkta 164. Here the words अस्त्व वामस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem. So also कथाशुभीयम् ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्वर्थस्य छस्य । भत एव ज्ञापकात्तत्र छ । विधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक् । गर्दभाण्ड । गर्दभाण्डीय ॥

1860 When an Adhyāya or an Anuvāka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-elision of the affix Chha having the above sense of matup

This sūtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापक), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyāya or an Anuvākā. According to Pātaṅjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix. According to Kaiyāyata, as this sūtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional. Thus गर्हभाण्ड शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गर्हभाण्डोऽध्यायः, अनुवाको वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्हभाण्डीय ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयो । विमुक्त शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्त । देवासुर ॥

1861 The affix an comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvākā is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c

Thus विमुक्ताशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also देवासुर &c
1 विमुक्त 2 देवासुर, 3 रत्नोऽसुर, 4 उवसद् 5 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण), 6 परिसारक (परिषारक) 7 सवसत्, 8 वसु 9 मरुत् मरुत्वन् 10 पत्नीवत् 11 वधुमत्, 12 महीयन्, (महीयल), 13 सम्बन्, 14 गर्हवत्* 15 वृषार्ण, 16 वृषार्ह, 17 वयस्, (वृषार्हवयस्), 18 हविर्धान, 19 पताबिन् (पताबि), 20 महिषी 21 अस्वहन्, 22 सोमापूषन्, 23 इडा, 24 अन्नाविष्णु (विष्णु), 25 उर्वशी, 26 वृषहन् (वृषहन्ति), 27 मिषी, 28 सोम 29 हेतु, ॥

१८६२ । गोषदादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयो । गोषदक । इषेत्त्वक ॥

1862, After the nominal stems goshada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyāya or an Anuvākā is to be expressed

Thus गोषदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोषदकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इषेत्त्वक, मातरिश्वका &c
Another reading is गोषद the final consonant being mrite

1 गोषद्, (गोषद), 2 इषेत्त्वा (त्वा), 3 मातरिश्वन्, 4 देवस्वत्त्वा, 5 देवीराप, 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, खरेष्ठ, 7 देवी (देवी) धिय धिया (धियन्), 8 रत्नोद्गण, 9 शुम्भजान, 10 अम्भजन, 11 प्रभूत, 12 प्रतुल, 13 कृत्वात्, (वृत्तान), 14 सहस्रवर्षी, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृष्णाश्च, 17 स्वाहाभाय, 18 प्रसन्न, ('), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशलं पथः । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

तत्र स्यात् । पथि कुशलं पथक ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in construction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein"

Thus पथि कुशलं = पथक, (पथिन् + वुन् = पथ् + वुन् VI 4 144 = पथ् + अक VII 1 1)

१८६४ । आकर्षादिभ्य कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षक । आकर्षादिभ्य इति रेफरहितो ह्रस्व पाठ । आकर्षो निकषोपल ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems ākarsha &c, being in the seventh case in construction

Thus आकर्षेकुशल = आकर्षक, स्तरक । The best texts have आकष (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकष), 2 स्तर, 3 पिशाच (पिपासा) 4 पिचण्ड, 5 अशानि, 6 अशमन्, 7 निष्य (विष्य), 8 चय 9 विजय, 10 जय, 11 आश्वय, 12 नय 13 पाह (निपाह), 14 शीघ्र, 15 हव, 16 झाव, 17 हज्वाह, 18 गह्वह, 19 शकुनि, 20 अय, ॥

१८६५ । धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देवदत्तस्य । हिरण्यक ॥

1865 The affix kau comes, after the words dhana and huanya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter'

The word काम means 'desire, wish' Thus धने कामः = धनको देवदत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यको ॥

१८६६ । खाङ्गेभ्य प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केशेषु प्रसित केशक । तद्वचनाया तत्पर इत्यर्थ ॥

1866 The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words तत्र and कन् are understood in this sūtra. The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon craving after' Thus केशेषु प्रसितः = केशक । e. केशादिरचनाया प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note,—The स्वाङ्गेभ्य is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svānga terms. Thus दन्तौष्ठक, केशनक्षक ॥ See II 3 44

१८६७ । उदरादृगाभूने । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अविजिगीषौ ढक् स्याद् । कनोऽपवाद । ब्रुक्षुचालन्तपीडित उदरे प्रसित औदरिक । आभूने क्रिप् । उदरक । उदरपरिमार्जनादौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थ ॥

1867 The affix than (इक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara

This debarb the affix कन् ॥

Adyūna = not desiring to conquer, उत्कर्षेच्छारहित see VIII 2, 49 S 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div

Note —The translation given above is according to Dr Bohtlingk According to the Kāsikā, the ānuvṛtti of प्रसित is also read into the śāstra The meaning then would be 'that comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called, उदरवि-जिगीषुर्भण्यत । Thus उदरे प्रसित = भौशरिक (i e आथून)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious,' Observe उदरक 'abdominal'

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजात । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन स्वयंते नतु ठक् । सस्यशब्दो गुणवाची नतु धान्यवाची । सस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन गुणेन परिजात सवन्न सस्यक साधु ॥

1868 The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya being in the third case in construction, when the sense is "to supply richly with it".

The ānuvṛtti of कन्, not of ठक्, is to be read here The word सस्य means 'good quality' and not 'corn', Another reading is शस्य The word परि means 'all, every where' That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities (सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here Thus सस्येन परिजात = सस्यक शालि 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यक साधु 'a good man, not equalled by any'

१८६९ । अंश हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

हारीत्यावद्रयके णिनि । अत एव तद्योगे षष्ठी न । अशको शयाद ॥

1869 The affix kan comes after the word anśa 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being 'who must take that'

The word अश is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative The word हारिन्, nom हारी is formed by adding णिनि to the root ह, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity" See III 3 170 S 3311 The word हारिन् will govern accusative and not genitive (II 3 70 S 628)

Thus अश हारी = अशक 'an heir', i e who is entitled to take a share at partition i e शयाद । अशक पुत्र ॥

१८७० । तन्नादचिरापहते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रक पट । प्रत्यय इत्यर्थ ॥

1870 The affix Kan comes after the word tantia 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of "taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before"

The word तन्त्र must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sūtra. The word अश्विर means 'short time, not long' अपहृत means "taken off". Thus तन्त्राश्विरापहृत = तन्त्रकः 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off' i.e. an unbleached cloth. As तन्त्रक पट, तन्त्रक पावार 'a new mantle' = मलय or नव, ॥

१८७१। ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके सहायाम् । ५। २। ७१ ॥

आशुभजीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणक । अल्पमत्र यस्या सा उष्णिका यवागू । अन्नशब्दस्य उष्णोद्देशो निपात्यते ॥

1871 The words Brāhmanaka and ushnika are anomalous, when they are Names

Thus ब्राह्मणको देश, उष्णिका यवागू ॥ The affix कन् is added to ब्राह्मण, with the force of 'a place where Brāhmanas who live by the profession of arms dwell'. Similarly उष्णिक means अल्पात्रा ॥ The word अन्न is replaced by उष्ण by virtue of this sūtra

१८७२। शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५। २। ७२ ॥

शीत करोतीति शीतकोऽलस । उष्ण करोतीति उष्णक शीघ्रकारी ॥

1872. The affix kan comes after the words śīta and ushna, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'

The words शीत and उष्ण being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction. As शीत करोति 'who goes to work coldly' i.e. a lazy man = शीतक = अलस, जड ॥ Similarly उष्णक = शीघ्रकारी, दृष्ट 'who goes to work hotly'

१८७३। अधिकम् । ५। २। ७३ ॥

अध्यारुढशब्दास्कन् उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥

1873. The word adhika is anomalous

The word अधिक meaning 'more', is formed by adding कन् to the word अध्यारुढ, there being elision of the second term before the affix. Thus अधिको द्रोण खार्यान् or अधिको द्रोण खार्या, "a Drona is superior to Khârî" अधिका खारि द्रोणेन "a Khârî is inferior to Drona", The word अध्यारुढ governs nominative or accusative indifferently

Note — Thus अध्यारुढी द्रोण खारि ॥ Similarly अधिक would have governed the accusative also. But Pāṇini uses the ablative and locative after adhika, as in II 3 9 S 645 and V 2 45 S 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative. This is the case when adhyāruhda is an active participle. But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III 4 72 S 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction. In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative

१८७४। अनुकाभिकाभीक कृमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अन्वभिभ्या कन् । अभे पाक्षिको दीर्घश्च । अनुकामयते अनुक । अभिकामयते अभिकः । अभीक ॥

1874 The words anuka, abhika and abhika are anomalously formed by adding कन् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुक 'desirous, libidinous' अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीक 'a lover, voluptuous person' These are formed by adding कन् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened

१८७५। पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनुब्रूपाय पार्श्वं तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वक ॥

1875 The affix kan comes after the word pārśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that"

The word पार्श्वम् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient' One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वक 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan' पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing, as पार्श्वक = मायाविन्, कौसृतिक, जालिक &c

१८७६। अय शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

सीद्वेन उपायोऽय शूलं तेनान्विच्छति आय शूलिक । साहसिक । दण्डाजिन इम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति दण्डाजिनिक ॥

1876 The affixes thak and thañ come respectively after ayaḥśūla and dandājina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word अन्विच्छति is understood here also The word अय शूलश्च means 'a violent proceeding' Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called आय शूलिक = साहसिक ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (danda) and hide (ajina)' i.e. outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दण्डाजिनिक = दाम्भिक ॥

१८७७। तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कन् स्यात्पूर्णप्रत्ययस्य च लुग्वा । द्वितीयक द्विक वा ग्रहण द्वेदन्तस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रहणमित्यर्थः । तावतिथेन गृह्णातीति कन्वक्तव्योऽन्त्यं च लुक् * ॥ षष्ठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति षट्को द्वेदन्तः । पञ्चक ॥

1877 The affix kan is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts",

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number

The word तावतिथ (V 2 53 5 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i e ordinals. The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby'. This qualifies the base. Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = द्विकं ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i e "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Vart —When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the *person* who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional. Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = षडको देवदत्त 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i e 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt'. Similarly पञ्चकं, चतुष्कं ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else

१८७८ । स एषां ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुख्यो येषां ते देवदत्तका । स्वस्क । मस्क ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader"

The word ग्रामणी means 'head man, leader, spokes-man'. Thus देवदत्तो मुख्योऽस्य = देवदत्तकः, ॥ So also स्वस्कः and मस्कः ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning a leader'? Witness देवदत्तं गानुरेषाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करमे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलकं करम् ॥

1879 The affix kan comes after the word *śṛṅkhala* a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel

Thus शृङ्खल बन्धनमस्य करमस्य = शृङ्खलकं ॥

Note —The young ones of a camel are called करम् ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृङ्खल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet *śṛṅkhala* being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter

१८८० । उत्क उन्मनाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उद्गतमनस्कवृत्तेरुच्छब्दात्स्वार्थे कम् । उत्क उत्काण्डित ॥

1880 The word *utka* is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called उ०मन ॥ The word उत्क is formed by adding कन् to the preposition उद् without changing the sense, in the sentence उद्गतमनस्कवृत्ति ॥ Thus उत्को देववत् उत्क प्रवासो=उत्सुक or उत्कण्ठित ॥

१८८१। कालप्रयोजनाद्गो०। ५। २। ८१ ॥

कालवचनात्प्रयोजनवचनाच्च कन् स्याद्गो०। द्वितीयेऽहिभव भवो द्वितीयको डवरः। प्रयोजन कारण रोगस्य फल वा। विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पक। उष्ण कार्यमस्य उष्णक। रोगे किम्। द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

1881 The affix *kan* comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted

The word *काल* means 'days' &c, and *प्रयोजन* means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect' Thus द्वितीयेऽहिभव = द्वितीयको डवर 'the fever which comes on the second day' Similarly after a word denoting *प्रयोजन*, as, विषपुष्पैर्जनित = विषपुष्पको डवर 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers' So also काशपुष्पक ॥ So also उष्ण कार्यमस्य = उष्णक 'a fever producing heat' Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

Note—The word *सज्ञा* is to be read in to this sūtra from the next sūtra Therefore words द्वितीयक &c are Names

१८८२। तदस्मिन्नन्न प्राये सज्ञायाम्। ५। २। ८२ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्सप्तम्यर्थे कन् स्यात् यत्प्रथमान्तमन्न चत्प्रायविषय तत्। शुद्धापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या शुद्धापूपिका पौर्णमासी ॥ वदकेभ्य इतिर्वाच्य * ॥ वदकिनी ॥

1882 The affix *kan* is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name

Thus शुद्धापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या पौर्णमास्या = शुद्धापूपिका पौर्णमासी "The Gūḍāpūpikā—Purnamāsi", i. e. that particular Full Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food

Part—The affix *हि* comes after वदक in the same sense As वदकिनी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८३। कुल्माषादञ्। ५। २। ८३ ॥

कुल्माषा प्रायेणान्नमस्या कौल्माषी ॥

1883 The affix *añ* comes after *kulmâsha*, in the same sense “this is the principal food on this particular occasion”—and the whole word is a Name

The *ञ्* of *अञ्* is for the sake of causing *Viddhi* and accent Thus *कुल्माषा प्रायेणात्रमस्या=कौल्माषी पौर्णमासी ॥*

१८८४ । ओत्रियइछन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

ओत्रिय । वयसुवृत्तेश्छान्दस ॥

1884 The word *śotriyan* is irregularly formed meaning ‘who has studied the *Chhandas*’

Note —The *न्* in *ओत्रियन्* is for the sake of accent As *ओत्रियो ब्राह्मण* “a *Brāhmana* learned in the *Vedas*” The word *ओत्रिय* is either a condensed expression for the full sentence *छन्दोऽधीते*, referring to no particular base or affix Or the word *छन्दस्* is replaced by *ओत्र*, and then is added the affix *घन्* ॥ But how do you form then *छान्दस*, in the sense of *छन्दोऽधीते*, by adding the affix *अण्* by IV 2 59 S 1269 ? The present *sūtra* is optional, the word *वा* of V 2 77 S 1977 being understood here so that we have the form *छान्दस* also Some say that *ओत्रिय* applies only to that person who has not only studied the *Vedas*, but who acts upon its purport also, while *छान्दस* applies to a student in general, so one *sūtra* does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects

१८८५ । आहमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

आह्री । आह्रिक ॥

1885 The affixes *ini* (*इन्*) and *than* come after the word *śiâddha*, in the sense of “this is eaten by him”

Thus *आह भुक्तमनेन=आह्री* or *आह्रिक* “a person who has eaten obsequial food”

Note —This relates to a person who eats on the day the *Śiâddha* ceremony takes place, and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of *śiâddha* *अह भुक्ते आह्रे श्व आह्रिक इति मायन् ॥* The word *आह* originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word *अह* with the affix *ण* V 2 101 In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony

१८८६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्व कृतमनेन पूर्वा ॥

1886 The affix *ini* (*इन्*) comes after *pûiva*, in the sense of ‘by whom something was done formerly’

The word *अनेन* of the last *sūtra* is understood here But what is the verb of which *अनेन* is the agent The *भुक्त* of the last *sūtra* is not to be read

into this sūtra Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c, to complete the sense Thus पूर्व गतमनेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्वम् means "by whom some thing was done &c, formerly "

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887 The affix ini comes after the word pūrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done '

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटम् = पूर्व कृतमनेन 'who formerly made' शुक्तपूर्वी ओदनम् ॥

Note —In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II 1 4, and then the affix is added These two sūtras V 2 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims ग्रहनवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prātipadika or *Nominal stem, does, (contrary to I 1 72 S 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself" व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad bhāva does not apply to a prātipadika" That rule is embodied in the following paribhāṣā—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अधीती ॥

1888 The affix ini comes after ishta &c. in the sense of 'by him '

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी यज्ञे, पूर्त्तिश्चाग्ने &c "who sacrificed", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, पूर्त्तिन् &c formed by इन् will govern locative instead of accusative See vārtika under II 3 36 So also अधीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्त्ति, 3 उपासादित (उपसादित), 4 निद्रादित, 5 परिगदित *, 6 परिवादित, 7 निकथित, 8 निषादित *, 9 निपठित, 10 सकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 संरक्षित, 13 परिशक्षित, 14 आर्षित, 15 गथित*, 16 अवकीर्ण, 17 आयुक्त, 18 गृहीत, 19 आमात 20 श्रुत (आमातश्रुत,) 21 अधीत, 22 अवधान (*), 23 आसेवित, 24 अवधारित, 25 अवकल्पित, 26 निराकृत, 27 उपकृत, 28 उपाकृत, 29 अनुयुक्त, 30 अनुगणित, 31 अनुपठित, 32 व्याकृत, 33 परिकथित, 34 संकल्पित, 35 विकलित, 36 निपतित, 37 पठित, 38 पूजित, 39 परिगणित, 40 उपगणित, 41 परित, (?), 42 अपवारित, 43 उपनत, 44 निगृहीत, 45 अपथित ॥

१८८९ । छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

लोके तु परिपन्थिशब्दो न न्याय्य ॥

1889 In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'

Note —The word पर्यवस्थातृ means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus मा त्वा परिपरिणो विद्म मा त्वा परिपन्थिनो विद्म (Yaj Ved IV 34) These words are obsolete in the classical literature See however Gita III 34

१८६० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890 The word anupadin, formed anomalously by in1, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'

Thus अनुपदी गवाम् 'going after or searching the cows'

१८६१ । साक्षाद्द्रष्टारिसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

साक्षाद्द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891 The affix in1 comes after the word sākshāt in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word साक्षात् is an Indeclinable The word सज्ञा is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word Thus साक्षाद् द्रष्टा = साक्षी, 'an eye witness'

Note —In any transaction like loan, &c three persons directly see the fact and may be called द्रष्टा viz who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on By using the word सज्ञा the word साक्षिन् is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower

१८६२ । क्षेत्रीयच परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्य । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधि । शरीरान्तरे चिकित्स्य । अप्रतिकायं इत्यर्थः ॥

1892 The word kshetrayach (क्षेत्रीयं) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i e "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of para kshetre-chikitsya, or the word क्षेत्रीय, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix चच् to the word परक्षेत्र, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word पर is elided before this affix Thus क्षेत्रियो व्याधि 'incurable disease', i e—organic disease The word परक्षेत्र means body assumed in the next reincarnation The word क्षेत्रीय applies to an irremediable disease

Note :—The word क्षेत्रीय means 'poison' also = यत् परक्षेत्रे परशरीरसक्रम्य चिकित्स्यते ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered' Or क्षेत्रीय means 'rank growth or grass', i e यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि "that like grass &c which grows in a para kshetra or another's field i e a field set apart for grain &c and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (chukitsya)" Or क्षेत्रिय 'is an 'adulterer', १ e पराया. परक्षेप, तत्र चिकित्स्य निगहीत
व्य ॥ These are all secondary meanings

१८९३। इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा । ५ ।

। २ । ६३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्ग करणेन कर्तुंशुनानात् । इति शब्द प्रकारार्थ । इन्द्रेण दुर्जयमिन्द्रियम् ॥

1893 The word Indriyam, (having udātta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense, and so called, either because it is " the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred ", or ' it is seen by Indra ', or ' it is created by Indra ', or ' it is wished for by Indra ', or ' it is given by Indra

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix घञ् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either ' a mark thereof ' As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम् = इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c So that these organs are the ' marks ' or signs or linga of Indra because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent

Note —Or the senses (indriyas) are so called because they are ' seen or known by Indra or Âtmā ' (इन्द्रेण दृष्ट = ज्ञात) The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Śruti of the Âtareya Upanishad Chapter III verse 13, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it स एतमेव पुरुषं ब्रह्म सतममपश्यदिदमदर्शयिषी, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—' I have seen this ' Or they are so called because they are created by Indra or Âtmā (इन्द्रेण सृष्ट) १ e the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self Or they are so called because they are ' wished for ' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्ट सेवित) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge Or they are so called because they are ' given by ' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्त) १ e they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e g the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on The word वा ' or ' joins every one of the above

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम् = इन्द्रियम् ' senses '—difficult to be subdued by the Soul

१८९४। तदस्यास्त्यास्मिन्निति मनुप् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

गात्रोऽस्यास्मिन्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भूमनिन्दापशसासु नित्ययोगेऽतिशायने । सवन्धेऽस्तिविव-
क्षाया भवन्ति मनुवादयः ॥

1894 The affix matup (मत् मन्त् f ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

Thus गावोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमत् nom गोमान् ' having cows ', as क्षीमान् देववत् ॥ वृक्षोऽस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षवत् (व being substituted for म् by VIII 2 9) as वृक्षवान् पर्वत ॥ Similarly अवमान्, वृक्षवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मनुप् and cognate affixes are restricted in their application For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called अववान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् ' having many cows ' (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुदावर्त्ती, सखादकी, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्ष ॥ When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as इक्षुरिणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (ससर्ग) is meant, as वण्डी, कुत्री ॥ (7) When the sense of अस्ति ' to be ' is denoted, as अस्तिमान् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

मत्तुप्, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यमत्वर्थानि वृत्त्यर्थं वचनम् । रस, रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, शब्द, ज्ञेय भाव, गुणान् । एकाच ॥ स्ववान् । गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895 The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of ' whose it is ', or ' in whom it is '.

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sūtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मत्तुप् by the last sūtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मत्तुप् ॥

Note —How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारक ॥ These are rare forms According to Pāṇjali this sūtra is useless Or the words रस &c, must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i e रस should mean taste, रूप form Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिक are valid, meaning सोभावोग्यता ॥ So also रसिको तट = भावयोग, here रूप and रस do not mean ' form ' and ' taste ' And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sūtra, and form their derivative in मत्तुप् ॥ See V 2 115

1 रस, 2 रूप, 3 वर्ण *, 4 गन्ध, 5 स्पर्श, 6 शब्द, 7 ज्ञेय, 8 भाव *, 9 गुणान् (गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम्), 10 एकाच (स्ववान्) ॥

Gana Sātra —The affix मत्तुप् comes after रस &c, when they denote quality

Gana Sātra —So also after words of one syllable As स्ववान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तान्तान्तौ भसज्ञौ स्तो मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । वसो सप्रसारणम् । विदुष्मात् ॥
 गुणवचनेभ्यो मतुपो लुगिष्ट * ॥ शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्ल पद । कृष्ण ॥

1896. The word-form ending in **त्** 01 in **स्** is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup (‘whose is it,’ ‘or in whom it is’ V 2 94) follows

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra Thus is the word विदुष्मात् (VI 4. 131 S 435) By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred¹

Vart —The affix मतुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्ल पद ॥ कृष्ण, श्वेत &c

१८६७ । मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽथवादिभ्यः । ८ । २ । ६ ॥

मवर्णावर्णान्तान्मवर्णवर्णोपधायाश्च यवादिर्वर्जितास्परस्य मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । किंवात् । ज्ञानवात् । विद्यावात् । लक्ष्मीवात् । यशस्वात् । भास्वात् । यवादेस्तु यवमात् । भूमिमात् ॥

1897 For the **म्** of the affix मतु is substituted **व्**, if the stem ends in **म्** or **अ** (and **आ**) 01 if these are in the penultimate position, but not after यव and the rest

After a stem ending in **म्** or having **व्** as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted **व्** for the **म्** of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in **म्**, as किंवत् (किंवात्) Secondly **म्** penultimate as लक्ष्मीवात् । Thirdly a stem ending in **अ** or **आ**, as ज्ञानवात्, विद्यावात् ॥ Fourthly **अ** or **आ** in the penultimate as यशस्वात्, भास्वात् ॥

Why do we say “with the exception of यव &c”? Observe यवमात्, भूमिमात् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words .

1 यव, 2 दाल्मि, 3 ऊर्मि, 4 भूमि, 5 कृमि, 6 कुङ्कुमा, 7 वशा, 8 कृत्ता, 9 भात्ता ॥

These words either end in **म** and **अ** or have these as their penultimate 10 भ्रजि, 11 भ्रजि, 12 सज्जि, These are exceptions to VIII 2 15 S 3600) 13 हरित्, 14 ककुत्, 15 गरत्, ॥ These are exceptions to VIII 2 10 16 इक्षु, 17 मधु 18 हुन, 19 मण्ड, 20 धुन ॥ These are exceptions to VIII 2 11

This is an ākritigana Wherever in a word, the **म्** of मतुप् is not changed to **व्** though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class In the secondary word नार्मत् (= नृमत् इव), the **व्** change has not taken place, because the **अ** is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being **ऋ** ॥

The word मात् in the sūtra is the Ablative of **म**, i. e. of **म्**, + **अ**, it is a Samāhāra D ३ ndva of these two letters,

१८६८ । अय ॥ ८ । २ । १० ॥

स्यन्तान्तोर्मस्य व स्यात् । अपदान्तत्वात्तदशत्वम् । विद्युत्त्वान् ॥

1898 The व् is substituted for the म् of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant

As विद्युत्त्वान् ॥

१८६९ । संज्ञायाम् ॥ ८ । २ । ११ ॥

मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । अहीवती । सुनीवती । शरदीना चेति शीर्ष ॥

1899 The व् is substituted for म् of मत् when the word so formed is a Name

As अहीवती, सुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI 3 120 S 1042

१९०० । आसन्दीवदष्टीवचक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वश्चर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२ ॥

एते षट् संज्ञाया निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभाव । आसन्दीवान् ग्राम । अन्यत्रासन्दीवान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्टीभाव । अष्टीवान् नाम ऋषि । अस्थिमानन्यत्र । चक्रशब्दस्य चक्रीभाव । चक्रीवान् नाम राजा । चक्रवानन्यत्र । कक्ष्याया समसारणम् । कक्षीवान् नाम ऋषि । कक्ष्यावानन्यत्र । जवणशब्दस्य रुमण्भाव । रुमण्वान् नाम पर्वत । जवणवानन्यत्र । चर्मणो नलोपाभावो यात्वं च । चर्मण्वती नाम नदी । चर्मवत्यन्यत्र ॥

1900 The following six Names are irregularly formed — āsandīvat, ashthīvat, chakīvat, kakshīvat, rūmanvat charmanvatī

The change of म् to व् in these was obtained from the last sūtra The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी-॥ As आसन्दीवान् ग्राम, अस्थित्वम् ॥ When not a name we have आसनवान् ॥

2 अष्टीवत् is from अस्थि which is changed to अष्टी ॥ As अष्टीवान् the name of a particular Rishi. Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3 चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् । 4 कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI 4 2 S 2559 कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5 रुमण्वत् is the name of a mountain, it is formed from जवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have जवणवान् 6 चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ The Charmanvatī is the name of a river. Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

१९०१ । उदन्वानुदधौ च । ८ । २ । १३ ॥

उदकस्य उदन्भावो मतौ उदधौ संज्ञाया च । उदन्वान् सङ्ग्रह ऋषिश्च ॥

1901. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed in the sense of "a sea" or a "name."

It is derived from उक्क 'water' with the affix मत् ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command It also means Ocean or that in which water is held, like, तटाक &c

१९०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ८ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भू । राजवानन्यथ ॥

1902 Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देश, राजन्वती भू ॥ The affix मत् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१९०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लज्जन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

चूडाल । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । शिखावन्दीप । भात किम् । हस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, नेह । मेधावान् । प्रत्ययस्वरैरेव सिद्धेऽन्तोदात्तत्वे चूडालोऽसीत्यादौ स्वरितो वातुष्टान्ते पदादाविति स्वरि सबाधनार्थश्चकारः ॥

1903 The affix लच् (लँ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडाल or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् दीप 'the crested flame of a lamp' Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe हस्तवान्, पदवान्, ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c that are also found in a living being) Hence there is no affixing of लच् here in मेधावान् "possessed of intelligence"

Every affix is udatta (III 1 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha The लच् would have been udatta by III 1 3, even without the indicatory च् (VI 1 163 S 3710) The employment of this anubandha, however, indicates that this udatta will never be changed into svarita, as other udattas are by rule VII 2 6 S 3659) As चूडालोऽस्ति ॥

१९०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

लज्जा स्यात् । सिध्मल । सिध्मवान् । अन्यतरस्याङ्गुण मत्पुस्तद्वच्यार्थे नतु प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् । सेनाकाण्तेभ्य इनिठनौ न ॥ वासवन्तबलललाटापामूङ् च ॥ * वातूल ॥

1904 The affix लच् comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्मल or सिध्मवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sūtra, causes the employment of the affix मत् in the alternative. It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and ङ् would come by V 2 115 S 1922 after those words of सिध्मादि class which end in अ But that is not the case

Note —The words पार्णि and धमनि lengthen the vowel before ल, as पार्णील धमनील ॥

Vart —The words वत, दन्त, बल, ललाट and गल take the augment ऊङ् before लच्, as वातूल, दन्तूल, बलूल, ललाटूल, गलूल ॥

Note —The words जडा, घटा, कटा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as जडाल, पडाल कलाल and कडाल but जडावास्तापस when no censure is meant

Note —The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease as यूकाल, मक्षिकाल, विचर्चिकाल, विपादिकाल मूर्छाल ॥

1 सिध्मा, 2 गडु, 3 मयि, 4 नाभि 5 बीज (जीव), 6 बीजा*, 7 कृष्ण*, 8 निष्पाव, 9 पासु, 10 पार्श्व, 11 पर्शु (परशु) 12 इतु, 13 सक्तु, 14 मास, 15 पार्णिधमन्यार्थिर्धश्च 16 वातदन्तवलललादानामूङ् च 17 जडाघटाकटाकला (कटा) क्षेपे, 18 पर्ये, 19 उत्क, 20 व्रजा, 21 सक्ति, (साक्थ) 22 कर्णे, 23 स्नेह, 24 शीत, 25 श्याम, 26 पिङ्ग, 27 पित्त, 28 पुष्क, (शुष्क), 29 पृथु, 30 मृदु 31 मञ्जु 32 मण्ड, 33 पञ्च, 34 चट्ट, 35 कपि, 36 गण्ड, (कण्ड), 37 ग्रन्थि, 38 श्री*, 39 कुश, 40 धूरा*, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 पश्मन्*, 43 श्लेष्मन्, 44 पेसा, 45 निष्पाद्, 46 कुण्ड, 47 क्षुद्रजन्तुपतापयोश्च 48 गण्ड, 49 सज्ञा, ॥

१६०५ । वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

आभ्या लज्जा स्याद्यथासक्त्य कामवति बलवति चार्थे । वत्सल । असल ॥

1905 The affix lach comes after the word vatsa and ansa, in the sense of “love” and “strength” respectively

Thus वत्सल ‘loving the calf, loving, tender’ असल ‘strong, lusty’

Note —The word वत्स means ‘calf’ In वत्सल there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father master &c, as वत्सल स्वामी, वत्सल पिता &c The word असल means ‘shoulder’ but असल means ‘strong’ The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मनुष् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as असवती गौः, असवान् दुर्बल ॥

१६०६ । फनादिलच् । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

फाङ् । अन्यतरस्याग्रहण मनुप्सुष्यार्थमनुवर्तते । फेनिल । फेनल । फेनवान् ॥

1906 The affix ilach (इल) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च् draws in लच्, and the word अन्तरस्याम् understood in the sūtra adds मनुष् in the alternative. As फेनिल, फेनल and फेनवान् ॥

१६०७ । लोमादिपामादिविच्छादिभ्यः शुनेलच् । ५ । २ । १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्यः च । लामश्च । लोमवान् । रोमश्च । रोमवान् । पामादिभ्यो न । पामन ॥ अङ्गाक्-
ह्यणि * ॥ अङ्गना ॥ लङ्ग्या भञ्ज * ॥ लङ्गमण ॥ विष्वादिभ्युत्तरपरलोपश्चाकृतसन्धे * ॥ विषुज ।
विच्छादिभ्यः इलच् । पिच्छिल । पिच्छवान् । उरसिल । उरस्वान् ॥

1907 The three affixes śa (श), na (न), and इलच् (इल) come in the sense of matup, respectively after the words of these three classes 1 e lomādi, pāmādi, and pichchhādi and the affix matup also comes in the alternative

The affix श comes after लोमादि words as लोमश or लोमवान् 'hairy' So also रोमश or रोमवान् ॥ The affix न comes after पामादि words, as पामन or पामवान् 'scabby'

Vārt —The affix न comes after the word अङ्ग in the sense of beautiful, as अङ्गना 'the fair one' 1 e a woman

Vārt —The affix न comes after लक्ष्मी before which ई is changed to अ, as लक्ष्मीरस्यास्ति = लक्ष्मण ॥

Note —The words शाकी, पलाली and दहू shorten their final vowel before न as शाकिनम् a field, पलालिनम्, दहूणम् ॥

Vārt —The word विष्वक् (विषु + अच्) loses its second member, before न, and the change caused by sandhi (ई into व्) is undone Otherwise the form would be विष्वण (वक् being elided), as विष्वज्जितानि सन्ति अस्य = विषुयम् 'moving variously'

The affix इलच् comes after पिच्छादि words, as, पिच्छलः or पिच्छवान् 'broth', उरसिल or उरस्वान् ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन् 3 वधु, 4 हरि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 छानि, 9 तरु ॥

1 पामन्, 2 वामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन् 5 श्लेष्मन्, कद्र (कद्रु), 7 बाल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कृमि*, 11 अङ्गात् कल्याये, 12 शाकीपलालीदहूणा (शाकीपलालीदहूवा), ह्रस्वत्व च, 13 विष्वानिस्तु-
नरपदलोपश्चाकृतसधे (विषुण), 14 लक्ष्म्या अश्च (लक्ष्मण), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पलल ॥

1 पिच्छा (पिच्छ), 2 उरस, 3 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवक), 4 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवका), 5 जटाघटाकला (जटा-
घटा कलात्), क्षेपे, 6 वर्ण, 7 उदक, 8 पद्म 9 प्रज्ञा ॥

Note —The affix ilach comes after jatā ghatā, and kalā, when censure is meant, as जटिल, घटिल कलिल but जटावान्, when no censure is meant

१९०८ प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्योः ॥ ५ । २ । १०१ ॥

प्राज्ञो व्याकरणे । प्राज्ञा । श्राद्ध । आर्चे ॥ वृत्तेष्व * ॥ वार्त्त ॥

1908 The affix na (अ) comes in the sense of mat-
up, after the words prajñā, śraddhā, and archā . as well as the
affix matup

As प्राज्ञ or प्राज्ञवान्, श्राद्ध or श्राद्धवान्, आर्च or आर्चवान् ॥

Vārt —So also after वृत्ति, as वार्त्त or वृत्तिमान् ॥

१९०९ । तप सहस्राभ्यां विनीनी । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीन्योऽधिकारो नकारपरिभाषार्थः । तपस्वी । सहस्रा । असन्तत्वादन्तत्वाच्च सिद्धे पुनर्वचन-
सप्ता, बाधा नाभ्युदिनि । सहस्रास्तु ठनोऽपि बाधनार्थम् ॥

1909 The affixes *vinī* (विन्) and *inī* (इन्) come, with the force of *matup*, after the words *tapas* and *sahasra* respectively

The final *इ* in *विनि* and *इनि* is for the sake of saving the *न* from becoming *इन्* and thus get elided

The word *तपस्* ends in *अस्*, and therefore by V 2 121 S 1928 it would have taken *विनि*, similarly *सहस्र* ends in *अ*, and by V 2 115 S 1922 it would have taken *इनि*, it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sūtra? To this it is replied, that by the next sūtra, these words take the affix *अण्* also, so that, had there not been this present sūtra, the *अण्* would have debarred the application of *इनि* and *विनि* of V 2 115 S 1922 and V 2 121 S 1928. The affix *ठन्* (V 1 115) is also debarred after the word *सहस्र* though it ends in *अ* ॥

Thus *तपोऽस्यास्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्*, nom *तपस्वी* ॥ Similarly *सहस्रिन्* nom *सहस्री* ॥

१६१० । अण् च । ५१ २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ । तपस । सहस्र ॥

ज्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ ज्योत्स्न । तामिस्र ॥

1910 And also an (अ) comes after *tapas* and *sahasra*

Thus *तपस* *सहस्र* ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for two purposes, 1st, the anuvṛtti of *अण्* runs in the subsequent sūtras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sūtra, 2ndly, the rule of *yathasankhya* (I 3 10 S 62) would not have applied to the last sūtra, had *अण्* been read along with *विनि* and *इनि* ॥

Vārt —The word *ज्योत्स्ना* &c are governed by this rule and take *अण्*. As *ज्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = ज्योत्स्न पक्ष* ॥ Similarly *तामिस्र* (a kind of hell)

१६११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घट । शार्कर ॥

1911 The affix *an* comes in the sense of *matup*, after *sikatā* and *śarkarā*.

Thus *सैकतो घटः*, *शार्कर मधु* ॥

Note —These are the examples, when they do not denote a place. In denoting a place they will take *इल्* and *लुप्* of the next sūtra

१६१२ । देशे लुबिलचौ च । ५ । १०५ ॥

चादण् मनुष् च । सिकता सख्यस्मिन्देशे सिकता । सिकतिल । सैकत । सिकतावान् । एव शर्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912 When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the *lup*-elision of the affixes denoting *matup*

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix *ilach* (इल), as well as an and matup, after the word *sikatâ* and *śaikarâ*

By च in the sūtra, अण् and मनुष् are introduced The लुप् refers to मनुष् and every affix in general Thus सिकता अस्मिन् विद्यन्ते = सिकता देश or सिकतिल, सैकत or सिकतावान् 'a sandy country' So also शार्करा देश or शार्करिल or शार्कर or शार्करावान् 'a stony locality'

Note —Why do we say when meaning a 'locality'? Observe सैकत 'a vessel of sand', शार्कर "honey or sugar" In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I 2 51 S 1294)

१६१३ । दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता दन्ता सन्त्यस्य दन्तुर ॥

1913 The affix *urach* (उर) comes after *danta* denoting 'having projecting teeth'

Thus दन्ता उन्नता अस्य सन्ति = दन्तुर ॥

Note —The words in the sūtra are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative

Why do we say when the meaning is that of 'projecting'? Observe दन्तवान् 'having teeth'

१६१४ । ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधोर । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊषर । सुषिर । सुष्कोऽण्ड, मुष्कर । मधु माधुर्यम्, मधुर ॥ रप्रकरणे खमुखकुञ्जेभ्य उपसङ्गानम् * ॥ खर । मुखर । कुञ्जो हस्तिहनु, कुञ्जर । नगपासुपाण्डुभ्यम् * ॥ वगरम् । पाण्डुर । पाण्डुर । पाण्डुराब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छा ह्रस्वत् च ॥ कच्छुर ॥

1914 The affix *r* comes, after the word *ûsha*, *sushi*, *mushka* and *madhu*, with the force of *matup*

Thus ऊषर क्षेत्रम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with *ûsha* or salt' सुषर काष्ठ 'a perforated wood : e containing सुषि or hole' मुष्करः मनु 'a beast having testicles, or *mushka*' मधुरो शुड 'sweet sugar'

Note —The word इति shows that the words formed with *r* are names of certain things Therefore it will not apply here ऊषोऽस्मिन् घटे विद्यते 'there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊषरो घट, nor मधुरो घटः for मध्वस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ॥

Vart —The affix *r* comes after ख, मुख and कुञ्ज, as खमस्यास्ति कण्ठाविवर महन् = खर 'an ass, lit having a wide throat' मुखमस्यास्ति इति सर्वस्मिन् वक्त्रे = मुखर, 'talkative', कुञ्जमस्यास्ति स्त = कुञ्जर 'an elephant having tusks' The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जर is a common name for all elephants

Vart —The affix र comes after नग, वासु and पाण्डु as नगरम् 'a city' lit having trees (naga = tree), वासुर पाण्डुर ॥ The word पाण्डुर has no derivative

Vart —So also after कण्ठ् the vowel being shortened as 'कण्ठुर ॥

१९१५ । द्युदुभ्यम् मः । ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

द्युम् । द्रुम् ॥

1915 The affix म comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup

Thus द्युम् । द्रुम् ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take मत्पु in the alternative

१९१६ । केषाद्धोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १०९

प्रकृतेनान्यतरस्यामद्वयेन मत्पु सिद्धे पुनर्महयानिनिठनो समावेशार्थम् । केषव । केशी । केशिक । केषवान् ॥ अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते * मणिषो नागविशेष । हिरण्यवो निधिविशेष ॥ अर्णसो लोमश्च * ॥ अर्णव ॥

1916 The affix व comes optionally, with the force of matup, after keśa

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V 2 96 S 1903 (see V 2 97), its-repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only मत्पु but the affixes इनि and ठन् (V 2 115 S 1922) also Thus we have four forms केषव , केशा, केशिकः and केषवान् ॥

Vart —The affix व is seen after other words also As मणिष 'a kind of serpent' हिरण्यव 'a kind of gem', करराव.

Vart —The final of अर्णत् is elided before व, as अर्णवः

१९१७ । गाण्डवजगात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

इत्स्वदीर्घयोर्धया तन्मेण निर्वेण । गाण्डवश्च । गाण्डीवम् । अर्जुनस्य धनु । अजगव पिनाक ॥

1917. The affix व comes after gāṇḍī and ajaga, in the sense of matup; when the word is a Name

As गाण्डीव 'the bow Gāṇḍīva of Arjuna', अजगव 'the bow Ajagava of Siva' There is shortening also, as गाण्डव ॥ The sūtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included,

१९१८ । काण्डाण्डादीरञ्जीरचौ । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

काण्डोर । आण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes iram and irach come in the sense of matup, after the words kāṇḍa and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus कौण्डीरः and आण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has आण्ड and आण्डीर ॥

१९१९ । रजःकृष्यास्तृतिपरिवदो वलच् । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री । कृषीवल । वलइति वीध । आसुतीवल शौण्डिक । परिषद्वल । पर्षद्विति पाठान्तरम् । पर्षद्वलम् ॥ अन्यभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ भ्रातृवल । पुत्रवल । शत्रुवल । वल इत्यत्र सज्ञायामि त्यनुवृत्तेर्नैह वीध ॥

1919 The affix valach (वल) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, krishi, âsutî, and parishad

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवल कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवल शौण्डिक, परिषद्वलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृष and आसुति takes place by VI 3 118 S 1040

Note —The affix वलच comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing

Vart —The affix valach is seen after other words also As भ्रातृवल, पुत्रवल शत्रुवल, ॥ The sūtra VI 3 118 S 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words “when it is a name” is understood there The examples here are not names

१६२० । दन्तशिखात्सज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती । शिखावल केकी ॥

1920 The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhâ when a Name is formed

Thus दन्तावलो हस्ती, शिखावल केकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before वल by VI 3 118 S 1040

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसा । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्वर्थे निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष उपधालोपो नञ् प्रत्यय । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इत्वं रश्च । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्वमतन्त्रय । तमिस्रम् । शृङ्गादिनञ् । शृङ्गिण । ऊर्जसो वलच् । तेन बाधा ना भूविति विनिरपि, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वल । ऊर्जोऽसुगागम इति वृत्तिस्तु चिन्त्या । ऊर्जस्वतीतिवदसुन्नन्तनवोपपत्ते । गोशब्दान्निनि । गोमी । मलशब्दादिनञ् । मलिन । ईमसञ् । मलीमस ॥

1921 The words jyotsnâ, tamisrâ, śringîṇa, ūjasvin, ūjasvala, gomin, malina, and malîmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names

They are thus formed ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना ‘moon light, (the इ being elided) तमस् + र = तमिस्रा ‘night’ (इ being added) it has other genders than feminine as तामस नम ‘dark sky’ शृङ्ग + इनञ् शृङ्गिण ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विनि and वलच्, as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्, ऊर्जस्वल ॥ The Kâśikâ derives this by adding the augment असुक् to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive urjasvin and ūjasval, from this ūjas गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N S गोमी, मल + इनञ् = मलीन, मल + ईमसञ् = मलीमस ॥

१६२२ । अत इनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ११५ ॥

दण्डी । दण्डिक ॥

1922 The affixes *ini* and *than* come in the sense of *matup*, after nominal stems ending in short अ, and in the alternative *matup* also comes

Thus दण्डिन् N S दण्डी or दण्डिक ॥

Note —The word अन्यतरस्याम् (V 2 96 S 1903) is understood here also, so we have मत्तुप्, as दण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ'? Observe खड्गवान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor ठन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and ठन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in *krit* affixes, after words denoting genus (*jāti*), and when the construction is that of locative As स्व and ख form only स्वावान्, खवान्, ॥ *Krit* as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative, as दण्डा भस्या सन्ति = दण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as *krit* —कार्यिन्, कार्यिक कार्यिन्, कार्यिक ॥ Genus (*jāti*) —तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिक ॥

१६२३ । ब्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ११६ ॥

ब्रीही । ब्रीहिक । न च सर्वेभ्यो ब्रीह्यादिभ्य इनिठनाविधेते । किं तर्हि शिखामालासज्ञादिभ्य इनि * । यवखरादिभ्य इक * । अन्योभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923 The affixes *ini* and *than* come in the sense of *matup*, after the words *vihi* &c, as well as the affix *matup*

Thus ब्रीहिन् (nom ब्रीही), ब्रीहिक, ब्रीहिवान्, मायी, मायिक, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all ब्रीह्यादि words

Vārtika —The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub division

Vārtika —The affix इकन् after यवखरादि sub division

Vārt —After the remaining words, both इनि and ठन् (=इकन्) come

Note —The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are —1 शिखा, 2 मेखला, 3 सज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला 6 वीणा, 7 दडवा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हसा, ॥ The यवखर &c are the following 1 यवखर, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ, they take इकन् only The rest take both The word ब्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sūtra also, why is it then read in this class? The word ब्रीहि in the Tundādi class V 2 117, S 1924 does not mean the word form ब्रीहि but words synonym with it Thus शालयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिल, शाली, शालिक, शालिवान् ॥ The word क्षीर्ष preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अक्षीर्षी and अक्षीर्षिक ॥ The remaining words are ब्रीहि, माया शाला केका, वर्मन्, दष्टा, सज्ञा ॥

१६२४ । तुन्दादिभ्य इलच्च । ५ । २ । ११७ ॥

आदिनिठनौ मत्तुप् च । तुन्दिल । तुन्दी । तुन्दिक । तुन्दवान् । उदर, विचण्ड, यव, ब्रीहि । स्वाङ्गादिवृद्धौ * ॥ 'विवृद्धप्राधिकास्वाङ्गाच्चिन इलजादय स्युः' । विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स कर्णिल । कर्णी । कर्णिक । कणवान् ॥

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth' Otherwise अर्यवान् 'rich' All these are obtained by बहुल

१६२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सित्वात्पदत्वम् । ऊर्णाया । अत्र छन्दसीति केचिदनुवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चेत्तत् । अन्यथा हि अहंशुभनोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाग्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929 The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas)

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्ण पद (I 4 16 S 1252), the result of which is that rules applicable to अ Bha do not apply, e g VI 1 148, S 1063 by which the final इ or ई अ or आ is elided Thus ऊर्णाया ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sūtra This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ūrnā in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sūtra The word urnā could have been read along with aham and śubham in V 2 140 S 1946,

१६३० । वाचो ग्मिनि । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930 The affix gmini (मिन्) comes after the word vâch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note —The affix is not मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाडमिन् by VIII 4 45 S 116 Vart

१६३१ । आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

कुन्तित इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ कुन्तित बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचाट । अस्तु सम्प्रबहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931 The affixes âlach (आलौ) and âtach (आटौ) come, in the sense of matup, after vâch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars गिन् ॥ Thus वाचाल 'garrulous', वाचाटः ॥

Vart —These affixes come when contempt is expressed An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose He will not be called वाचाल or वाचाट ॥

१६३२ । स्वामिन्नेश्वर्ये । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

ऐश्वर्यवाचकास्त्वशाब्दान्मत्वर्ये आमिनश्च । स्वामी ॥

1932 The irregularly formed word svâmin denotes 'Su or Lord'

The affix **आमिन्** comes in the sense of lordship after the word **स्व** meaning 'lord'. Thus **स्वमस्यास्ति = देवस्यमस्यास्ति = स्वामिन्** ॥

Note — Why do we say when meaning 'Sir' Observe, **स्ववाच्** ॥

१६३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । २७ ॥

अर्शात्यस्य विद्यन्ते अर्शस । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933 The affix **ach** (अच्) comes in the sense of **matup**, after the word **arśa** &c

Thus **अर्शासि अस्य विद्यन्ते = अर्शस** ॥ The **Arśadi** is an **Ākritigana**.

Note — After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix **अच्** when defect is meant. As **खड्ग पादोऽस्यास्ति = खड्ग । काण** ॥ So also after words denoting color, as **शुक्लोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्ल पद** ॥

1 अर्शस्, 2 उरस, 3 तुन्ध, 4 चतुर, 5 पलित, 6 जटा, 7 घटा, 8 घाटा, 9 अय (अभ्र), 10 कर्दम, 11 अम्ल, (आम) 12 लवण 13 स्वाङ्गाङ्गीनात्, 14 वर्णात् । आकृतिगण ॥

१६३४ । इन्द्रोपतापगर्हात्प्राणिस्थादिनि । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

इन्द्र । कटकवलयिनी । शङ्खनूपुरिणी । उपतापो रोग । कुष्ठी । किलासी । गर्हा निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । पुष्पफलवान्ध । प्राण्यङ्गान्न ॥ प्राणिपादवती । अत इत्यर्थः । चित्रकलाटिकावती । सिद्ध प्रत्यय पुनर्नेचन उनादिबाधनार्थम् ॥

1934 The affix **ini** (इन्) comes, in the sense of **matup**, after a **dvandva** compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being

Thus **Dvandva** — **कटकवलयिनी**, 'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', **शङ्खनूपुरिणी** 'a woman having *sankha* and *nūpura* ornaments' So after diseases, 1—**कुष्ठी** 'a leper', **किलासी** 'a white leper' So after names of faults — **ककुदावर्ती**, **कतालुकी** ॥

Why do we say 'when found in a living being?' Observe **पुष्पफलवान्ध वृक्षः** ॥

Vārtika — The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body as, **प्राणिपादवती** ॥ The words **अत** V 2 115, S 1922 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in **अ**, as **चित्रकलाटिकावती** ॥ Though the **Dvandva** compound &c ending in **अ**, would have taken **इनि** by V 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sūtra shows that the **Dvandva** compounds &c, take only **इनि**, and not **इन्** &c

१९३५ । वातातीसारार्था कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

आशिनि । वातकी । अतीसारकी ॥ रोगे चायमिष्यते * । नेह । वातवती यहा ॥ पिशाचक्ष * ॥ पिशाचकी ॥

1935 The augment kuk (क्) comes before इनि, after the words vâta and atisâra

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sūtra, the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is अतीसारकी ॥ *Isht* This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases Otherwise, वातवती सुहा ॥

Vat —So also after विशाखा, as विशाखकी वैश्वव्या 'the Kubera'

१९३६। वयसि पूर्यात् । ५। २। १३० ॥

पूर्यात् अयान्तान्त्वर्थे इनि स्याद्व्यति शोले । मास सवत्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्यास्तीति पञ्चमी कृष्ट । उन्वाधवार्यनिष्पृ । वयसि किन् । पञ्चमवान् मास ॥

1936 The affix in1 comes in the sense of matup, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्यास्ति मास सवत्सरो वा = पञ्चमिन् 'five months or years old', as 'पञ्चमी वृष्ट' ॥ By V 2 115 S 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words, the present sūtra is a restrictive rule teaching that इन् does not come in this sense

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, 'पञ्चमवान् मासराग ॥

१९३७। सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५। २। १३१ ॥

इनिर्नत्वर्थे । सुखी । दुःखी । मालाक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937 The affix in1 comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of matup, after the words sukha &c

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी, दुःखी &c When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मतुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words —

1 सुख, 2 दुःख, 3 वृत्त, 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 आश्र (आश्र), 6 अन्न*, 7 मलीक, 8 करुण (करुणा) 9 सील, 10 प्रतीति (प्रतीति), 11 शील, 12 हल, 13 माला क्षेपे, 14 कृपण, 15 प्रणय (प्रणय), 16 वल*, 17 कल* ॥ *Ganasutra*, After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure',

Thus मालिन्, N S माली ॥

१९३८। धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताश्च । ५। २। १३२ ॥

धर्मशीलवर्णानिर्नत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्म । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणधर्मी ॥

1938 The affix in1 comes in the sense of matup, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in dharmā, śīla, and vāna

Thus ब्राह्मणानां धर्म ~ ब्राह्मणधर्म, सोऽस्यास्ति = ब्राह्मणधर्म ॥ ब्राह्मणशीलिन्, ब्राह्मणधर्णिन् ॥

१६३६ । हस्ताज्जातौ । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥

हस्ती । जातौ किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुष ॥

1939 The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *hasta*, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed

Thus हस्तोऽस्वास्ति = हस्तिन् N S हस्ती 'an elephant' Why do we say when meaning a जाति 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुष ॥

१६४० । वर्णाङ्गद्व्यचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥

वर्णी ॥

1940 The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the word *varna*, when the word so formed means a *Brahmachârî*

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachârî' Nom Sing वर्णी ॥

Note —The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called When the meaning is not of Brahmachârî we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पद्मिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्करी ॥ बाह्वर्षपूर्वपदाङ्गलात् * ॥ बाहुवनी । ऊरुवला ॥ सर्वदेव * ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्ववीजि ॥ भयान्नासनिहिते * ॥ अर्थी । सगिहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ तन्वताश्च * ॥ धान्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941 The affix *ini* comes in the sense of *matup*, after the words *pushkara* &c. when the word so formed denotes a locality

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पद्मिनि &c Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करा ॥

Vart —The affix इन् comes after बल preceded by बाहु or ऊरु as बाहुबालन् ऊरुबलिन् ॥

Vart —So also after words preceded by सर्व, as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्ववीजिन् सर्वकेशी नद ॥

Vart —So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near', as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसनिहितोऽस्य 'wanting wealth' Otherwise अथवान् 'having wealth'

Vart —So also after a compound ending in अर्थ as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1 पुष्कर 2 पद्म 3 इत्यल, 4 तमाल 5 कुष्ठव, 6 नड 7 कपिस्थ 8 बिस, 9 शृणाल, 10 कर्द्व, 11 शालक 12 दिगर्ह 13 करीष, 14 मिरीष, 15 यवास 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास) 17 हिरण्य, 18 कैरव, 19 कलाल 20 तट* 21 तरण, 22 पङ्कज*, 23 सरोज* 24 राजीव*, 25 नालाक*, 26 सरोरुह*, 27 पुटक, 28 अशुबिन्द*, 29 अम्भोज*, 30 वरुज*, 31 कमल*, 32 पद्मन्*, 33 वयस, ॥

१६४२ । बलादिभ्योमतुबन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १३६ ॥

बलवान् । बली । उत्साहवान् । उत्साही ॥

1942 After the nominal-stems bala &c, comes the affix matup optionally, as well as in1

The affix इनि will come in the alternative Thus बलवान् or बली (Nom of बलिन्), उत्साहवान् or उत्साही (Nom of उत्साहिन्) ॥

1 बल, 2 उत्साह, 3 उद्भास (उद्भाव), 4 उद्भास*, 5 उद्भास, 6 शिखा*, 7 कुल, 8 चूडा*, 9 कुल*, 10 कुल*, 11 आध्याम, 12 व्याध्याम, 13 उपध्याम, 14 आरोह, 15 अवरोह, 16 परिग्रह, 17 ग्रह, 18 उद्भास, 19 शिखाबल, 20 वृगमूल, 21 वृष ॥

१६४३ । सञ्ज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम् । ५ । २ । १३७ ॥

मन्मन्तान्मात्ताद्योनिर्मत्वर्थे । प्रथिमिनी । शमिनी । होमिनी । सोमिनी । सञ्ज्ञाया किम् । सोमवान् ॥

1943 After a nominal-stem ending in मन् or म comes the affix in1, in the sense of matup, when the whole word so formed means a name

Thus प्रथिमन् + इनि = प्रथिम + इन् (VI 4 144, S 679) = प्रथियाम् fem प्रथिमिनी ॥ So also शमिनि ॥ Similarly होम, होमिनी, सोम, सोमिनी ॥ Why do we say, 'when meaning a name'? Observe, सोमवान् ॥

१६४४ । कशब्दावभयुस्तितुनयस । ५ । २ । १३८ ॥

कशमिति मान्तौ । कमिष्युवकस्तुत्यो । शमिति सुखे । आभ्या सप्त प्रत्ययाः स्यु । सुस्यसोः सकार पदत्वार्थ । कवः । कम । कयु । कति । कंतु । कत । कय । कवः । शंम । शय । शति । शंतु । शत । शय । अतुत्वारस्य वैकल्पिक परसवर्ण । वकारयकारपरस्यानुनासिकौ वयो ॥

1944 The seven affixes va, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta and yas, come in the sense of matup, after कम् 'water and happiness', and शम् 'happiness'

Thus कव, कम, कयु, कम्ति, कन्तु, कन्त, कयः, कव, कम्भ, कयु, कम्ति, कन्तु, शम्भ, शंय ॥

The स् in युस् and यस्, make the stem, a Pada (I 4 16 S 1252), the result of which is that व of कम् and शम् is changed into Anusvâra before these two affixes by VIII 3 23 S 122 When denoting a Name, the forms will be कम्भ and शम्भ ॥ The anusvâra is optionally changed to a nasal homogenous to the class that follows The va and ya become nasalised when preceded by an anusvâra, (Thus the first affix is व va and not ब ba as given in the Kāśikā)

१६४५ । तुन्दिबलिवदेभे । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

तुन्दिबलिवदि । सूर्यन्योपधोऽयमिति माधव । तुन्दिम् बलिम् । वदिम् । पामादिस्वादिनि नौऽपि ॥

1945 The affix bha (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after tundi, vali and vati

Thus तुन्दिभ 'having a protuberent belly' बलिभ and वदिभ ॥ Another form is वलिभ, because वलि is included in the Pāmādi class V 2 100 S 1907 The forms तुन्दिभ &c, are valid by V 2 117 S 1924

१६४६ । अहशुभमोर्युस् । ५ । २ । १४० ॥

अहमिति मान्तमव्ययमहङ्कारे । शुभमिति शुभे । अहयु अहङ्कारवान् ॥ शुभयु शुभान्वित ॥

1946 The affix yus (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words aham 'pride', and the indeclinable ubham 'good'

Thus अहयुः = अहङ्कारवान्, selfish, haughty', शुभयु = कल्याणवान् ॥ 'auspicious' The स् of युस् makes the words अहम् and शुभम्, Padas, and अ is changed into Anusvāra (I 4 16, VIII 3 23) See V 2 123

Here ends the chapter on Matup affixes

अथ तद्धित प्राग्दिशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES

१६४७ । प्राग्दिशो विभक्ति । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

विकृष्टदेभ्य इत्यत प्राग्वक्ष्यमाणा प्रत्यया विभक्तिसज्ञा स्युः ॥ अयं स्वार्थिका प्रत्ययाः ॥
समर्थानामिति प्रथमादिति च निवृत्तम् । वेति स्वतुर्वर्तत एव ॥

1947 The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V 3 27 S 1974 (exclusive) are called Vibhakti

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i.e. they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation. The rule IV 1 82 S 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else.

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिक, the anuvṛtti of समर्थानाम् and मयमाद् of IV 1 82, S 1072 does not apply to them. The word वा of IV 1 82 S 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कृत or कस्मान्, कुञ्ज or कस्मिन् ॥

Note —Thus V 3 7 S 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the ablative there is the affix तसिल्, as कृत तत् यत् ॥

Note —The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to denote the elision of final स् and ण् of the affixes as इत् (1 3 4 S 190) Thus in the affix हानीम् V 3 18, S 1967 ण् is not इत्, had it been so, rule I 1 47 would have applied (b) to regulate the accent of इदम्, thus इदम् + तसिल् = इदं here by VI 1 171 S 3717 the affix तसिल् becomes udātta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ज (VI 1 193 S 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of ल्यप्, that is the rules given in the Sūtras VII 2 102 S 265 and those that follow. Thus ल्यप् + तसिल् = ल्यत्, the ण् being replaced by य् by VII 2 102 S 265.

१६४८ । किं सर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्वयादिभ्यः । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

किम् सर्वनाम्नो बहुशब्दश्चेति प्राग्दिशोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1948 These Prāgdiśīya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanāma, and after bahu, but not after dvī &c

The words द्वि &c though सर्वनाम are exempted Thus कुत्र, कुत, यत्र, यत्र, बहुत्र, बहुत्र ॥

Note —Why do we say अद्वयदि 'not द्वि &c Observe द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयो ॥ Why do we say किम् &c ? Observe वृक्षात् वृक्षे &c The word किम् is a सर्वनाम but it being included in the dvyaḍi class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned

Note —The word बहु here is 'a Sankhya' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, बहु संपात्, बहु संपे ॥

१६४९ । इदम् इत् ॥ ५ । ३ । ३ ।

प्राग्दिशीये परे ॥

1949 For idam, there is the substitute इत् (इ), when a Prāgdiśīya affix follows

The word प्राग्दिश is understood here also The इ of इत् is indicatory of the substitution of the whole (I 1 55) ' Thus इत् + इ V 3 11, = इत् ॥

१६५० । एतेतौ रथो ॥ ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् शाब्दस्य एत इत् इत्यादौ स्तो रेकाक्ष यकारादौ व प्राग्दिशीये परे । इतोऽपवाद ॥

1950 The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of idam, when 'a Prāgdiśīya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows

This debar इत् ॥ The अ in र is for the sake of euphony Thus इत् + हिल् = एतर्हि (V 3 16) इत् + यत् = एतयम् (V 3 24)

१६५१ । एतदोऽन् ॥ ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभाग कर्तव्य ॥ एतद् ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथो ॥ अन् ॥ एतद् इत्येव । अनेकाब्स्थास्त्वदिश । नकोप, प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

1951 The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prāgdiśīya affix follows

Note —According to Kāśika the substitute is अश् । The श of अश् causes the replacement of the whole (I 1 55 S 45) According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अश् ॥ Thus एतद् + तसिन् = अत्त V 3 7 S 1953, अन् V, 3 10

This sūtra must be divided into two, (1) एतद्, and (2) अन्, the meaning being (1) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र् and थ respectively follow, as एतद् + हिल् = एतर्हि (V 3 21 S 1969) एतद् + यत् = इत्ययम् ॥ The थ must be the थ of यत् which comes after idam (V 3 24 S 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थल् (V 3 23 S 1971) before which the substitute will be अश् ॥ The word एतद् will take यत् by the implication of this rule The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prāgdiśīya affixes As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad Thus एतद् + तसिह् = अद् + तद् = अतः (the ञ is elided by VIII 2 7 S 236)

१९५२ । सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

प्राग्विधीयो वकारादौ प्रत्यये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात् ॥

1952 The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a प्राग्विधीया vibhakti beginning with द् ॥

Thus सर्वद् or तद् ॥ When the affix is not प्राग्विधीया, there is no substitution as; सर्वे देवाति = सर्वदा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhmaṇi who gives all'

१९५३ । पञ्चम्यास्तसिह् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्य किमादिभ्यस्तसिह् स्याद् ॥

1953 The affix तसि (तस्) comes after the word, किम् a sarvanāma, and bahu, when ending in the ablative case, but not after dvi &c

As किम् + तसिह् = कु + तस् ॥ The following sūtra changes किम् into कु ॥

१९५४ । कु तिहो । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

किम् कु स्यात्तदौ ह्यदौ च विभक्तौ परत । कुत् । कस्मात् । यत् । तत् । अत् । इत् । अद्भुत् । बद्भुत् । आदिभ्यः । ह्यभ्याम् ॥

1954 कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुत् = कस्मात् ॥ कुत्, कुह् (V 3 13, 7 S 1961 and 1953) The इति means beginning with a त ॥ So also यत्, तत्, अत्, इत्, अद्भुत्, बद्भुत् ॥ But not after द्वि &c As ह्यभ्याम् ॥

१९५५ । तसेभ्य । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किसर्बनामबहुभ्यः परस्य तसेस्तासिनादेश स्यात् । स्वरार्थं विभक्त्यर्थं च वचनम् ॥

1955 The affix तसि (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V 4 44, 45 S 2111 and 1221) when kim, a sarvanāma, and bahu follow

This substitution is for the sake of accent, and for giving it the designation of vibhakti Otherwise तस् (V 4 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a प्राग्विधीया affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so यत् &c cannot be changed to य when तसि will be added (VII 2 102 S 265). So we can never get the form यत् as in the sentence यतोऽवगच्छाति ॥

१९५६ । पर्याभिभ्यां च । ५ । ३ । ९ ॥

आभ्या तसिह् स्यात् ॥ सर्वोभयार्थाभ्यामेव * ॥ परित् । सर्वत इत्यर्थः । अभित् । उभयत इत्यर्थः ॥

1956 The affix तसि comes after pari and abhi also.

Vart :—This affix comes when परि means 'all', and अभि means 'both'. Thus परित् = सर्वत्, 'all round', अभित्, उभयत् 'on both sides'

१६५७। सप्तम्याखल्। ५। ३। १० ॥

कुत्र। यत्र। तत्र। बहुत्र ॥

1957 The affix त्राल (त्र) comes after kim, a sarvanāma, and bahū, when ending in a locative

Thus कुत्र (VII 2 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII 2 102 S 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'

१९५८। इदमो ह्। ५। ३। ११ ॥

बलोऽपवाद। इशादेश। इह ॥

1958 The affix ह् comes after इदम् ending in the locative

This debars बल् ॥ Thus इह (V 3 3 S 1949) 'here'.

१६५९। किमो ऽत्। ५। ३। १२ ॥

वाग्रहणमपकृत्यते। सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽद्वा स्यात्पक्षे बल् ॥

1959 The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix त्राल

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sūtra after the next So that this sūtra is an optional one Thus किम्+अत् ॥ Now applies the next sūtra by which किम् is replaced by क् ॥ In the other alternative बल् also comes, as कुत्र ॥

१६६०। काति। ७। २। १०५ ॥

किम् क्त्वेष स्यादति। क्। कुत्र ॥

1960 क् is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V 3 13)

As क्। So also कुत्र ॥

Note —The substitute क् of VII 2 104 S 1954, before the affix अत् would have become क्, but it would have caused guna, hence this separate substitute Had the sūtra been किमोऽद्वात् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

१६६१। वा ह् च छन्दसि। ५। ३। १३ ॥ ✓

कुह स्थ। कुह जगमथु ॥

1961 Optionally the affix ह् also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative as well as the other affixes

As in the Rig Veda VIII 62 4 कुहंस्थ कुहजगमथु कुहं श्येनेवं पेतथु ॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles' ?

१९६२ । एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽष्ट स्थास्यचानुदात्तस्त्रतसौ परत तौ चानुदात्तौ स्त । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसाम । अथोऽत्राधीमहे । अतो न गन्तार स्म ॥

1962 In the room of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented -अश् when the affixes च (V ३ 10 S 1957) and तस्त्र (V ३ 7 S 1953) follow, and the affixes च and तस्त्र are anudâtta also (gravely accented)

Thus अश् 'here', and अतस्त्र 'hence', in the following — एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुखं वसाम, अथो अत्र अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmīn) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra)' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar' By rule V 3 5 S 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद्, its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvādeśa is anudâtta

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतरविभक्त्यन्तादापि तत्तिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दक्षिणप्रहणाङ्गवदादियोग एव । स भवान् । ततो भवान् । तत्र भवान् । स भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तत्र भवन्तम् । एव रीर्षायु । देवानामिय । आयुष्मान् ॥

1963 The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative

That is to say, the affixes तत्तिल, अल्, इ &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवान् 'Your Honor', रीर्षायु 'long lived', आयुष्मान् 'having long life', and देवानामिय 'the beloved of the Gods' Thus

Nom	ततो भवान् or तत्र भवान् = स भवान् ॥
Acc	तत्र भवन्तम् or ततो भवन्तम् = त भवन्तम् ॥
Ins	तत्र भवता or ततो भवता = तेन भवता ॥
Dat	ततो भवते or तत्र भवते = तस्मै भवते ॥
Abl	ततो भवत or तत्र भवत = तस्माद् भवतः ॥
Gen	ततो भवत or तत्र भवत = तस्य भवतः ॥
Loc	ततो भवति or तत्र भवति = तास्मिन् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words रीर्षायु, आयुष्मान् and देवानामिय ॥

१९६४ । सर्वैकान्यकिञ्चित् कावे दा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यः कालार्थेभ्यः स्वार्थे वा स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एकदा । अन्यदा । कदा । यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र देशे ॥

1964 After *saiva* 'all', *eka* 'one', *anya* 'other', *kim* 'what', *yad* 'which', and *tad* 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix *दा*, the words being in the locative case

The word *सप्तम्या* V 2 10 S 1957 is understood here and not the word *इतराभ्या* of the last. This debars *न्* ॥ Thus *सदा* or *सदा* (V 3 6 S 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', *एकदा* 'once', *अन्यदा* 'at another time', *कदा* (VII 2 103 S 342) 'when', *यदा* 'when', *तदा* 'then'

Why do we say *काले* 'when time is denoted'? Observe *सर्वत्रदेशे* where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not *दा*, because the sense is 'in every *place*' or 'every where'

१९६५ । इत्थोर्हिन् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इत्येव । इत्यापवादः । अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि । काल किम् । इह देशे ॥

1965 After *idam* 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix *रिहि* when time is denoted.

The words *सप्तम्या* and *काले* are understood. This *रिहि* debars *हा*. The *न्* of *हिन्* is for accent. Thus *अस्मिन् काले = एतर्हि* (V 3 4 S 1950) 'at this time'. Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe, *इह* 'in this *place*', as *इह* देशे ॥ See V 3 4 S 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदम् सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिनः स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्ययः स्यात् । इह । अस्त्येति लोपः । अधुना ॥

1966 After *idam* ending in the locative case, comes the affix *अधुना*, when time is denoted

Thus *इदम् + अधुना = इ + अधुना* (V 3 3 S 1949) = *० + अधुना* (S 311) = *अधुना* ॥ According to *Kāśikā* *अस्मिन् काले = अधुना* 'at this time', *अश्* is substituted for *इदम्* and, *धुन* affix is added

१९६७ । दानीम् । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix *dānīm* also comes after *idam*, ending in the locative, and denoting time

Thus *अस्मिन् काले = इदानीम्* (V 3 3 S 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो दा । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदोदाहरणमनर्थकं विहितत्वात् ॥

1968 After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dānīm

The दानीम् is read into the sūtra by force of the word च 'also' Thus तास्मिन् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time' *Vart* — This sūtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V 3 15

१६६६ । अनद्यतनेर्हि लन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कर्हि । कदा । यर्हि । यदा । तर्हि । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतर्हि ॥

1969 The affix rhiḥ comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanāma, and bahu &c' in the 7th case

The anuvṛitti of छन्वसि is not read into this sūtra This is a general rule Thus कर्हि or कदा, (VII 2 103 S, 342), यर्हि or यदा, तर्हि or तदा, एतर्हि ॥

१६७० । सद्य'परुपरार्थेषम परेद्यव्यद्य पूर्वैद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरैद्युरधरेद्युरभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्यु । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य सभावो व्यञ्ज्यः चाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्य । पूर्वपूर्वतरयो पर उदा-
रीच प्रत्ययौ वत्सरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्वत्सरे परत् । पूर्वतरे वत्सरे पराणि ॥ इदम इह समसण् प्रत्ययश्च सवत्सरे* ।
अस्मिन्सवत्सरे ऐशम । परस्मादेद्यव्यहनि* । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यावि । इवमाऽह् व्यञ्ज्य* । अस्मिन्नहान अद्य ।
पूर्वादिभ्योऽष्टभ्योऽह्न्येद्युस्* । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वैद्यु । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्येद्यु । उभयोरह्नोरुभयेद्यु ॥
द्युश्चोभयार्हक्यव्य* ॥ उभयेद्यु ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous, sadyaḥ, parut, parāri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pūivedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and uttaredyus

The words सप्तम्या and काल are understood here The base, the substitute, the affix, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms *Vart* — सद्य is formed from समान, by substituting स for समान, and adding द्यञ्, in the sense of 'a day' समानेऽहनि = सद्य 'the same day' *Vart* — The पूर्व and पूर्वतर are replaced by पर, and then उत् and आदि are added, in the sense of 'a year' Thus पूर्वस्मिन् सवत्सरे = परत् 'last year' पूर्वतरे सवत्सरे = परारि 'the year before last' *Vart* — The इह replaces इदम्, and समसण् is added, in the sense of 'year' अस्मिन् सवत्सरे = ऐशम 'during this year' *Vart* — To पर is added एद्यवि in the sense of 'a day' as, परस्मिन्नहनि = परेद्यावि 'the other day' *Vart* — The अद्य replaces इदम् and व्यञ्ज्य is added in the sense of 'a day' Thus अस्मिन्नहनि = अद्य 'to day' *Vart* — To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, अपर, अधर,

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day' as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेषु 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येषु 'on the following day' अन्य तस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यतरेषु 'on either of two days' इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेषु 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेषु 'on the following day' अधरस्मिन्नहनि = अधरेषु 'on a previous day' उभयोरद्धा = उभयेषु 'on both days' *Vdt* — So also उभयद्वय is formed by dyus added to ubhaya

१६७१। प्रकारवचने थाल् । ५ । ३ । २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्य किमादिभ्यश्चाल्स्यात्स्वार्थे । तेन प्रकारेण तथा । यथा ॥

1971 The affix thāl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V 3 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being

The sūtra V 3 2, S 1948 is to be read into this The anuvṛtti of सप्तम्या and कलि ceases The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner' Similarly यथा ॥

Note —The affix जातीयार्त् taught in V 3 69 S 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jātiyār applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवान्) while thāl denotes mode itself Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीय and यथाजातीय ॥

१६७२। इदमस्थमुः । ५ । ३ । २४ ॥

यालाऽपवाद ॥ एतदेषां वाच्य * ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्यम् ॥

1972 After idam comes the affix thamu (थम्) in the same sense i e in denoting manner

Vdt —It comes after etad also This debars याल्, thus —अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्यम् V 3 4, S 1950 'in this manner' The उ in यद्यु protects the उ from becoming इत् (See I 3 4 S 190)

१६७३। किमश्च । ५ । ३ । २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973 Also after kun, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how?'

Here ends the chapter on Prāgdiśīya affixes

अथ तद्धितप्राग्वीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE SVARTHIKA AFFIXES

१६७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ ।

३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यो दिशिरुदरेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्य स्वार्थेऽस्तातप्रत्यय स्यात् ॥

1974 After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix astâti (अस्तात्) without change of sense

Note —The word दिक् शब्दा means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद्वसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्तादागत 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously' Similarly with अधस्तात् ॥ For further explanation see S 1977 below

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्यर्थेऽसिप्रत्यय स्यात्तद्योगे चैषा क्रमात्पुर, अध, अव, इत्यादिना स्युः ॥

1975 After pûrva, adhara and avara comes the affix asi (अस्) in the sense of astâti, and pura, adh, and av are their respective substitutes before this affix

Note —The word अपञ्चम्या does not govern this sūtra. Thus पुरो वसति, पुर आगत पुरो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधस् and अवस् with वसति, आगत and रमणीयम् ॥ As अधोवसति, अध आगत, अधोरमणीयम्, अवोवसति, अवआगत and अवोरमणीयम् ॥ See S 1984

१६७६ । अस्ताति च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

अस्तातो परे पूर्वादीनां पुरादयः स्युः । पूर्वस्या पूर्वस्या पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुर पुरस्तात् । अध अधस्तात् । अव । अवस्तात् ॥

1976 The same substitution takes place when the affix astâti (अस्तात्) follows

That is पुर for पूर्व, अध for अधर and अव for अवर ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अधस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति or आगत or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । विभाषावरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवरस्यास्तातो परेऽत्र स्याद्वा । अवस्तात् । अवरस्तात् । एव देशे काले च । विधि रूढेभ्य किम् । ऐन्द्रया वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्य किम् । पूर्व ग्राम गत । दिगादिवृत्तिभ्य किम् । पूर्वस्मिन् गुरो वसति । अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकादस्तिरस्ताति न बाधते ॥

1977 The substitution of अस् for अवर is optional when astāti follows

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory As अवस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति, आगत , or रमणीयम् ॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्रया विधि वसति, 'He lives in the Aindra direction' Here ऐन्द्नी is a secondary word denoting eastern direction Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्वम् ग्राम गत ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वास्मिन् गुरो वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'

Note —This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction, and not derivative words like ऐन्द्नी &c which also denote direction

The sūtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V 3 27 S. 1974 is not debarred by अस् after these words

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातिरपवाद । दक्षिणत । उत्तरत ॥

1978 After dakshinâ and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch (अतसुच्) ॥

This debars अस्ताति ॥ Thus दक्षिणत उत्तरत ॥

Note —The word दक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken The अ of अतसुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तस् in sūtras like II 3 30

१९७९ । विभाषापराधराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परतः । अवरतः । परस्तात् । अवरस्तात् ।

1979 Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astāti

Thus परत or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवरस्तात् or अवरत ॥

१९८० । अञ्चोर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चत्यन्तादिक्वाब्बावस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् तद्धितलुकि ॥ प्राच्या प्राच्या प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एव देशे काले च ॥

1980 After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti .

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक् as प्राच्या दिशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागत , प्रागमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I 2 49 S 1408 So also उर्वक् 'in the north' Similarly when locality or time is denoted

१६८१ । उपर्युपरिष्ठात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्यापदेशे स्याद्विरिष्ठातिनौ च प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्ठाद्वा वसति । आगतो रमणीय वा ॥

1981 The words upari and upariśtât are anomalous in the sense of astâti

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप and adding the affixes रिच् and रिष्ठात् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वाया दिशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागत उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्ठाद्वसति, उपरिष्ठाद्वागत , उपरिष्ठाद्गमणीयम् ॥

१६८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च प्रत्ययास्तस्मातेर्विषये ॥

1982 The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix आति ॥ As अपरस्या दिशि वसति = पश्चाद्वसति, भागत रमणीयम् &c

Note —So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into pascha and âti is added As दक्षिणपश्चात् , उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note —So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha, as, दक्षिणपश्चार्ध , उत्तरपश्चार्ध ॥

Note —Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word As, पश्चार्ध ॥

१६८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादाति । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983 To the words uttara, adhara and dakshina is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti

Thus उत्तरस्या दिशि वसति = उत्तराद्वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१६८४ । एनबन्धनरस्यामदुरेऽपञ्चम्या । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एनङ्वा स्यादवध्यवधिमतो सामीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्त विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । पक्षे यथाश्च प्रत्यया । इह कश्चिदुत्तरादीननुवत्य दिक्शब्दमात्रादेनपमाह । पूर्वैरेण ग्रामम् ॥ अपरेण ग्रामम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एन) comes optionally, (after the words utara, adhara and dakshina in the sense of astāti), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix

Note —The affix अस्ताति and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधरेण, अधरात् अथस्ताद् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणे, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसति &c 'He lives near by in the north ward or southward' Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणत् उत्तरत्, अथस्तात्, उत्तरात् । Observe उत्तराद्वासति he lives far away in the north' Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तरागत ' come from the north'

Note —The word अपठ्यन्वा. governs all the succeeding sūtras upto V 3 39, exclusive

Some do not read उत्तर &c into this sūtra according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction As पूर्वैष मानम्, अपरेण मानम् (II 3 31) The ए in enap is for the sake of accent (III 1 4. S 3709)

१६८५ । दक्षिणादात् । ५ । ३ । ३६ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये । दक्षिणा वसति । अपठ्यन्वा इत्येव । दक्षिणागतः ॥

1985 The affix ach (आ) comes after the word dakshina, in the sense of astāti, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix

The word अदूरे of the last sūtra is not read into this though the word अपठ्यन्वा governs it Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत् आगत in the ablative

Note —The ए in आच् is not for the sake of accent (VI 1 163 S 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udatta by the general rule III 1 3 S 3708 The ए serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sūtra II 3 29 S 595

१६८६ । आहि च दूरे । ५ । ३ । ३७ ॥

दक्षिणाद् दूरे आहि स्यात् आराच् । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986 The affix âhi (आहि) comes after the word dakshina, in the sense of astāti, as well as ach when the reference is to a distant limit

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the word च 'and'

Thus दक्षिणाहि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south',

Note —Why do we say दूरे when the adverb denotes a distant limit'?
Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चन्या governs this also as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१६८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तराहि । उत्तर ॥

1987 The affixes आच् and आहि come after uttara in the sense of astāti, when the reference is to a distant limit

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तराहि वसति or दक्षिणाय ॥ "He lives far away in the north or the northward far away is pleasant"

Note —But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चन्या governs this also as उत्तरागत ॥

१६८८ । सख्याया विधार्थे धा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानास्तख्यायाश्चात्कार्ये धा स्यात् । चतुर्धा । पञ्चधा ॥

1988 The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action

Note —The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action

Thus एकधा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once' द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice' Similarly त्रिधा चतुर्धा पञ्चधा ॥

१६८९ । अधिकरणविचाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य सख्यान्तरापदाने सख्याया धा स्यात् । एक राशि पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989 The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances

Note —The word सख्याया is understood here The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff substance' विचाल 'change in numbers' Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one

Thus एक राशि पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five' Similarly अनेकधा एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one"

१९९० । एकादशो व्यमुञ्च्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एकप्यम् । एकधा ॥

1990 After the word *eka*, the substitute *dhyamuñ* (ध्यम्) comes optionally instead of *dha*

Thus एकधा राशिं कुरु or ऐकध्य कुरु, एकधा धुङ्क्ते or ऐकध्य धुङ्क्ते ॥

Note —The repetition of धा in the sūtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विचाल ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विचाल only, as immediately preceding this sūtra

१६६१ । द्वित्रयोश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

भाभ्या धा इत्यस्य धमुञ् स्याद्वा । द्वेधम् । द्विधा । त्रैधम् । त्रिधा । धमुञ्न्तास्त्रयैर् उदर्शनम् * ॥
पयि द्वेधानि

1991 The substitute *dhamuñ* धम् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words *dvi* and *tri*

Note — Here also it comes in both the विधायि and अधिकरण विचाल senses By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sūtra

1. nus द्विधा or द्वेधम्, त्रिधा, or त्रैधम् ॥

Vari —The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in *dhamuñ* As पयि, द्वेधानि सम्प्रवृत्ते ॥

१६६२ । एधाञ्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्वेधा । त्रैधा ॥

1992 The substitute *edhāch* (एधौ) comes optionally in the place of *dha*, after *dvi* and *tri*

Thus द्वेधा (VI 4 148 S 311) or द्वेधम् or द्विधा, त्रैधा त्रैधम् or त्रिधा ॥

१६६३ । याप्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो भिषक् भिषक्पाश ॥

1993 The affix *pāśap* (पाश) denotes something as insignificant

The word याप्य means 'contempt, trifling' &c Thus कुत्सित याप्यो भिषक्, भिषक् पाश 'a very bad physician' So also यज्ञिकपाश ॥

Note —Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral

१६६४ । पूरणाद्भागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । त्वरे विराग ॥ तीयासीकस् स्वार्थे -भाष्य * ॥ द्वितीयिक द्वितीयः । तृतीयिक तृतीय ॥ न विद्याया * ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विद्येलेव ॥

1994 After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in *tīya*, comes the affix **अन्** (अ) (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant

This sūtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which **अन्** is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent. Thus द्वितीयः (V 2 54. S 1854) has udatta on सी (III 1 3 S 3708) but when **अन्** is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI 1 197 S 3686). Thus द्वितीयो भाग - द्वितीयः 'the moiety' Similarly तृतीय 'the one-third'

Note —Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent. The affix **तीय** always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the **तीय** in words like **तृतीय** is not significant as it is not an affix. The employment of the word **पूरय** in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sūtra. Its *anuvṛtti*, however, runs in the other sūtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here.

Vart —The affix **ईकच्** is added to words ending in **तीय**, without changing the sense. As द्वितीयिक, तार्तीयिक, in the same sense as द्वितीय and तृतीय ॥

Vart —But not so, when the word ending in **तीय** refers to विद्या ॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या ॥

१९९५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽङ्गन्त्वसि । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूरयप्रत्ययान्ताङ्गागन् । अतुर्य । पञ्चम ॥

1995 After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix **अन्**, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant but not so in the Chhandas

This is for accent also. Thus अतुर्य, पञ्चम, सप्तमः, नवम, दशम ॥

Note —Why do we say प्रागेकादश 'before eleven'? Observe एकादश, द्वादशः no change of accent (VI 1 223 S 3734). Why do we say 'not in the Chhandas'? Observe, पञ्चममिन्द्रियस्यापाङ्गामत (पञ्चम has acute on the final being formed by ङङ preceded by मङ् V 2 48, 49 S 1849, 1850)

१९९६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां अ च । ५ । ३ । ५० ॥

आदन् । षष्ठो भाग षष्ठ । षष्ठ । आष्टम । अष्टमः ॥

1996 The affix **ना** (अ) also comes as well as **अन्** after shastha and ashtama, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Chhandas.

The words भागे and अङ्गन्त्वसि are understood here. By च, the affix **अच्** is included. Thus षष्ठ or षष्ठ अष्टम or आष्टम ॥

१९६७ । मानपञ्चङ्गयो कन्लुको च । ५ । ३ । ५१ ॥

षष्ठाष्टमशब्दाभ्या क्रमेण कन्लुको स्तो माने पञ्चङ्गे च वाच्ये । षष्ठको भाग मान चेत् । अष्टमो भाग पञ्चङ्ग चेत् । मत्स्य भनो वा लुक् । चकाराययाप्राप्तम् । षष्ठ । षाष्ठ । अष्टम । आष्टम । महावि भाषया सिद्धे लुग्वचन पूर्वम् मानो नित्याविति ज्ञापयति ॥

1997 After the words shashtha and ashtama there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक् elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called māna or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively

The word मान means a grain weight (ग्रीहि वारमित्तं सुवर्णं) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after षष्ठ when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed, and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पञ्चङ्ग is denoted. Thus षष्ठका भाग 'a sixth of a grain measure' अष्टमो भाग 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast'. The लुक् here takes the place of the affix ज्ञ as well as अन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed as षाष्ठ or षष्ठ, आष्टम or अष्टम ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply

Though under the Great Option (IV 1 82 S 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk elision herein taught indicates by implication, that the ज्ञ and अन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option. See also V 3 1 S 1947

१९६८ । एकादाकिनिष्ठासहाये । ५ । ३ । ५२ ॥

आत्कन्लुको । एक । एकाकी । एकक ॥

1998 After the word eka, comes also the affix ākin-ich (आकिन्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect the elision being of कन् or आकिनिष् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एकक or एक ॥

Note —By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone' एकोऽन्यार्ये प्रधाने च, प्रयत्ने, केवले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽल्ले, सख्याया च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनौ, and the plural एकाकिन ॥

१९६९ । भूतपूर्वे चरत् । ५ । ३ । ५३ ॥

आत्मो भूतपूर्वः आत्मचर ॥

1999 The affix चर (with the feminine in कीप्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'

The word भूतपूर्व is a compound of पूर्व and भूत the compounding being by झप्रत्यया, and denotes something done in a past time Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्व = आढ्यचर 'once opulent'

Note —The इ indicates that the feminine will be in डीप् as, आढ्यचरी ॥ The च् is not इत् in चरद् though required by I 3 7 S 189 This proves that बुद्ध rule is anitya The sūtra V 2 18 S 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word भूतपूर्व, but then खञ् would have debarred चरद् which is, however, not intended

२००० । षष्ठ्या रूप्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताभूतपूर्वेऽर्थे रूप्य स्याच्चरद् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौ कृष्णरूप्य । कृष्णः । र । तसिलारिषु रूप्यस्यापरिणायितत्वात् पुनर् । शुभाया भूतपूर्व शुभारूप्य ॥

2000 After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix रूप्य, and also चरद्, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'

The word भूतपूर्व here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sūtra Thus कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः = कृष्णरूप्य 'the cow that formerly belonged to Kṛṣṇa' Similarly देवदत्तचर ॥ The affix रूप्य not being included in tasilādi class of sūtra VI 3 35 S 836 does not cause the masculinisation Thus शुभाया भूतपूर्व = शुभारूप्य and not शुभरूप्य ॥

२००१ । अतिशायने तमविष्टनौ । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविशिष्टार्थवृत्ते स्वार्थे एतौ स्त । अयमेवमतिशयेनाढ्य आढ्यतम । लघुतमो लविष्ट ॥

2001 When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes तमप् (तम्) and इष्ट (इष्ट), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation

Note —These affixes form the superlative degree. The word अतिशयन is an irregular form of अतिशयन, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive The स्वार्थिक affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive

Thus आढ्यतम = सर्व इमे आढ्या, अयमेवमतिशयेनाढ्य 'the richest'; e 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches' Similarly षट्—षट्ठि, सुह—गरिष्ठ, लघु—लविष्ट (VI 4 155 S 1786)

Note —When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also as श्रेष्ठ, though a superlative, forms श्रेष्ठतम ॥ As देवो व सविता प्रापयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे । शुचिष्ठिर श्रेष्ठतमः कुदणानिति ॥

२००२ । तिङ्भ्य । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिङन्तातिशये योले तमप् स्यात् ॥

2002 So also after a finite verb, comes the affix tamap, when 'surpassing' is meant

By the next sūtra, the affix तमप् gets the designation *gha* च ॥

Note —By ह्याप्रप्रातिपदिकात् IV*1 1 S 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem, they would not have come after verbs, hence this sūtra. Thus पचतितमाश्च (the आश्च is added by V 4 11, S 2004) — सर्व इमे पचन्तीति, अयमेषामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly' अपचतितमाश्च &c, The affix इष्टन् never comes after a verb, as by V 3 58 S 2006 it is restricted to adjectives

२००३ । तरसमपो च । १ । १ । २२ ॥

एतौ चसज्ञौ स्त ॥

2003 The affixes tarap and tamap are called च ॥

As this affix is gha, the next sūtra applies

२००४ । किमेत्तिङ्व्ययघादाम्बुद्व्यप्रकर्षे । ५ । ४ । ११ ॥

किम् एवन्तात्तिङोऽव्ययाच्च यो घस्तन्तासाङ्ग स्यान्न तु द्व्यप्रकर्षे । कित्तमाश्च । प्राह्वेतमाश्च । पचतितमाश्च । उचैस्तमाश्च । द्व्यप्रकर्षे तु उचैस्तमस्तह ॥

2004 To the affix तर and तम (च I 1 22 S 2003) ordained to come after the word किम् (V 3 55 S 2001) or after a word ending in ण (VI 3 17 S 975) or after a finite verb (V 3 56 57 S 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix ङ्म (आम्), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality)

Note :—The च or तरप् and तमप् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्षे 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs. This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives, i.e. when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun. The द्व्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c, it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison. The prohibition in अद्व्यप्रकर्षे therefore really relates to the quality of a substance, i.e. to adjectives. द्व्यस्याव्ययपदेऽस्य न विना भेद हेतुना । प्रकर्षोविद्यते नापि शब्दस्यापेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus कित्तमाश्च or कित्तमाश्च "how excessively", प्राह्वेतमाश्च or प्राह्वेतमाश्च, पचतितमाश्च or पचतितमाश्च "he cooks surprisingly", उचैस्तमाश्च, उचैस्तमाश्च "more or most loftily or loudly"

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the ङ्म आम् is not added. As उचैस्तमस्तह "a most lofty tree"

२००५ । द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरबीयसुनौ । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

द्विवचनेकस्यातिशये विभक्त्ये चोपपदे सुतिङ्गन्तादौ स्त । पूर्वचोरपवाद । अद्यमनचोरतिशयेन लङ्गुलुत्तर लवीयाश्च । उरीया प्राच्यम् पटुता । पटीयास्त ॥

2005 The affixes tarap (तट्) and iyasun (इयस्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada), is to be distinguished from another

Note :—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two विभक्त्य is irregularly formed by क्त्वं, and means 'that which is to be distinguished or differentiated'

This debars तन्प् and इष्टन् ॥

The rule of अथास्तस्य (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply here First to take an example of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things thus: द्वाविमावाक्यौ, अयमनयोरतिशयेन = आक्यतर 'both are rich, but he is richer amongst the two' So also लघुतर and लघीवान् ॥

Similarly सुकुमारतर, पञ्चतितरा अल्पतितराक् (V 4 11 S 2004); or with इयसुन् as द्वाविमौ पटु अयमनयोरतिशयेन पटु = पटीवान् 'more skilful of the two', लघीवान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभक्त्ये चोपपदे १० when a word in construction is to be differentiated thus माथुरा पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आक्यतरा 'The men of Mathurā are richer than those of Pāṭaliputra' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used

Similarly so also लघीभ्या आक्येभ्य पटुतरा "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पटीबास लघीबास ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons

२००६ । अजादी गुणवचनादेव । ५ । ३ । ५८ ॥

इष्टनीबहुनो गुणवचनादेव स्त । प्रथिष्ठ । प्रथीवान् । नेह । पाचकतर । पाचकतन ॥

2006 The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. इयस् and इष्ट) are added only after words denoting attributes

Thus प्रथिष्ठः प्रथीवान्, but not after words like पाचक &c there we have पाचकतर, पाचकतन ॥

Note —The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the affixes, and not of the primitives Thus पटुतर, पटुतनः are also valid forms

२००७ । तुश्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ५९ ॥

तुश्छन्दस्तारिष्टनीबहुनो स्तः ।

2007 These affixes ishthan and iyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in नृ ॥

The नृ is ablative of नृ which includes both नृक् and नृच् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेय सु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

तृशब्दस्य लाप स्याद्विष्ठमेयसु परेषु । अतिशयन कता करिष्ठ । रोहीवसी धेनु ॥

2008 The affix त् is elided before the affixes इष्टन् इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठ विजयिष्ठ बहिष्ठ रोहीवसी धेनु ॥ The whole affix त् is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (दि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules

Thus अतिशयन कर्ता = करिष्ठ (कर्त् + इष्टन् = कर् = इष्ठ by VI 4, 154, S 2008 त् is elided) As आसुति करिष्ठ रोहीवसी धेनु ॥ By the Vārtika under VI, 3 35 S 836 शाहना is changed into masculine शहिन् and then ईयस् is added by VI 4 145 S 2008)

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य अ । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य आदेशः स्यादजायो ॥

2009 For प्रशस्य is substituted अ, when these affixes ishthan and iyasun follow

Then applies the following

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्टादिभ्येकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठ । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् ॥

Thus श्रेष्ठ and श्रेयान् ॥

२०११ । ज्य च । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य ज्यादश स्याद्विष्ठेयसो । ज्यष्ठ ॥

2011 For praśasya, ज्य is also substituted before these two affixes.

As ज्येष्ठ ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ४ । ६ । १६० ॥

आदि परस्य । ज्यायान् ॥

2012 आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस् after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥

Note 1.—ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V 3 61, S 2011

२०१३ । वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

अन्तिक् स्वादजायो । ड्यङ् । ड्यायान् ॥

2013 ड्य is also substituted for वृद्ध, when ishtan and fyas follow

Thus ड्यङ् 'the oldest', ड्यायान् 'the older'

Note —By VI 4 157, S 2016 वर्बि is also substituted for वृद्ध and we have वर्बीङ् and वर्बीयान् also The word वृद्ध though not a gunavachana, takes these affixes by the implication of this sūtra

२०१४ । अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अजायो । नेदिङ् । नेदीयान् । साधिङ् । साधीयान् ॥

2014 For अन्तिक is substituted नेद, and for बाढ is साध, when these affixes follow

Thus नेदिङ् । नेदीयान् । साधिङ् and साधीयान् ॥

२०१५ । स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरपूर्वस्य च गुण । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषा यणादिपर लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इष्टादिषु । स्थविङ् । दविङ् । यविङ् । ह्रसिङ् । क्षेपिङ् । क्षोदिङ् । एवमीयस् । ह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां पृथ्वादित्वात् ह्रसिमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षोपिमा ॥

2015 Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guna is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is ल र, वन् and व and र are elided Thus स्थविङ्, स्थवीयान्, दविङ्, दवीयान्, यविङ्, यवीयान्, ह्रसिङ्, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा, क्षेपिङ्, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Prithvādī class and take 'īman' affix (V 1 122 S 1784) क्षोदिङ्, क्षोदीयान्, क्षादिमा ॥ Why do we say पर in यणादिपर 'the last semivowel'? The first semivowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व । e व of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness

२०१६ । प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतुप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बहि-
गर्बेर्बिज्रब्राधिवृन्वा । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियादीनां क्रमात्प्रादय स्युरिष्टादिषु । प्रेष्ट । स्थेष्ट । स्फेष्ट । वरिष्ट । बहिष्ट । गरिष्ट । गर्बेष्ट । बपिष्ट । ब्राचिष्ट । ब्राचिष्ट । एवमीयस् । प्रेयान् । प्रियोरुबहुलगुरुवीर्घाणां पृथ्वादित्वात्प्रेमेत्यादि ॥

2016 Before the affixes इष्ट, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place —प्र for प्रिय, स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर for उर, बह for बहुल, गृ for गुरु, वर्ब for वृद्ध, ज्र for तुप्, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठ, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्, स्थिर, स्थेष्ठ, स्थेयान्, स्थेमा, स्थिर, स्फेष्ठ, स्फेयान्, उरु, वरिष्ठ, वरिमा वरीयान्, बहुल, बहिष्ठ, बहीयान् बहिमा, गुरु गरिष्ठ, गरीयान् गरिमा वृद्ध वर्षिष्ठ वर्षीयान्, कृप, ज्विष्ठ, ज्वपीयान्, दीर्घ, द्राविष्ठ, द्रावीयान्, द्राधिमा, वृन्सारक, वृन्विष्ठ, वृन्वीयान्, ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvādi class and take इमन् (V 1 122 S 1784) while others do not

२०१७। बहुलोलोपो भू च बहो । ६।४।१५८ ॥

बहो परयोऽरिमेयसोलोप स्याद्विद्वेष भुरादेश । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017 The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा

Note —In the case of इष्ठ, the following sūtra 2018 will apply Under I 1 54 and 67 बहो being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz इ or ई, in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvādi class and takes इमन् affix (V 1 122 S 1784) The repetition of बहो is for the sake of pointing out the sthāni for which the word भू is to be substituted otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes

२०१८। इष्ठस्य यिद् च । ६।४।१५९ ॥

बहो परस्य इष्ठस्य लोप स्यात् यिडागमश्च । भूविष्ठ ॥

2018 After बहु the augment यिद् is added to इष्ठ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूविष्ठ ॥

Note —This augment यिद् debars the lopa substitution of the last sūtra in the case of इष्ठ ॥ The इ in यिद् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sūtra, and to the इ the augment यि may be added

२०१९। युवाल्पयो कनून्यतरस्याम् । ५।३।६४ ॥

एतयो कनादेशो वा स्याद्विषेयसो । कनिष्ठ । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठ । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019 Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted on युवन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् or यविष्ठ यवीयान् । similarly अल्पिष्ठ, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् ॥ सर्वज्ञे युवान्, अयमेषामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । द्वाविनौ युवानौ अयमनयोऽतिशयेन, कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वज्ञेऽल्पा । अयमेषामतिशयेन, कनिष्ठः । उभावित्तावल्पावयमनयोऽतिशयेन कनीयान् अयमस्मकनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठ अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२०। विन्मतोलुक् । ५।३।६५ ॥

विनो मतुपश्च लुक् स्याद्विषेयसो । अतिशयेन सन्धी । सजिष्ठः । सजीयान् । अतिशयेन स्वन्वश्च स्वन्विष्ठ । स्वन्वीयान् ॥

2023 Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before when the sense is slight incompleteness

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added *after* a word. The affix बहुच् however is added *before* the word. The च् of बहुच् indicates that the udātta will fall on the final vowel of the word. See VI 1 163 S 3710. Thus बहुपटु 'a tolerably skilful person'. By the word 'optionally' it is indicated that the affixes कल्प &c also come as पटुकल्प. Why do we say सुप 'to a noun ending in a case affix i e a declined noun'? For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (तिङन्त) ॥ As यजतिरुत्पम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६६ ॥

प्रकारवति चायम् । याल्ल तु प्रकारमात्रे । पटुप्रकार पटुजातीय ॥

2024 The affix जातीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality'. When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचन ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive. The affix जातीयर् and the affix याल्ल V 3 23 S 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीयर् denotes प्रकारवान्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i e merely प्रकार ॥

Thus पटुजातीय 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'

Note — The above Sūtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीयर् has the sense of "belonging to the class of" "being of the nature of"

२०२५ । प्राग्विवाक् । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इडे प्रतिकृतान्वित्यत प्राक् काधिकार ॥

2025 The affix ka (क) governs all the sūtras, as far as "ive prātikṛitau" (V 3 96 S 2051).

Note — Properly speaking क extends only upto V 3 86 S 2041. Thus in the sūtra अज्ञाने V 3 73 S 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense. As अश्नक, गर्वश्नक ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (तिङन्त), but the affix अकच V 3, 71 S 2026 comes after such verbs. In other words, the phrase तिङन्त V 3 56, S 2002 should be connected, by way of anuvṛtti, with the next sūtra, and not with this.

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनामकच् प्राक् डेः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

तिङ्भेद्यनुवर्तते ॥

Q26. The affix akach (अक्) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words, in the sense of Prāgviya affixes

Note —The च् shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI 1 163 S 3710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word The phrase तिङ्मय V 3 56 S 2012 is understood here also This अक्च debars क ॥ Thus उच्चै + अक् = उच्चै + अक् + ऐ = उच्चैः । Similarly नीचै, दानै from नीचै and दानैः ॥ So also after Pronominals, as सर्वै, विश्वै, and उभयै from सर्वे विश्वे and उभये ॥

२०२७ । कस्य च द । ५ । ३ । ७२ ॥

कान्ताव्ययस्य इकरोऽन्तादेश स्यादकच ॥

2027 The letter द is the substitute of the final क् of an Indeclinable, when the affix akach is added

Note —The word अव्यय is to be read into this sūtra and not सर्वनाम, because no Pronominal ends in क् ॥ Thus धकिन्, हिरकुन् and पृथक् from धिक्, हिक् and पृथक् ॥ Thus हिक् + अक् = हिर् + अक् + उक् = हिरकुक्, now comes the present rule and the final क् is changed into द्, as हिरकुद् or ०त् ॥

२०२८ । अज्ञाते । ५ । ३ । ७३ ॥

कस्यायमभ्योऽभ्यक । उच्चै । नीचै । सर्वै । विश्वै ॥ ओकारसकारभकागदौ सुवि सर्वनामने प्राकगच् * ॥ अन्यच्च तु सुबन्तस्य दे प्रागकच् * ॥ युक्कयो । आवकया । युष्मकास्तु । अस्मकास्तु । युष्मकाभि । ओकारित्यादिभि । स्वयका । मयका ॥ अक्चप्रकरणे तृष्णीम काम्बन्तव्य * ॥ मिस्वादन्यावच्च पर । तृष्णीकामास्ते ॥ शीले कामलोपश्च * ॥ तृष्णीशीलस्तृष्णीक । पचतकि । अल्पतकि । धकिन् । हिरकुन् ॥

2028 The affix क (V 3 70 S 2025) and अक् (V. 3 71 S 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of

This अज्ञात or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object As अभ्यक 'whose horse?' Similarly in उच्चै 'high' (is it so ?) नीचै 'Is it low ?' सर्वै 'was this agreed to by all ?' So also विश्वै ॥ Similarly पचतकि " He cooks, is it ?" अल्पतकि, ' He speaks, does he ?'

The affix is added to सुबन्त words i e to declined nouns, and not to प्रातिपदिक or crude-nouns as was required by IV 1 1 S 182 Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a Prātīpadika also The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (Prātīpadika) and when to a Subanta word Thus in युष्मकाभि, अस्मकाभि, युष्मकास्तु, अस्मकास्तु, युक्कयो, आवकयो, the affix is added to the Prātīpadika viz to युष्मद्, अस्मद्, giving युष्मकद्,

अस्मकद् which are then declined as Pronominals But in the examples स्वयका, मयका, स्वयकि मयक, the affix अक् is added to स्वया, मया (the Instrumental case of युष्मद् and अस्मद्), and स्वयि, and मयि the Locative singular of the same

Vārt —The ffix अक् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prātipadika when a case-affix beginning with ओ, स or न follow

Vārt —The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases

Vārt —The affix कान् is added to the Indeclinable तूष्णीम् ॥ The म् is indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, 1 47 S 37) As तूष्णीम् + का = तूष्णीकान्, as तूष्णीकानास्ते, तूष्णीका तिष्ठति 'he remained silent'

Vārt —When, however, the meaning is 'that whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the म् of तूष्णीम् is elided As तूष्णीक 'a taciturn'

The phrase तिष्ठन् (V 3 56 S 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also As पचति—पचतकि । जल्पति—जल्पतकि ॥

२०२६ । कुत्सिते । ५ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वक ॥

2029 The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible

Thus अश्वर्के 'a sorry horse'

२०३० । सहायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्यात्तन्नेन चेत्सहा गम्यते । शङ्क । राधक । स्वार्थ वचनम् ॥

2030 The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sūtra is understood here also This कन् debars क ॥ शङ्क । राधक ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent (VI 1 197 S 3686)

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रक । अनुकम्पित पुत्र इत्यर्थ ॥

2031 The above affixes come when compassion is denoted

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment' Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'

२०३२ । नीती च तद्युक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सामदानादिरुपायो नीतिस्तस्या गम्यमानायामनु रम्पायुक्तानकपत्य स्यात् । इन्त त धानका ।
 छडका । एहकि । अजकि । पूर्वानुक्तगम्यमानात्पत्य । अनेन तु परम्परासम्बन्धेऽपीति । विशेष ॥

2032 Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown

The word नाति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and 'punishment' तद्युक्तान् means 'joined with that', i.e. with gift compassion &c In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion Thus, इन्त त धानका 'alas' here are barley for you' एहकि, अजकि 'O-dear! come and eat' (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want) In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of इ 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बह्वचो मनुष्यनास्रज्ज्वा । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वस्रज्ज्वाविषय ॥

2033 The affix thach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कन् also As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्त - देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V 3 83 S 2035) When कन् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तक ॥ Similarly बालिकः or बालक ॥

Why do we say बह्वच 'after a polysyllable?' Observe दत्तक । सुतक ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name?' Observe मन्त्रबाहुक भद्रबाहुक, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (मन्त्रौ बाहु यस्य), or these are names of quadrupeds

२०३४ । घनिलचो ख । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तथैव ॥

2034 Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note —The force of च् is that the other affix क् also comes, as well as डच् ॥
Thus from देवदत्त we have देविय, देविल, देविक, देवदत्तक (V 3 83 S 2035)

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वद्वितीयादच् । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यद्येऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतेर्द्वितीयादच् ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्ता दविक । देविय । देविल, देवदत्तक । अनुकम्पिता वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तक । उग्रहण्डको द्वितीयस्य कविधानार्थम् । वायुक । पितृक ॥

अतुर्थादच् ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपो वाच्य * ॥ अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पति दत्तो, बृहस्पतिक ॥

अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ देवदत्तक ॥ देवक ॥

लाप पूर्वपदस्य च * ॥ दत्तिक । दत्तिय । दत्तिल । दत्तक ॥

विनापि प्रत्यय पूर्वोत्तरपादयोरौ लोपो वाच्य * ॥ देवदत्त । दत्त । देव ॥ सत्यभामा । भामा ।

सत्य ॥

उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च * ॥ भानुदत्त भानुल ॥

ऋवर्णादपि * ॥ सवित्रिय । सवितृल ॥ ल इति लोप सज्ञा प्राचाय ।

अतुर्थादनजादौ च लोप पूर्वपदस्य च ॥

अप्रत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035 When tha (V 3 78 S 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3 79, 80 S 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word लोप is understood here from V 3 82 S 2039 The word ऊर्ध्वम् indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I 1 54 S 44) The illustrations have been given above Thus देवदत्त+इक, here all the letters after the ष of देव should be elided as देविक, so also देविय, देविल ॥

The affix ङ is replaced by इक् or क् (VII 3 50, 51) hence its special mention in this sūtra For had it not been used, the sūtra would have run thus 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक substitute of ङ, but not to क substitute of ङ which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, ए, इप् and उस् ॥ But it is intended that क् (and not इक्) substitute of ङ should be added to words whose second syllables end in उक् (उ or ऋ) vowels If it be said that इक् substitute of ङ would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्त &c also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables, and when such syllables are elided, क् would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक्, which we can do by the rule of sthānivat, we say, it is not so For if it were the case, we should add the क् substitute and not इक् in the following, मथित्+ङक् (VI 4 51 S 2313) = मथित्+ङक् (VI 4 148 S 311) because, after elision, मथित् ends with

But we know that क is not added but इक, and we have मधितिक ॥ Hence the employment of इ in the sūtra is proper as, बाहुवन्त — बाहुक, पित्रवन्त — पित्रक ॥

Vart —It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases As अनुकम्पितो वृहस्पतिवन्त — वृहस्पतिक, वृहस्पतियः, वृहस्पतिल ॥

Vart —When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional Thus देवदन्त + कन् = देवदन्तक or देवक, यज्ञदन्तक or ज्ञयक ॥

Vart —There is elision of the first term, when these affixes वच् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow Thus वृत्तिक, दन्तिल, दन्तिव, दन्तक from देवदन्त or यज्ञदन्त or बाहुवन्त &c-

Vart —The diminutive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name Thus दन्त or देव from देवदन्त, सत्यभामा — भामा or सत्या ॥

Vart —The affix इल is replaced by ल after a word ending in इ as, भातुल from भातुवन्त, वसुल — वसुवन्त ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients

Vartika —So also after a word ending in ऋ as सविमूल or सविमिल ॥

२०३६ । प्राच्यामुपादेरडज्जुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वाभ्यातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये भडच् वुच् एतौ स्त । आद्यथाप्राप्तम् । प्राच्या ग्रहण पूजार्थम् । अनुकम्पित उपेन्द्रवन्त उपड । उपक । उपिक । उपिय । उपिल । उपेन्द्रवन्तक । षड् कपाणि ॥

2036 According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes adach (अड) and vuch (अक) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz compassion or courtesy Thus from the word उपेन्द्रवन्त, we have, 1 उपेन्द्रवन्तक (kan), 2 उपिक (thach), 3, उपिल (ilach), 4 उपियः (ghan), 5 उपक (vuch), 6 उपड (adach) The shortened forms are by V 3 83 S 2035 In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened The word प्राच्या is used as a sign of respect (pujārtha), for the word च was understood in the aphorism by anuvṛtti from V 3 78

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्न इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयस्तस्मात्कन्यादनुकम्पाया नीतो च । सिंहक । शरभक । रासभक ॥ द्वितीय सध्यक्षर चेत्यदिलोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ अनुकम्पित कणोड कहिक ॥ एकाक्षरपुत्रपशुनामुत्तरवलापा वक्तव्य * ॥ वागादीरित्त वाचिक । कथ षडङ्गुलित्त षडिक इति ॥ षषडाजादिवचनात्सिद्धम् ॥

2037 The affix *in* क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea when compassion, or courtesy is meant

The word *manushya nāmnah* of S 2033 is understood here

The *आतिनामन्* are words like *व्याघ्र* &c which are well known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor The *anuvṛtti* of बहुचः does not extend to it This is a general rule Thus सिंहक, शरभक, एतभक ॥ The word वा being understood in this sūtra, the previous affixes also come, as सिंहिल ॥ The word नामन् is used along with *आति*, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form *आति* (I 1 68)

Vart —When the second vowel is ओ, औ, ए, or ऐ, then this is also elided. As लहिक from लहोड, कहिक from कहोड ॥

Vart —When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member as वाचिक from वागाशीदन्त (the ग् changed back to च् because the stem is now व and not पद् and rule VIII 2 39 S 84 does not apply) So also स्तुचिक स्वाचिक ॥ The form वडिक (and not वविक from वट) is an exception It is diminutive of वडङ्गुलिदन्त ॥

२०३८ । शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्थमादीनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषा मनुष्यनाम्ना ढाजारी परे तृतीयादच्च ऊर्ध्व लोप स्यात् । पूर्वस्थापवादः । अनुकम्पित शेवलवत्त शेवलिक । शेवलिय । शेवलिक । सुपरिक । विशालिक । वरुणिक । अर्थमिक ॥

2038 There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with *Śeṣala*, *Supari*, *Viśāla*, *Varuna*, and *Aryaman*, when the above affixes *tha* or those having an initial vowel follow

This debars the previous sūtra Thus अनुकम्पित शेवलवत्त = शेवलिक, शेवलिय, शेवलिल, सुपरिक, सुपरिय, सुपरिल from सुपरिवत्त so also विशालिक, विशालिय, विशालील, वरुणिक, वरुणिय, वरुणिल, अर्थमिक, अर्थमिय and अर्थमिल ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्मनुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पाया कञ् तस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्याघ्राजिनो । व्याघ्रक । सिंहक ।

2039 The affix *kan* (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in *अजिन*, and this second member is elided before the affix

The words कन् and मनुष्यनाम्न are understood in this sutra Thus व्याघ्रक from व्याघ्राजिन and सिंहक from सिंहाजिने ॥ Vyāghrājina and Sinhājina are names of men

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्प तैल तैलिकम् ॥

2040 The above-mentioned affixes क (V 3 70 S 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything

Thus अल्प तैल = तैलिक ' a little oil '

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षक ॥

2041 The above mentioned-affixes (V 3 70 S 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or ' long ' Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्ष = वृक्षक ' a small tree '

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका या संज्ञा तस्या गम्यमानाया कन् । पूर्वस्यापवाद । वक्षक । वेषुक ॥

2042 The affix kan (क) comes when the short thing is a Name

Thus वक्षक वेषुक ॥ This debars क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीयमीशुण्डाभ्यो र । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीर । क्षमीर । शुण्डार ॥

2043 The affix र comes after the words kutī, śamī and śundā, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not संज्ञा ॥ This debars क V 3 70 S 2025 Thus ह्रस्वा कुटी = कुटीर, क्षमीर and शुण्डार ॥

Note —The derivatives are masculine names, though the primitives are feminine

२०४४ । कुत्वाडुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

ह्रस्वा कुट् कुटुप । कुट् कृत्ते जेहपात्र ह्रस्वा सा कुटुप पुमान् ॥

2044 The affix dupach (उप्) comes in expressing diminution, after the word kutī ' a ja

This debars क ॥ Thus कुटुप, from कुट् the long ऊ-being elided owing to ड ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil This word is neuter also as, कुटुपम् ॥ See Amarakosha II 9 33

२०४५ । कासूगोणीभ्यां छरच् । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

आयुधविशेष कासू । इत्वा सा कासूतरी । गोणीतरी ॥

2045 The affix shtarach (तरे with feminine ई IV 1 40 S 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words kāsū and gonī

Thus इत्वा कासू = कासूतरी 'a small lance', गोणीतरी 'a small sack'

२०४६ । वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वं । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

वत्सतर । द्वितीय वय प्राप्त । उन्नतर । अश्वतर । ऋषभतर । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ततनुत्वं एवायम् ॥

2056 The affix shtarach expresses slenderness, after the words vatsa, ukshan, aśva, and ṛṣhava

The anuvṛtiti of इत्वं ceases Thus वत्सतर 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age उन्नतर 'a slender bull' being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतर 'a mule' (तस्य तनुत्वमन्यवितृकता), ऋषभ-तर 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'

२०४७ । कियत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरकस्य डतरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयो कतरो वैष्णव । यतर । ततर । महाविभाषया क । य । स ॥

2047 After the words किम्, यद् and तद्, in determining of the one 'out of two, comes the affix datarach (अतरै with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note —This affix comes in the svārtha sense The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification

Thus अनयो कतरो वैष्णव amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'

Similarly यतर 'of the two the one who', ततर 'of that two—the one'

The taddhita affixes being optional by the Great option of sutra IV 1 82 S 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word क, य or स also As, को भवतो देवदत्त स आगच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'

२०४८ । वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच् । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

बहूना मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे डतमच् वा स्मात् । जातिपरिप्रश्न इति प्रत्याख्यातमाकरे । कतरो भवता कठ । यतम । ततम वाग्रहणमकर्जयम् । यक । सक । महाविभाषया य स ॥ किमोऽसिन्विषये डतरजावि * ॥ कतर ॥

2048 The affix datamach (अतमै with the elision of the last syllable) comes after kim, yat and tat, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many the question being that of jāti

The phrase the question being that of caste ' is redundant

The words कियत्तद् and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sūtra Thus कतमो भवता कठ ' which of you, Sirs, is a Katha Brāhmaṇa ? ' यतमो भवता कठ सतम आगच्छतु ' that one of you, Sirs, who is a Katha, let him come ' The word वा ' optionally ' indicates that the affix अकच् (V 3 71 S 2026) also comes, as यको भवताकठ, सक, भामच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः य and स also, owing to the महाविभाषा (IV 1 82 S 1072) as, को भवता कठ यो, भवता कठ, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vart —The affix उत्तर has also this force, after the word किय, as, कतरं भवता कठ ' which of you, Sirs, is a Katha Brāhmaṇa ? ' As may be inferred from the sūtra कतरकतमौ जातिपरिग्रहे (II 1 63 S 742)

२०४६ एकाच्च प्राचाम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

उत्तरश्च उत्तमश्च स्यात् । अनयोरेकतरो मैत्र । एवमेकतम ॥

2049 After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes dātaraḥ and datamach in the above senses

The च draws in उत्तरश्च ॥ That is उत्तरश्च comes when one out of two is to be specified, and उत्तमश्च when one out of many is to be specified The word जातिपरिग्रहे does not govern this sūtra it being a general rule Thus अनयोरेकतरो मैत्र । एवमेकतमः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujārtha, because the word वा is already understood in the sūtra

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वित । येनेतर कुत्स्यते तविहोदाहरणम् । स्यत कुत्सिते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050 The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing

Thus व्याकरणक ' Grammar ' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride As व्याकरणकेन नाम स्व गर्वित ' thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only ' Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3 14 S 2029 as देवदत्तक &c

So far the governing power of क V, 3 70 S 2025

अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIX

TADRĀJA AFFIXES

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । २६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अथ इव प्रतिकृति अश्वक । प्रतिकृतौ किम् । गौरिव गवय ॥

2051 The affix कन् means also 'like this', when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed

The word कन् is understood here Thus अथ इवायमश्व प्रतिकृति = अश्वक 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवय "The gayal cow"

२०५२ । सज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इवार्थे कन् स्यात्समुदायेन चेत्सज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमारम्भ । अश्वसदृशस्य सज्ञा अश्वक । उष्ट्रक ॥

2052 The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name

This applies when imitation is not meant Thus अश्वसदृशस्य सज्ञा = अश्वक. 'a thing reminding a horse' उष्ट्रक ॥

२०५३ । लुप्स्यन्मनुष्ये । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

सज्ञाया विहितस्य कनो लुप्स्यान्मनुष्ये वाच्ये । चञ्च्वा लृणमय पुमान् । चञ्च्वेव मनुष्यश्चञ्च्वा । वधिका ॥

2053 When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup, the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus चञ्च्वा (चञ्च्वेवमनुष्य) 'straw man' i e an effigy in straw So also वाधका &c For accent see VI 1 204 S 3692

Note —Why do we say 'a man'? Observe अश्वक, उष्ट्रक &c This sūtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V 3 100, S 2055

२०५४ । जीविकार्थे चापरये । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

जीविकार्थं यद्विक्रायमाण तस्मिन्वाच्ये कनो लुप्स्यात् । वासुदेव । शिव । स्कन्द । देवलकानां आविकार्यास्तु इवप्रतिकृतिविवक्षम् । अपरये किम् हस्तिकान्विक्रीयते ॥

2054 A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby

That which is bought and sold is called पण्य, that which is not so dealt with is अपण्य ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmanas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door Thus वासुदेव 'the idol of Vāsudeva' शिव 'the idol of Śiva' स्कन्द &c

Why do we say अपण्ये? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीणीते 'he sells the images of elephants' अश्वकान्, रयकान् ॥

Note — This rule is also an amplification of V 3 100 S 2055

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो लुप्स्यात् । देवपथ । हसपथ । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

Note — अर्थास्तु पूजनार्थास्तु चित्रकर्मध्वजेषु च ।

इथे प्रतिकृतौ लाप कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

2055 After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, (V 3 96 S 2051 and 97 S 2052) expressing an image or a Name

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथ, हसपथ ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 हसपथ, 3 वारिपथ, 4 रथपथ, 5 स्थलपथ*, 6 करिपथ*, 7 अजपथ*, 8 राजपथ, 9 शतपथ, 10 शङ्खपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिंहपथ), 12 सिद्धगति (सिंहगति), 13 उष्ट्रमीव (उष्ट्रमीवा), 14 वायरज्जु (चामरज्जु), 15 हस्त, 16 इन्द्र, 17 वयड, 18 पुष्प, 19 मत्स्य, 20 जलपथ, 21 रज्जु, It is आकृतिगणः ॥

Note — The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag As शिव, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुन 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कपि 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुड the eagle-flag

२०५६ । वास्तेडेम् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

इवेत्यनुवर्ततएव । प्रतिकृताविति निवृत्तम् । वास्तिरिव वास्तेयम् । वास्तेयी ॥

2056 The affix dhañ पय comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'

The word इव is understood here The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images Thus वास्तिरिव = वास्तेयः fem वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'

२०५७ । शिलाया ढ । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति आगविभागाङ्गुष्मपीत्यङ्के । शिलेव शिलयम् । शिलेयम् ॥

2057 The affix dha (ध) comes after śilā, in the sense of 'like this'

Thus शिलेव = शिलय दधि curd, hard as stone According to some the affix ह्य् also comes after शिला, by dividing this sūtra into two namely (1) शिलाया "the affix dhan comes after śilā" (2) च "So also the affix dha" as शैलेयम् ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाख्य । मुख्य । जघनमिव जघन्य । अमघ । शरण्य ॥

2058 The affix यत् comes, in the sense of 'like this', after śākhā &c

Thus शाखेव = शाख्य, मुख्य (VI 1 213 S 3701) जघन्य, अमघ, शरण्य ॥

1 शाखा 2 मुख्य, 3 जघन, 4 भृङ्ग, 5 मेघ, 6 अमघ, 7 चरण, 8 स्कन्ध, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरस्, 11 शिरस्, 12 अम, 13 शरण्य ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्यं च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमय ब्राह्मण ॥

2059 The word द्रव्य is anomalous, meaning beautiful

The word द्रव्य is formed by adding यत् to the word द्रु ॥ The word भव्य means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit, having or containing in himself all the desired requisites' As द्रव्योय ब्राह्मण 'how nice is this Brāhmaṇa'.

२०६० । कुशाम्राच्छ । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

कुशाममिव कुशामीया बुद्धिः ॥

2060 The affix chha (ह्य) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word kuśāgrā

Thus कुशामीया (कुशाममिव सुक्ष्मत्वात्) बुद्धि "Intellect sharp as the point of the kuśa grass" कुशामीय वस्त्रम् ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इवार्थविषयात्समासाच्छ स्यात् । काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वध । इह काकतालसमागमसदृशभौरसमागम इति समासार्थ । तत्पयुक्त काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थ । अजाकृपाणीय । अतर्कितोपनत इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix chha (ह्य) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note.—The word तद् refers to इव, and तद्विषय means इवार्थविषय ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of इव, takes the affix छ, when a second इव is to be

indicated In the chapter on Compounds, no samasa is taught with the force of इव, this sūtra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samāsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a samasa will come under the head of सुप् सुपा समास (II 1 4 S 649)

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकृपाणीयम्, अन्धकर्तृकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीय means 'like the crow and the palm fruit the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree, and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence' Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमागम, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the ताल fruit The first case of समागम will form the compound, the second case of वध will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वध (the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागम and the derivative word काकतालीय meaning काकमरणसदृश)

Similarly अजाकृपाणीय means "like the death of a goat (ajā) by the accidental falling of a sword (kṛpāṇa) as the goat was passing" Similarly अन्धकर्तृकीय means "like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakā) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it" All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikarana) coincidences In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ऽण । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शार्करम् ॥

2062 The affix an (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śaṅkarā &c

Thus शर्करेव = शार्करम्,

1 शर्करा, 2 कपालिका, 3 कपाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कपिष्ठिका पिष्ठिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 शतपद्म, 7 गोलोमन, 8 लोमन्*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नरालि), 11 नकुल (नकुल), 12 सिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीव अङ्गुलिक । भरुजेव भारुजिक ॥

2063 The affix thak (इक् ०1 क्) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words angulī &c.

Thus अङ्गुलिक (= अङ्गुलीव) भारुजिक, ॥

1 अङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 भरुज, 3 बभ्रु 4 बल्यु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 शङ्कुली (शङ्कुल) 8 हरि*, 9 कपि, 10 मुनि*, 11 रुह*, 12 खल*, 13 उरश्चित्, 14 गोष्ठी, 15 उरस् 16 कुलिश, 17 शिखा ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाद्युजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

एकशालाशब्दादिवार्ये ङङ्वा पक्षे ङक् । एकशालेव एकशालिक । ऐकशालिक ॥

2064 The affix thach (इर्क) also comes optionally after the word ekaśālā, with the force of 'like this',

Thus ऐकशालिक by thach or ऐकशालिक by ङक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकक् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कं शुक्लोऽथ स इव कार्कीक । लौहितीक स्फटिक ॥

2065 The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after karka and lohita

Thus कार्कीक 'like कर्क or white horse' लौहितीक स्फटिक 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'

२०६६ । पूगाञ्ज् ज्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इवार्यो निवृत्त । नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधाना सङ्घा पूगास्तद्वाचकात्स्वार्ये ङ्य स्यात् । लौहित्वङ्य ॥

2066 The affix ñya (य) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The anuvṛtti of इव ceases The word पूग means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c Thus लौहित्वङ्य 'the red bannered horde' dual लौहित्वङ्यौ, pl लौहित्वङ्या ॥ Similarly, शैब्य, शैब्यौ, शिब्य, चातक्य, चातक्यौ, चातका ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II 4 62 S 1193

Note —Why do we say अग्रामणीपूर्वात् ? Observe देवदत्तका (V 2 78 S 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta' From this sūtra, commence the तद्वाञ्ज् affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof' The affix ज्य, therefore has this meaning also viz 'the leader of the horde' Here we repeat V 3 113 S 1100 owing to the context

२०६६ । क ॥ व्रातच्छोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्राते । कापोतपाक्य । च्छ् । कौञ्जायन्य । ब्राधायन्य ॥

2066 A The affix ñya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (आयर्न IV 1. 98 S 1049) without change of sense, but not in the feminine

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called व्रात or 'wild band' Thus कापोतपाक्य

'a wild band living on pigeons', d कपोतपाक्यौ and pl कपोतपाका ॥ So with words ending in च्छम्, as कौञ्जायन्य, d कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl कौञ्जायना, ब्राधायन्य d ब्राधायन्यौ pl ब्राधायना ॥

Note —Why do we say "not in the Feminine"? Observe कपोतपाकी व्रीहिमती, कौञ्जायनी, ब्राधायनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाम्ब्यद्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । ५ । ३ । ११४ ॥

बाहीकेषु य आयुधजीविसङ्घस्तद्वाचिन स्वार्थे उच्यते । क्षौद्रक्य । मालव्य । दिश्वान्डीप् । क्षौद्रकी । आयुधेति किम् । महा । सङ्घेति किम् । सम्राट् । बाहीकेषु किम् । शबरा । अब्राह्मणेति किम् । गोपालका । शालङ्कायना । ब्राह्मणो तद्विशेषग्रहणम् । राजन्ये स्वरूपग्रहणम् ॥

2067 To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix *ñyat* (य with the fem in ई), when it is the name among the Vāhikas, but not when it is the name of a Brāhmana, nor when the word is Rājanya

The anuvṛtiti of अस्त्रियाम् does not govern this sūtra Thus कौण्डीवृक्ष्य, कौण्डीवृक्ष्यौ pl कौण्डीवृक्षा, fem कौण्डीवृक्षी, क्षौद्रक्य, क्षौद्रक्यौ, pl क्षुद्रकाः fem क्षौद्रकी, मालव्य, मालव्यौ pl मालवा fem मालवी ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? Observe महा ॥ Why do we say 'a multitude'? Observe सम्राट् ॥ Why do we say 'amongst the Vāhikas'? Observe शबरा ॥ Why do we say "not a Brāhmana or the word form Rājanya"? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणा, the Brāhmana cow-herds शालङ्कायना राजन्या ॥ In the case of a Brahmana the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brāhmana, while in the case of राजन्य, the sūtra teaches that the very word-form rājanya' should be taken

२०६८। वृकाद्वेयण् । ५ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचकास्वार्थे । वार्केण्य । आयुधेति किम् । आतिशब्दान्मा भूत् ॥

2068 The affix *tenyan* (ण्य) with the fem in ई, comes after the word Vṛka, a class of persons living by trade of arms

Thus वार्केण्य (वार्केण्यौ, pl वृका, fem वार्केणी) ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? The affix will not come when वृक means 'a wolf' As कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविव ॥

२०६९। दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्ठाच्छ । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

दामन्यादिभ्यस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठेभ्यश्चायुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्य स्वार्थे छ स्यात् । त्रिगर्त षष्ठो वर्गो जेषां ते त्रिगर्तषष्ठा ॥

आहुस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठास्तु कौण्डोपरयवाण्डकी ॥

कोटुकिर्जालमानिश्च ब्रह्मयुतोऽय आत्मिकि ॥ १ ॥

शमनीय । शमनीयौ । शमन्य । औलपि । औलपीय । त्रिगर्त । कौण्डोपरधीय । शयङ्कीय ॥

2069 'The affix *chha* (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after *dāmini* &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called 'Traigarta shashtha

The following are the six warrior races of Trigarta -कौण्डोपरय दाण्डिकि काण्डुकि, जालमनि ब्रह्मशुभ and जालकि ॥

Thus दामनीय दामनीयौ pl दामनय । भोलपीय भोलपीया, pl उलपय । कौण्डोपरधीय pl कौण्डोपरया । दाण्डकीय pl दाण्डकय ,

1 दामनि, 2 औलपि 3 बैजवापि*, 4 औदकी (भौतकि औतकि) 5 औन्कि* 6 अच्युनन्ति, (अच्युनन्ति), 7 भाच्युनन्ति* (भाच्युनन्ति) 8 शाकुन्तकि*, 9 भाकिदन्ति 10 भोडवि*, 11 काक-वन्तकि (काकान्ति) 12 शाशुनपि, 13 सार्वसेनि 14 बिन्दु, 15 वैन्दवि* 16 तुलभ 17 मोऊजायन, 18 काकान्ति 19 सावित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 देववापि 22 अपच्युतको, 23 कर्की 24 पिण्ड ॥

२०७० । पर्वोदि यौधेयादिभ्योऽण्यौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्गवाचिभ्य एभ्य क्रमावयञो स्त स्वार्थे । पार्श्व । पार्श्वौ । पर्वव । यौधेय । यौधेयौ । यौधेया ॥

2070 The affix *an* (अ) comes after *paśu* &c, and the affix *añ* (अ) comes after *yaudheya* &c, without changing the sense when these words denote warrior classes

Thus पार्श्व, d पार्श्वौ pl पर्वव । यौधेय d यौधेयौ pl यौधेया ॥

1 पशु 2 असुर, 3 रक्षस्, 4 बाहीक (बाल्हीक), 5 वयस्, 6 वसु 7 मरुत्, 8 सत्वत्, 9 ऐशाह 10 विशाख, 11 अशानि 12 काषापण ॥

1 यौधेय 2 कौशेय, 3 शौक्रेय, 4 शौभ्रेय 5 धार्तेय, 6 धार्तेय 7 ज्यावाजेय (ज्यावालेय), 8 विगत, 9 भरत, 10 उशीनर 11 कौशेय, 12 वार्त्तय ॥ See IV 1 178

२०७१ । अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छुमदशो यञ् ।

५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिद्विदभ्योऽणन्तेभ्य स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्य । वेदभृत्य । शालावत्य । शैखावत्य । शमीवत्य । भौर्णावत्य । औमत्य ॥

2071 The affix *yañ* (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words *abhyjit*, *bidabhrit*, *śālâvat*, *śikhâvat* *śamîvat*, *ûnâvat*, and *śumat*, when those words end in the Patronymic affix *अण्* ॥

The anuvṛtti of आयुधजीवसङ्घात् ceases Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम् = अभिजित, add यञ् to this, अभिजित्य, pl अभिजितम्, वेदभृत्य pl वेदभृता, शालावत्य pl शालावता, शैखावत्य pl शैखावता, शामीवत्य pl शामीवता, भौर्णावत्य, भौर्णावता, औमत्य and औमता ॥

Note —The अण् here is Patronymic Otherwise अभिजितोऽहर्त्त and अभिजित स स्थालीपाक, the affix here is अण् of नक्षत्रेण युक्त काल IV 2 3 S 1204 and of सार्वदेवता IV 2 24 S 1226 respectively

२०७२ । ज्यादयस्तद्राजा । ५ । ३ । ११६ ॥

पुगाभ्य इत्याभ्य उक्ता एतत्सज्ञा स्यु । तेनास्त्रिया बहुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वज । कपोत पाका । कौञ्जायना । ब्रध्नायना इत्यादि ॥

2072 The affixes ñya &c, (V 3 112 &c 2066) are called tadrâja

The illustrations of Tadrâja affixes have been given above The word तद्राजा occurs in Sûtra II 4 62 S 1193

Being tadrâja, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words As लोहितध्वजा (S 2066), कपोतपाका (S 2066 A), कौञ्जायना (S 2066 A), ब्रध्नायना (S 2066 A) &c

२०७३ । पादशतस्य सख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनमनैमित्तिकत्वार्थम् । अतो न स्थानिवत् । पाद् पत् । तद्धितार्थ इति समासे कृते प्रत्यय । वुन्नन्त्र स्त्रियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति द्विपदिकाम् ॥ द्विपदिकाम् ॥

पादशतप्रहणमनर्थकमन्यथापि दर्शनात् * ॥ द्विपदिकाम् ॥

2073 The affix vun (अक) comes after the words pāda and śata when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation, and the final of the stem is elided

Prâtipadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words पाद् or शत take the affix वुन् when a distributive sense (वीप्सा) is to be expressed and by the addition of this, the final is elided

By VI 4 148 the final अ of pāda and śata would have been elided before the taddhita affix vun, even if such elision was not taught in this rule The repetition of the word लोप in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I 1 57, such लोपदेश or 'substitute' would be equivalent to the principal (sthānivat), and would thus debar the application of the rule VI 4 130 by which पाद् pād (and *not* Pāda) is changed into पद् ॥ In other words, the lopa taught by यश्चेति च is परनिमित्तिक or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a taddhita affix or by इ ० । ई affix, therefore, this lopa would be sthānivat for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I 1 57 S 50) Therefore, pād becomes sthānivat to pād Therefore, the anga or base ending with 'pāda' will be called अ, and not the base ending with 'pād', and therefore VI 4 130 which applies to अ bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of पद् for पाद्, as there is not in the form पादाय ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of word. "the final of the stem is elided

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिका ददाति (द्विपाद् + बुन् = द्विपाद् + बुन् = द्विपत् + बुन् VI 4 130 = द्विपादिका VII 3 44 S 463 by which अ of अक is changed into इ) Similarly द्वे द्वे शते ददाति = द्विशतिका ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitārtha Tatpurusha compounds, viz compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II 1 51 S 728 After the compound is formed, then the affix बुन् is added Thus first we have द्विपाद् and द्विशत compounded by II 1 51 S 728 then the affix is added The words पाद् and शत when not so compounded, take बुन् affix only in the feminine

Note —Why do we say "of the words पाद् and शत 'P' Observe द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति, no affixing Why do we say "preceded by a numeral" ? Observe पाद् पाद् ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense"? Observe द्वौपादौ ददामि "He gives two quarters " द्वे शते ददाति ॥

Vdt —The enumeration of पाद् and शत is useless, as the affix is found after other words also As, द्विमोक्षिका ददाति "he gives two cakes to each" त्रिमोक्षिका ददाति ॥

२०७४ । दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । ५ । ४ । २ ॥

बुन् स्यात् । अत्रीप्सार्यनिरम् । द्वौपादौ दण्डित द्विपदिकाम्, द्विशतिकां, व्यवसृजति दशतीत्य ॥

2074 Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation" The prātipadikas पाद् and शत preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix बुन्, and the final अ is elided This sūtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here Thus द्वौ पादौ दण्डित = द्विपदिकान् दण्डित "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)" द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपदिका व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas" Similarly द्विशतिका दण्डित "punished with a fine of two hundreds" द्विशतिका व्यवसृजति ॥&c

२०७५ । स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन् । ५ । ४ । ३ ॥

जातीयराऽपवादः । स्थूलकः । अणुकः ॥ अञ्चद्बृहत्तरूपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्चत्कः । बृहत्कः ॥ सुराया अहौ * ॥ सुरावर्णोऽहि सुरकः ॥

2075 The affix कन् क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthūla &c

This debars the affix जातीयर् (V 3 69 S 2024) Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = स्थूलकः "bulky" So also अणुकः, माषकः ॥

Vdt —The words अचत् and बृहत् should be included in the list of sthūlādi words As, अचत्कः, बृहत्कः ॥ According to one version the words ३१९

चचा and वृहा and not चचन् and वृहन् ॥ So the derivatives will be वृहक and चचक the words that end in long vowels भा, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII 4 13 S 834

Gana sūtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant, as कृष्णमकारा-
स्तिला = कृष्णका ॥

Gana sūtra —यव takes कन् when meaning व्रीहि, as यवका ॥

Gana sūtra —इक्षु तिल, पाय, काल and अवदात take this affix when wine is meant, a पायिका कालिका अवदातिका “a kind of wine”

Gana-sūtra —गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रक ‘a covering of the colour of cow’s urine, or go-mutra may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black’

Gana sūtra —सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरक (VII 4. 13 S 834) “a kind of snake of the color of wine”

Note —As सुरा + कन् = सुरक “snake like”

Gana sūtra —जीर्ण takes the affix कन् when meaning sālī grain, as जीर्णका -
जीर्णकल्पा शालय ॥ The following is a list of Sthulādī words

1 स्थूल, 2 अणु, 3 माष 4 इक्षु, 5 कृष्ण तिलेषु 6 यव व्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षुतिलपायकालावदाता
सुरायाम्, 8 गोमूत्र आच्छादने 9 सुरा अहा, 10 जीर्ण शालिषु, 11 पञ्चदुले समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीपुत्र,
13 कुमारीश्वशुर (कुमार, श्वशुर), 14 मणि ॥

२०७६ । अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

छिन्नकम् । भिन्नकम् । अभिन्नकम् ॥

2076 After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed

The word अनत्यन्तगति means “an act which has been fully accomplished”, अनत्यन्तगति therefore, means, “an act which has not been fully accomplished” Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् “not yet wholly divided” So also छिन्नकम् &c

Note —Why do we say “something not wholly completed”? Observe भिन्नम् “totally divided”, छिन्नम् “totally cut”

३०७७ । न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिपर्याये उपपदे कान्तात् कन् । सामिकृतम् । अधकृतम् । अनत्यन्तगतेरिह प्रकृत्यैवाभिधाना
स्पूर्वेण कन् न प्राप्त । इदमेव निषेधस्तत्रमत्यन्तस्वार्थिकमपि कन ज्ञापयति । बहुतरकम् ॥

2077 Not so, when a word in the sense of “half”, precedes such participle

When the word सामि or any other word having this sense, is compounded, with a participle in क्त, the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness Thus सामिकृतम्, सामिभुक्तम् &c (II 1 27 S 689) The word वचन shows that the synonyms of सामि are also to be taken, Thus अधकृतम् ।

Note — Objection — It is redundant to have prohibited कृ after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed

Note — Answer — The prohibition contained in this sūtra does not refer to the कृ of the last sūtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness" It refers to that कृ which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थे कृ) ॥ Thus the words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कृ without change of sense As भिन्नतरक and भिन्नतमक and बहुतरक &c as used by Pāṇjali himself in the following sentences — एव हि सूत्रमभिन्नतरक भवति, एतैर्हि बहुतरक व्याप्यते ॥ This कृ is also prohibited in the case of compounds with सामि ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sūtra teaches by implication (Jñāpaka) that कृ comes also in the sense of svārtha As बहुतरक ॥

२०७८ । बृहत्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

कृ स्यात् । द्वौ प्रावारोत्तरासङ्गौ समौ बृहत्तिका तथा ॥ आच्छादने कृ । बृहती छन्द ॥

2078 The affix kan comes after the word brihati when it means "an article of dress"

The word कृ is to be read into this sūtra and not its prohibition The force of this कृ is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कृ ॥ Thus बृहति + कृ = बृहत्तिका (प्रावार) (VII 4 13 S 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle" see Amarakosha II 9 117

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहतीछन्द "the metre called Brihatti".

२०७९ । अषडक्षशितकुवल्कलकुर्मालपुरुषाभ्युत्तरपदात्त । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषडक्षीणो मन्त्र । द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थः । आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नित्याशितङ्गवीनमर ण्यश्च । निपातनात्पूर्वस्य ध्रुम । अन्न कर्मण्य अलकर्मिण । अलपुरुषीय । ईश्वराधीन । नित्योऽय स । उत्तरसूत्रे विभाषाग्रहणात् ॥ अन्येऽपि केचित्स्वार्थिका प्रत्यया नित्यमिष्यन्ते । तमबाद्य प्राक्तन । आदयः प्राङ्मुख । आमादय प्राङ्मुखः । बृहती आत्यन्ता समासान्ताच्चेति ॥

2079 The affix kha (ईन) comes after the words ashadksha, āsitangu, alankama, alampurusha, and after a stem ending with adhi

The force of क्ख is स्वार्थे । e it does not change the sense of the word.

Note — The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes" अषड् is compounded from षट् + अङ्गिण by adding ण् V 4 113 S 852 "having six eyes". The affix क्ख is to be added to this word already ending in the affix shach

Thus अषडक्षीक्षा मन्त्र "a secret not having six eyes" i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third " Similarly आशितगवीन भरण्यम् = आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये = प्रभूतयवस " a forest where formerly cattle had grazed " The augment हुम् is added to आशित् by nipātana, or irregularly So also अलकर्मणि = अलं समर्थं कर्मणे पर्याप्त = competent to do any act, clever So अल पुरुषीण = अलं समर्थं पुरुषाव = प्रतिमल्लहृदि = fit for a man

A word ending with अधि, will be a Tatpuruṣa compound, by II 1 40, as the word अधि belongs to Śaundādi class As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya) ; because the word विभाषा occurs in the next sūtra , (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya)

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally

There are other affixes also which are *Suārthika* and *nitya*

Such as लम् &c up to the affix क् (V 3, 55 to 95).

अच् &c upto हुच्, (V 3 112 to V 4 1)

आच् &c upto मच्, (V 4 11 to 21),

And affixes taught from V 4 6 i e क् to V 4 9, (ख) ending in आति ॥

And all Samāsānta affixes

२०८० । विभाषाञ्चेरादिक् स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

अदिक्स्त्रीवृत्तेरुच्यन्ताम्नातिपदिकान्ख स्याद्वा स्वार्थे । प्राक्, प्राचीनम् । प्रत्यक्, प्रतीचीनम् । अवाक्, अवाचीनम् । निकृष्टप्राप्तिकृष्टार्थरेफ्याप्यावमाधना । अर्धन्तमरुच्यतीति अर्वाक्, अर्वाचीनम् । अदिक्स्त्रिजा किम् । प्राची दिक् । दरीचीदिक् । विम्बहण किम् । प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी । स्त्रीमहण किम् । प्राचीन ज्ञानाश्रमा ॥

2080 The affix kha (ईच्) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in añch (अञ्च्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or प्रतीचीनम्, अर्वाक्, or अर्वाचानम् "new".

Why do we say "when not denoting a direction in the feminine?" Observe प्राची दिक् "eastern region", प्रतीची दिक् "western region" Why do we say "a point of the compass"? Other words in the feminine will take this affix As प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or दिक् ' used in any other gender will take this affix As प्राचीन ज्ञानाश्रमा ॥

२०८१ । जात्यन्ताचक्षु बन्धुनि । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीय । वन्धुनि किम् । ब्राह्मणजाति शोभना । जातिवर्णक इत्य वन्धु ॥

2081 The affix *chha* (ईय) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word *जाति*, when it means appropriateness

Note —The word *वन्धु* means the substance or substratum in which *jāti* or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (वन्धुते नियमते स्वतन्त्री क्रियते) ॥

Thus *ब्राह्मणजातीयः* "appropriate to a *Brāhmaṇa*" *क्षत्रियजातीय* *वैश्यजातीय* &c

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness". Observe *ब्राह्मणजाति शोभना* "the *Brāhmaṇa* caste is beautiful"

वन्धु means that substance by which the genus *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshatriya* &c is distinguished

२०८२ स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

सस्थानेन तुल्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थवदित्यर्थः । पितृस्थानीयः । पितृस्थानः । सस्थानेन किम् । गो स्थानम् ॥

2082 The affix *chha* (ईय) is optionally added to a stem ending in *स्थान*, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place

The word *सस्थान* means *समान स्थानमस्व* 'whose place is the same' or *तुल्य* or equal Thus *पित्रा तुल्य* = *पितृस्थानीय*, or *पितृस्थान* (*पितृस्थि स्थानमस्व* whose place is that of a 'father')

Why do we say "when it means equal to" Observe *गोस्थानव* "cowshed"

Note —The word *कृति* in *सस्थानेनेति* is for the sake of distinctness The word *सस्थान* as a *Bahuvrīhi* compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a *Tatpurusha* compound like *समान च तत् स्थानं च* ॥ The word *चेत्* "when" is a conjunction and joins the two meanings

The rule S 2081 occurring between this rule and S 2080 both of which are optional must be a *nitya* rule, as explained above *द्वयोर्विभावयोर्निसा विधयः* ॥

२०८३ । अनुगादिनष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । १३ ॥

अनुगवर्तीयनुगादी । स एव अनुगादिकः ॥

2083 The affix *thak* comes after the word *anugādin*, without changing its sense

Thus आनुसारिक "repeater or who echoes back"

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अण् स्थात् । विसारिण । मत्स्येति किञ् । विसारी देवदत्त ॥

2084 The affix *an* is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing "fish" is to be made

Thus विसारिण "a fish" Why do we say "when it means a fish"? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः "Devadatta who is gliding out",

२०८५ । सख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्जन्य । क्रियाजन्मगणनद्वये सख्यायाश्चास्वार्ये कृत्वसुच् स्थात् । पञ्चकृत्यो भुङ्क्ते । सख्याया क्रिच् । भूरिवारान्भुङ्क्ते ॥

2085. The affix *kṛitvasuch* (कृत्वसुच्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted

This is also a *svārtha* affix The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means "again and again or repetition" The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called कृताभ्यावृत्तिगणनम् ॥ Thus पचवारां भुङ्क्ते = पचकृत्योभुङ्क्ते "he eats five times"

Why do we say "after a Numeral"? Observe भूरीन् वारान् भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times"

२०८६ । त्रिचिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

कृत्वसुचोऽपवारः । त्रिभुङ्क्ते । पि । रास्त्व । चतु ॥

2086 The affix "*sueh*" (स्) is added to the numeral *dvi*, *tri* and *chatur*, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ Thus द्वि—द्विस्, त्रि—त्रिस्, चतुर्—चतुर् in द्विभुङ्क्ते, त्रिभुङ्क्ते, चतुर्भुङ्क्ते ॥ The स् in the last example is added by VIII 2 24 S 280

Note —But चतुर् meaning "four", and चतुर् 'four times', are differently accented the स् of सुच् indicating that the accent udatta falls on the last syllable Thus चतुर् (चतुस् Un V 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and चतुर् (with सुच्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृन् । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

सकृदिमादेशः स्थावास्तुच् । सकृद्भुङ्क्ते । सयोगान्तस्येति सुचो लोपः । न तु हल्ङ्गाविति । भवेत्सीदित्यत्र सिच इव सुचोऽपि तदयोगात् ॥

2087 The word सकृत् is substituted for एक before the affix सुच्, when an action is to be counted

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action

alone is counted so the anuvṛitti of क्तिष् only runs into this sūtra and not of अभ्यावृत्तिः ॥ Thus सकृदुक्ते "he eats once" सकृदधीते ॥ The स् of सुप् is elided by VIII. 2 23 S 54 and not by VI 1, 68 S 252, because the सु of that sūtra refers to the सु of सुप् and not to the सु of सुप्, as the सि of that sūtra refers to सिप् and not to सिप् as in अनेस्तीत् (See page 128) But not here in एक पाक as being against usage

२०८८ । विभाषा बहुधा विप्रकृतकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृत आसन्न । बहुधा दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते । आसन्नकाले किय । बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088 The affix धा is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time

This debars कृत्वसुप् which comes in the alternative The word अविप्रकृत "not remote", qualifies क्तिष्भ्यावृत्तिः, i.e. when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृतकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकृत्व दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day" But when a remote time is denoted then धा does not apply Thus बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily owing to poverty &c'

२०८९ । तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुत प्रकृत तस्य वचन प्रतिपादनम् । भावेऽधिकरणे वा ल्युट् । भावे प्रस्तुत-मन्नमन्नमयम् । अपूपमयम् । यवागूनदी । द्वितीये मन्नमयो यज्ञ । अपूपमय पर्व ॥

2089 The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly')

Note —The translation of the sūtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof Bofftingk According to Kāsikā —तत् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV 1 82) the word प्रकृतम् means "happening to be in abundance" So that according to this interpretation the sūtra should be translated, as done by Dr Ballāntyne 'The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant,' Thus मन्न प्रकृतम् —मन्नमयम् "abundance of food" अपूपमयम् "abundance of cake" According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयट् is added, is denoted by the whole word Thus मन्न प्रकृतमस्मिन् —मन्नमयो यज्ञ "a feast in which there is abundance of food" अपूपमय पर्व, वदकमयोवाचा ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sūtra is constructed

The word prakṛita is made up of pra and kṛita, pra has the force of abund-

antly and kṛta means made Prakṛta therefore means "made in abundance" That which expresses (vachana) this is called prakṛita vachana

The word वचन in the sūtra has two senses It being made by the affix कृतेद् conveys the force both of the *nature* (III 3 114) and the *sīte* In the former case, (taking तत् प्रकृतवचन to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have अन्नमयश्च "abundance of grain" अपूपमयश्च, अवागूमयश्च ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant") we have अन्नमयो यज्ञ "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also अपूपमयः पर्व ॥

२०९० । समूहवच्च बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

सामूहिका प्रत्यया अतिरिच्यन्ते चान्मयद् । मोदका प्रकृता मोदकिकम् । मोदकमयम् शाकुलिकम् । शाकुलीमयम् । द्वितीयेऽर्थे । मोदकिको यज्ञ । मोदकमयः ॥

2090 When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV 2 37 &c S 1243) may also be employed to denote 'made thereof, subsisting therein'

The च shows that मयद् also comes in the same sense Thus मोदका प्रकृता प्राप्नुयेय प्रस्तुता = मोदकिकम् (IV 2 47 S 1256) or मोदकमयम्, so also शाकुलिकम् or शाकुलीमयम् ॥ In the second sense we have, मोदका प्रकृता अस्मिन् यज्ञे = मोदकिको or मोदकमयो यज्ञ, शाकुलिक or शाकुलीमय ॥

२०९१ । अनन्तावस्थेतिह भेषजाञ्च क्य । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनन्त एवानन्यम् । आवसथ एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निपातसङ्ग्राहः, ऐतिह्यम् । नपञ्चनेच भेषज्यम् ॥

2091 The affix ñya (य) comes, without changing the sense, after the words ananta, āvasatha, itiha and bhesaja

Thus आनन्यम् = अनन्त, आवसथ्यम् = आवसथ 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire' ऐतिह्यम् = इति ह 'traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a prātipadika The word इति ह means tradition, as इति ह कोपाङ्गायाः कथयन्ति ॥ भेषज्यम् = भेषजम् ॥

Note —It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all-taddhita affixes. See IV 1 82 S 1072

२०९२ । देवतान्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । त्वार्थे व्यम् । अग्निदेवताये इदम् अग्निदेवत्यम् । विदुदेवत्यम् ॥

2092 After a stem ending in the word देवता, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix यत्, in the

sense of "appointed for it"

The word **साधर्म्य** has the same meaning as **तर्ह्य** "for the sake of that" (II 1 36 S 698), Thus **अग्निर्वैताये इह्ये=अग्निर्वैतयम्** "offering &c, sacred to Agni" So also **पितृवैतयम्** ॥

२०९३ । पादार्थमुक् च । ५ । ४ । २५ ॥

पादार्थमुक् पाद्यम् । **अर्ह्यम्** ॥ नवस्य नृभ्रादेशे जप्तनप्राप्त्य प्रत्यया वक्तव्या * ॥ **नृजम्** । **नृजनम्** । **नवीनम्** । नञ् पुराणे प्रात् * ॥ पुराणार्थे वर्तमानात्प्रसङ्गाद्वा नञ् । चात्पूर्वोक्ता । प्रणम् । प्रजम् * प्रतनम् । प्रीणम् । भागरूपनामन्त्रो धेय ॥ भागधेयम् । रूपधेयम् । नामधेयम् ॥ आग्नीध्रसाधारण्यार्हम् * ॥ आग्नीध्रम् । साधारण्यम् । स्त्रिया ङीप् । आग्नीध्री । साधारणी ॥

2093 The affix **यत्** comes after the words **पाद्** and **अर्ह्य**, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is 'for the purpose of that'

The word **साधर्म्य** is understood here also Thus **पादार्थमुक्=पाद्यम्** "water meant for washing the feet" So also **अर्ह्यम्** ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI 1 213, S 370 the udatta being on the first syllable

Note 1—The च in the sūtra implies the inclusion of words other than **पाद्** and **अर्ह्य**, not mentioned here The affix **यत्** applies to other words also, as एव वै सत्त्वशास्त्रं शङ्खस्त्वः प्रजापतिः । So also वध्, भयत्, शोक, कवि, क्षेम, उदक, वर्चस्, निष्कवल, उदय, जन, पूर्व, नव, सूर, मर्त्य, यविष्ठ ॥ These words take यत् in the Vedas Thus वसत्त्व, भयस्य, भोक्य, कथ्य, क्षेय्य, उदक्य, वर्चस्य, निष्कवलय, उदय, जन्य, पूर्व्य, नञ्, शय्य, मर्त्यः and यविष्ठ in अग्नीरीशेवसत्त्वस्य । भयस्यो वसानाः (द्वितीयावहुवचनस्याल्लुक् अपो वसाना इत्यर्थः) स्वभोक्त्ये । कथ्योति । क्षेय्यस्य वसति । वायुर्वर्चस्य ॥ निष्कवलय शसति । उदय्य शसति । जन्यतामि । पूर्व्या विश । स्तोमैर्नयानि नय्यम् । सूर्यः । मर्त्य । यविष्ठ ॥ So also the words **आहुत्यायम्** and **आहुत्यपुत्रिका** ॥

Vart —नृ is the substitute of नव, and the affixes जप्, तनप् and ण् are added to it, as, **नृजम्** नृजनम् नवीनम् ॥

Vart —To the word म meaning 'old', the affix न is added as well as the affixes ज, तन and ण् e g प्रणम् and प्रजम्, प्रतनम् and प्रीणम् ॥

Vart —The affix ध्य is added to the words भाग, रूप and नोम् e g भागधेयम्, रूपधेयम् नामधेयम् ॥

Vart —The affix **अम्** comes after **आग्नीध्र** and **साधारण्य**, as, **आग्नीध्रम्**, **साधारण्यम्** ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् as **आग्नीध्री** **साधारणी** ॥

Note:—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV 1, 82, S, 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as **अग्नीध्रा** याता **साधारणा** भूः ॥

२०९४ । अतिथेऽर्थः । ५ । ४ । २६ ॥

साधर्म्ये इत्येव । अतिथये इदमातिथ्यम् ॥

2094 The affix ण्या (य) comes after अतिथि in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of "for the purpose of that"

The word तावत् is understood here also Thus अतिथये इव = अतिथिन् ॥

२०९४ । देवातल । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095 The affix तल् comes after देव, without change of sense

The anuvṛtti of तावत् does not apply here and ceases Thus देवता = देव ॥

Note — This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a svārthika affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive

२०९६ । अवे क । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अविरवाविक ॥

2096 The affix क comes after अवि, without change of sense

Thus अविक = अवि ॥

२०९७ । यावादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

याव एव यावक । मणिक ॥

2097 The affix कन् comes after the words याव &c, without changing their sense

Thus यावक = याव, मणिक = मणि ॥

1 याव 2 मणि, 3 अस्थि, 4 तालु*, 5 जाडु*, 6 लान्*, 7 पीत, 8 स्तम्ब (पीतस्तम्ब पीत, स्तम्ब), 9 कृतावृणसीते, 10 पशौ लूनविपाने (वियाते), 11 अणु निपुणे, 12 पुत्र कृत्रिणे, 13 छात वेदसामो 14 शून्य रिक्त, 15 दान कुत्सिते, 16 तनु सूत्रे, 17 ईयस्य (श्रेयस्क), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात*, 20 कुमारीकीडनकानि च 21 चण्ड ॥

G S The affix कन् is added to वृण and शीत when denoting a season as, वृणक कटु । शीतक कटु ॥ Otherwise वृणोऽग्नि, शीतवृद्ध ॥ G S लून and वियात take कन् when denoting an animal, as लूनक or वियातक पशु, otherwise लूनार्भा, वियातो नीच, ॥ G S अणु takes कन् when meaning 'clever', as अणुक सूक्ष्मक otherwise अणु only G S पुत्र take कन् when meaning 'artificial', as, पुत्रको लोहादिनिर्मित ॥ G S स्नात takes कन् when denoting a student* who has completed his study of the Vedas, as स्नातकः ॥ G S शून्य takes कन् when meaning empty, as उक्तादिना रिक्तोऽथ शून्यक, otherwise शून्य प्रत्यय १० बाह्यार्थ रहित ॥ G S दान takes कन् when contempt is meant, as कुत्सितदान = दानकम् ॥ G S तनु takes कन् when meaning thread, as तनुक सूत्र सूक्ष्मतन्तु, otherwise तनु शरीरम् ॥ G S The word ending in ईयस्य takes कन् as श्रेयस्क ॥ G S The words denoting play things of gir's take कन् as कण्डकम् ॥

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणौ । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितक ॥

2098 The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone

Thus लोहितक = लोहित "Ruby"

Note — Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहित *reu*

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितक कोपेन ॥ लोहितलिङ्गबाधन वा * ॥ लोहितिका लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

2099 The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent

Thus लोहितक कोपेन "red with anger" लोहितक पीडनेन ॥

Note — Why do we say "not permanent" Observe लोहितो गौ "a red cow" लोहित रुधिरम् "the red blood"

Vart — The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाभादिना रक्ते यो लोहितशब्दस्तस्मात्कन्स्यात् । लिङ्गबाधन वेल्लेख । लोहितिका लोहिनिका शादी ॥

2100 The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितक कम्बल or पट "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c" The vārtika of the preceding sūtra applies here also Similarly लोहितिका or लोहिनिका शादी ॥

२१०१ । कालाब्ध । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति इयमनुवर्तते । कालक मुख बैलक्ष्येण । कालक पट । कालिका शादी ॥

2101 The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color

The word वर्णे च अनित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here Thus कालक मुख बैलक्ष्येण 'the face black with shame or confusion' कालक पट 'a cloth dyed blue black' कालिका शादी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यष्टक् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैनयिक । सामयिकः ॥ उपायो ह्रस्वत्व च * ॥ औपयिक ॥

2102 The affix ठक् (कँ or इक्) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest

Thus वैमयिक = विमय, सामयिक ॥

Gana sūtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपायिक ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्माद् in order to apply इक् and not क् as आकस्मिक ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Aavyaya See VI 4 149 S 499 The affix is optional by IV 1 82 S 1072

1 विमय, 2 समय, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) ह्रस्वश्च (औपायिक), 4 सप्रति*, 5 सप्रति, 6 कथयितु, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचार, 9 उपचार, 10 समवाचार, 11 व्यवहार, 12 समदान, 13 संश्लेष, 14 समूह, 15 विशेष, 16 अत्यय, 17 अस्थि, 18 कण्डू ॥

२१०३ वाचोव्याहृतार्थायाम् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

सद्विचार्याया वाचि विद्यमानाहाक्यव्याहृतार्थे टक् स्यात् । सन्देशवाग् वाचिक स्यात् ॥

2103 The affix टक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another

Note —The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed' That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tiding' or 'news', is called व्याहृतार्थ ॥ Thus वाचिक कथयति 'he relates the verbal message' वाचिक अहमे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also

Thus वाचिकम् = सन्देशवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I 6 17

Note :—Why do we say " when it means a verbal message ? " Observe मधुरा वाक् देवदत्तस्य ' the speech of Devadatta is sweet '

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

कर्मैव कार्मणम् । वाचिक श्रुत्वा क्रियमाण कर्मैवत्यर्थ ॥

2104 The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i e when it is the result of an oral message or commission)

Thus कार्मणम् = कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)' i e when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission

२१०५ । औषधेरजातौ । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औषध पिबति । अजातौ किय । औषधये क्षेत्रे रुढा ॥

2105 The affix अण् comes after औषधि when it does not mean a species

Thus औषध पिबति " he drinks medicine " Why do we say " when not meaning a जाति or species " Observe, औषधये क्षेत्रे रुढा भवन्ति " the herbs are growing in the field '

२१०६ । प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

प्रज्ञ एव प्राज्ञ । प्राज्ञी जी । देवत । बान्धव ॥

2106 The affix **अण्** comes after the words **प्रज्ञ** &c (the words retaining their sense)

Thus **प्रज्ञ** = **प्रज्ञ** "a wise person", feminine **प्रज्ञा** so also **दैवत**, **बाल्यव** ॥

Note —While **प्रज्ञ** "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine **प्रज्ञा** comes from **प्रज्ञा** "wisdom" by the affix **ण्** having the sense of **मनुप्** ("being possessed of"), taught in V 2 101 S, 1908 The **प्रज्ञ** of this sūtra comes from the root **प्रजानाति** = **प्रज्ञ** "he who knows fully"

The word **विदन्** occurs in the list of **प्रज्ञादि** words It is formed by the addition of the affix **णन्** (III 2 124 S 3100) to the root, as, **विद् + णन्** = **विदन्** nom s **विदन्** ॥ The very fact that we have such a form **विदन्** shows that the substitution of **वसु** for **णन्** after the word **विद्** taught in VII 1 36 S 3105 (by which we get **विद्वान्**) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sūtra VII 1 35 S 2197

The word **श्रोत्र** takes **अण्** when meaning 'body', as **श्रोत्रम्**, otherwise **श्रोत्रम्** 'the sense of hearing', **सुहृत्** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **जौहृत्** ॥ The word **कृष्ण** takes **अण्** when meaning 'a black antelope', as **कार्ण** ॥

1 **प्रज्ञ** 2 **वणिज्**, 3 **उशिज्**, 4 **उणिज्** (**उणिक्** **उणिह्**) 5 **प्रत्यक्ष**, 6 **विद्वस्**, 7 **विदन्**, 8 **षोडन्**, 9 **विद्या**, 10 **मनस्**, 11 **श्रोत्र** शरीरे, 12 **सुहृत्**, 13 **कृष्ण** वृग, 14 **चिकीर्षित्** 15 **चोर**, 16 **घातु** (घाक), 17 **बोध**, 18 **चक्षुस्** (चक्षस्), 19 **वसु** (वस् !), 20 **एनस्** (एत् !), 21 **मरुत्**, 22 **कृष्ण** (कृह्), 23 **सम्बन्तु** (सम्बत्, सम्बन्त), 24 **दशार्ह** 25 **वयस्**, 26 **व्याकृत***, 37 **असुर** (आसुर !), 28 **रक्षस्**, 29 **विशाच**, 30 **अगनि**, 31 **कर्षापण** (का), 32 **देवता**, 33 **बन्धु**, 34 **षोडस**, 35 **धूर्त** 36 **राजा** ॥

२१०७ । मृदोस्तिकन् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

मृदेव घृत्तिका ॥

2107 The affix **तिकन्** comes after **मृद्** (the word retaining its sense).

Thus **घृत्तिका** = **मृद्** 'mud'

Note —Of course, this is also an optional affix not a *nitya* affix like many of the *svārthika* affixes enumerated in V 4 7 S 2079

२१०८ । सस्नौ प्रशसायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

रूपपोऽपवाद । प्रशस्त्य घृत् घृत्ता । घृत्ता । उत्तरसूत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामह्याग्नित्योऽयम् ॥

2108 The affix **स** and **ञ** comes after **मृद्** when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix **रूपप्** V 3 66 S 2021 Thus **प्रशस्ता** **मृद्** = **घृत्ता** or **घृत्ता** ॥ These two affixes are *nitya* or invariable, i.e. whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word **अन्यतरस्याम्** 'optionally' follows it in V 4, 42 S 2109 so that this affix is not optional cf V 4 7, 10 &c

२१०६ । बहुलपार्थच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि वदति बहुश । अल्पानि अल्पश्च ॥ बहुलपार्थान्मङ्गलामङ्गलवचनम् * ॥ नैह बहूनि वदत्यनिष्टेषु । अल्प वदत्याभ्युदयिकेषु ॥

2109 After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix शस् optional, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a kāraka)

No especial कारक being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken Thus बहूनि वदति = बहुशो वदति, बहुभिर्वदति = बहुशो वदति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुश आगच्छति &c Similarly अल्पशो वदति = अल्प or अल्पेन &c

Why do we say "signifying much or little" ? Observe गा वदति, अश्वं वदति ॥

Why do we say 'when it is a kāraka' ? Observe बहूना स्वामी "lord of many" Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a कारक or case, dependent or related to a verb and so the affix is not applied here

Vart —By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included Thus मूरिशो वदति, स्तोकशो वदति ॥

Vart —This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively Thus बहुशो वदति = अभ्युदयिकेषुकर्मसु । अल्पशो वदति = अनिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c" अल्पशो देहि 'give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c" But not here बहूनि वदति (अनिष्टेषु), or अल्प वदति (आभ्युदयिकेषु)

२११० । सख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ वदति द्विश । माष माष माषश्च । प्रस्थश्च । परिमाणशब्दा वृत्ता काया एव । सख्यैकवचनात्किम् । घट घट वदति । वीप्साया किम् । द्वौ वदति । कारकादित्येव । द्वयाद्वयो खामी ॥

2110 The affix शस् comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a kāraka)

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ वदति = द्विशो मोदकौ वदति "He gives two sweet-meats to each" So also त्रिश ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कार्षापणशो वदति "he gives a Karshāpana coin to each" So also माषश्च, पादश्च प्रस्थश्च ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called eka-vachana The words kārshāpana &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i.e. one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numerals and units of coin"? Observe घट ददाति "he gives a pot to each" Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two" कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives a kārshāpaṇa"

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz when it is a kāraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun As द्वयोर्द्वौ स्वामी "Lord of two each" कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kārshāpanas each" In fact the work "kārakāt" of the last sūtra is understood here also This sūtra is exception to VIII 1 4.

२१११ । प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसि । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे या पञ्चमी विहितः तदन्तात्तसि स्यात् । प्रद्युम्न कृष्णत प्रति ॥ आद्यादिभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ आरौ आदित मध्यत । पृष्ठत । पार्श्वत । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । स्वरेण स्वरत । वर्णत ॥

2111 The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chanīya word प्रति ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sūtra II 3 11 S 600 Thus प्रद्युम्न कृष्णत प्रति ॥ The anuvṛtti of वा "optionally" runs here also thus it is an optional rule, we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c, also

Vart —The affix तसि comes after the word आरि &c as, आदित , मध्यत , भन्तत पार्श्वत पृष्ठत &c This is an ākṛitigaṇa, no complete list being given, so we have स्वरत or स्वरेण, वर्णत &c

२११२ । अपादाने चाऽहीयरुहोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादाने या पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसि स्यात् । आनाशगच्छति । मानत । अहीयरुहो क्रिय । स्वर्गा ज्ञीयत । पवताद्वरोहति ॥

2112 The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apādāna Kāraka, except when this apādāna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs हीय (passive of ह) and रुह ॥

Thus मानत भागच्छति or मानात् ॥ See Sūtra I 4 24, 25, and 26 &c Why do we say "excepting hīya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative as स्वर्गाद् हीयते पर्वताद् अवरोहति ॥

Note —The form हीय is given in the sūtra to indicate that the verb ह whose present is जहाति is to be taken, and not जिहीति ॥ Thus we have भुमित उज्जिहीते or भुमेरुज्जिहीते ॥ How do you explain the use of "tasi" in the following well-known verse "मन्त्रो हीन स्वरतो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the Instrumental case i e स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीन ॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्ययनक्षेपेऽकर्तरि तृतीयाया । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयायान्ताद्वा तसि स्यात् । अतिक्रम्य महोऽतिग्रह । चारित्र्येणातिगृह्यते । चारित्र्यतोऽतिगृह्यते । चारित्र्येणान्यानतिक्रम्य वतते इत्यर्थः । अव्ययनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्ययते । वृत्ततो न व्ययते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थः । क्षेपो वृत्तेन क्षिप्तः । वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः । वृत्तेन निवृत्तः इत्यर्थः । अकर्तरीति किम् । देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः ॥

2113 The affix *tasi* comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of "to excel", "not to give way", and "to blame",

Thus चारित्र्येण or चारित्र्यतोऽतिगृह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said "to have excelled through his conduct and character" So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्ययते, similarly चरित्रेण or चरित्रतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्ततः क्षिप्तः, चरित्रेण or चरित्रतः क्षिप्तः "blamed owing to his bad conduct",

Why do we say "when not denoting an agent"? Observe देवदत्तेन क्षिप्तः "blamed by Devadatta"

२११४ । हीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

हीयमानपापयुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयायान्ताद्वा तसि । वृत्तेन हीयते । वृत्तेन पापः । वृत्ततः । क्षेपस्याविवक्षायाभिदम् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेषु सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

2114 And the affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb "hiya", or the noun "pāpa", not denoting an agent

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयाया are understood in this aphorism Thus वृत्तेन हीयते or वृत्ततो हीयते ॥ चरित्रेण हीयते or चारित्र्यतो हीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पापः or वृत्ततः पापः ॥ चारित्र्येण पापः or चारित्र्यतः पापः ॥ This use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant in other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned Where censure is implied, the affix *tasi* would come by force of the preceding aphorism V 4 46 S 2113

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent as देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

२११५ । षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

षष्ठ्यायान्ताद्वा तसि स्यान्नापापक्षसमाश्रये । देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवत् । आदित्या कर्णतोऽभवत् । अर्जुनस्य पक्षे इत्यर्थः । व्याश्रये किम् वृक्षस्य शाखा ॥

2115 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction

Taking sides with one faction or another is called *व्याघ्र* ॥ Thus देवाभर्जुनस्य पक्षेऽभवन् = देवा भर्जुनतोऽभवन् ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites' So also आदित्या कर्णतोऽभवन् "The Adityas became Karnāites'

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party name?" Observe वृक्षस्य शाखा "the branch of the tree"

२११६। रोगाच्चापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

रोगवाचिन षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तत्तिथिक्लिप्तायाम् । प्रवाहिकात् कुरु । प्रतीकारमस्या कुर्वित्यर्थः । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकाया प्रकोपन करोति ॥

2116 The affix *tasi* comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted

The words रोग means 'disease', and अपनयन means 'healing', 'curing'. Thus प्रवाहिकाया प्रतीकार कुरु = प्रवाहिकात् कुरु ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant? Observe प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनकुरु ॥

२११७ । कृञ्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततद्भाव इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ विकारात्मता प्राप्नुवत्या प्रकृतौ वर्तमानाद्विकारशब्दात्स्वार्थे च्विर्वा स्थात्करोत्यादिभिर्व्योने ॥

2117 The affix *chvi* comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs *kṛi* 'to make', *भू* 'to be', and *अस्* 'to be' are conjoined with it *

Vārūka —When something or somebody has become that which 'is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix च्वि is added When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be *abhūtatadbhāva*—'the state of that what it was not' The agent of the action of attaining is called *sanpadya kartā*

२११८ । अस्य च्वौ । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अवर्णस्य ईत्यस्यात् च्वौ । वेर्लोप । च्व्यन्तस्वद्व्ययत्वम् । अकृष्ण कृष्ण सपद्यते त करोति कृष्णीकराति । ब्रह्मीभवति । गङ्गीस्यात् । अव्ययस्य च्वावीस्व नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ दोषाभूतमह । दिवाभूता रात्रि । एतच्चाव्ययीभावश्चेति सूत्रे भाष्ये उक्तम् ॥

2118 Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्चि

The वि being aprīkta is elided The च्चि ending word is an Indeclinable Thus भकुण्ण कृष्ण सपद्यते त कराति = कृष्णीकरोति 'He blackens', when some one who is not black becomes black i.e. some one makes him so Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । गङ्गी स्यात् ॥

Vārt — The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before च्चि Thus दोषाभूतमह दिवाभूता राशि ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I 1 41 S 451,

२११६। क्यच्चयोश्च । ६। ४। १४५ ॥

हल परस्यापत्यकारस्य लोप स्यात् क्ये च्चौ च परत । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119 The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix च्चि ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति = गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२०। च्चौ च । ७। ४। २४ ॥

च्चौ परेऽपूर्वस्य बांध स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पट् स्यात् । अव्ययस्य दीर्घस्य नेति केचित्तन्निर्मुलम् । स्वस्ति स्यादिति तु महाविभाषया च्चेरभावस्तिङ्गम् । खस्ती स्यादित्यपि पक्षे स्यादिति चेदस्तु । यदि नेष्यते तर्ह्यनभिधानात् च्चिरेव नोत्पद्यते इत्यस्तु । रीदुत । मात्रीकरोति ॥

2120 A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Abverbial affix च्चि (V 4 50 S 2117)

As शुची भवति, पट् स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened This is without authority The non lengthening in स्वस्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of च्चि under the great option of IV 1 82 S 1072 and as there is no च्चि added, so there is no lengthening

Obj As the great option IV 1 82 S 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of च्चि, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वस्ती स्यात् ॥ Ans Let it be so, where is the harm ?

Obj But this is not desired for we never find it in usage

Ans Then let us say that च्चि never comes after svasti, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no च्चि is ever added to svasti

By VII 4 27 S 1234 the final क् is changed to री before च्चि Thus मात्री करोति ॥

२१२१ । अरुर्मेनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोजसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषा लोप स्यात् चिबश्च । अरुर्भवेति । उन्मनीस्यात् । उचक्षुःकरोति । विचेतीकरोति । विरहीकरोति । विरजीकरोति ॥

2121 The affix *chvī* comes after the words *arus*, *manas*, *chakshus*, *chetas*, *rahas*, and *rajas*, and there is elision of their final consonant

The affix चिब would have come after these words by force of the sūtra V 4 50 S 2117 which is of universal application the present sūtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant Thus अनश्नह सम्पद्यते, त करोति = अरुर्भवेति, अरु भवति अरु स्यात् ॥ So also उन्मनी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उचक्षुः, विचिती, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short उ of अरु and चक्षु is lengthened by VII 4 26, S 2120 and the ह of the other words is changed into ई by VII 4 32 S 2118

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कात्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

चिविविषये सातिर्वा स्यात्साकल्ये ॥

2122 The affix *sāti* may be employed optionally in the sense of *chvī*, when something is changed in all its parts into something else

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs *kṛī*, *bhū* and *astī* are in conjunction", is understood here

२१२३ । सात्पदाद्यो । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सत्यथ न स्यात् । दधिसिञ्चति । कृत्स्न शस्त्रमग्निं सपद्यतेऽग्निसाङ्गवति । अग्नीभवति । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । कात्स्न्ये किम् । एकदेशेन शुद्धीभवति पद ॥

2123 The *प्* substitution does not take place in the affix *सात्* and for that *स* which stands at the beginning of a word

Thus सा here is the affix ordained by V 4 52 S 2122 and it would have been changed to ष by VIII 3 59 S 212 The present sūtra prevents that The Padādi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhātupāṭha are taught with a स, and for which a स is substituted This also is exception to VI 1 3 59 S 212 Thus अग्निसात् । दधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padādi स as दधिसिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

The affix साति is employed when the original is changed in its totality (कृत्स्न) Thus अग्निसाद् भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire" We may also say अग्नी भवति शस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेहोऽन पद शुक्ली भवति "the cloth whitens in part"

The word "optionally" shows that the affix *chvi* also comes in the same sense While the optional affixing of these terminations *chvi*, *sâti* &c is governed by the Mahâ vibhâshâ of sūtra IV 1 82 S 1072 (see V 3 1)

२१२४ । अभि विधौ सपदा च । ५ । ४ । ५३ ॥

सपदा कृत्वस्तिभिश्च योगे सातिर्वा स्याद्भासौ । पक्षे कृत्वस्तियोगे चि । सपदा तु वाक्यमेव । अभिसात्सपद्यते अभिसाद्भवति शस्त्रम् । अग्नीभवति । जलसात्सपद्यते जलीभवति लवणम् । एकस्या व्यक्ते सर्वावयवावच्छेदेनान्यथाभाव कात्स्न्यम् । बहूना व्यक्तीना किंचिदवयवावच्छेदेनान्यथात्व स्वभिनिधिम् ॥

2124 The affix *sâti* comes after a word in the sense of *chvi*, when it is in construction with the verb *sam-pad*, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially

The word अभिविधि means 'pervasion' The force of the word च in the sūtra is that the same is expressed when the verbs कृ, भू and अस are in construction as well By drawing the anuvṛtti of the word vibhâshâ into this sūtra, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix चि in the same sense of abhividhi but then it must be followed by the verbs कृ, भू and अस् only and not by the verb सपद् ॥

Thus अभिसात् सपद्यते or अभिसात् भवति, उदकसात् सपद्यते or भवति &c Or उदकी भवति or अग्नी भवति ॥

What is the difference between the words abhividhi and kârtsnya of these two sūtras? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called abhividhivikâra As, अस्मा सेनायाम् उतपातेन सर्वम् शस्त्रम् अभिसात् सम्पद्यते or वर्षास्तु सर्वम् लवणम् उदकसात् सम्पद्यते ॥ Here सर्व has the force of प्रकार कात्स्न्य, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality While the word kârtsnya means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing In short, the difference between these two words is this when one object is changed in all its parts, it is kârtsnya change, when many objects are changed in some of their parts, it is abhividhi change

२१२५ । तदर्धानवचने । ५ । ४ । ५४ ॥

साति स्यात्कृत्वस्तिभि सपदा च योगे । राजसात्करोति । राजसात्सपद्यते । राजाधीनमित्यर्थः ॥

2125. The affix *sâti* comes after a word expressing a master or lord', in the sense of 'dependent upon this',

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti*, and *saṃ-pad*

The anuvṛitti of *अनुवृत्ति* ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix. The anuvṛitti of the four verbs *Kṛi* &c, however, runs into the sūtra. The word *तदधीन* means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that'. The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word *tadadhīna*. Thus *राजाधीनं करोति* = *राजसात् करोति* "he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion". Similarly *राजसात् स्यात्* or *भवति* or *संपद्यते* ॥ So also *ब्राह्मणसात् भवति*, *करोति*, *स्यात्* or *संपद्यते* ॥

२१२६ । देये वा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

तदधीनं देये वा स्यात्सातिश्च कृष्णादियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रचाकर्षति । विप्रचासंपद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति । देये किञ्च । राजसाद्भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126 The affix *trā* comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix *sāti*, in conjunction with the above verbs *kṛi*, *bhū*, *asti* and *saṃpad*

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also. The word *देय* qualifies the above phrase. When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmanas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix *trā* is employed. Thus *ब्राह्मणाधीनं देयं करोति* = *ब्राह्मणसात् करोति* or *ब्राह्मणसात् करोति* ॥ "He gives it to the Brahmana, as it is an object which ought to be given to them". *ब्राह्मणसात् भवति* "it becomes given to the Brahmana". So also with *स्यात्* and *संपद्यते* ॥ Why do we say, "when the sense is that of to be given"? Observe *राजसात् भवति राष्ट्रम्* ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषमर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च वा स्यात् । देवना वन्दे रमे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्यथापि । बहुषी जीवतो मन ॥

2127 After the words *deva*, *manushya*, *purusha*, *puru* and *martya* ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix *tiā* is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case

The anuvṛitti of *sāti* ceases, that of *trā* continues. The verbs *kṛi*, *bhū* and *asti* also have no scope here. This is a general sūtra. Thus *देवान् गच्छति* = *देवना गच्छति*, *देवेषु वसति* = *देवना वसति* ॥ So also *मनुष्यना*, *पुरुषना*, *पुरुषा*, *मर्त्येभ्यः* ॥ *देवना वन्दे रमे वा* ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also, as *बहुषी जीवतो मन* ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादिति डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

डाच् अवर न्यून न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनकाञ्जिति यावत् । तादृशपथ यस्य तस्माद्वाच्यं स्यात्कृन्वस्ति-
भिर्योगे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते द्वे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमाश्रयित डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाच्यपर यवाञ्जित
तस्मिन्पर पूर्वपरयोर्वर्त्ययो पररूप स्यात् । इति तकारपकारया पकार । पटपटाकराति । अव्यक्तानु-
करणात्किम् । ईषत्करोति । द्व्यजवरार्धात्किम् । अत्करोति । अवरोति किम् । खरदखरटाकराति । अपटपटा-
करोति । अनेकाच्च इत्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । एव हि डाचीति परसप्तम्येव द्वित्वे मुनचत्ववधेयम् । अनितौ
किम् । पठिति करोति ॥

2128 The affix *dāch* comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'

The sound in which the letters अ आ &c are not distinctly expressed is called *avyakta* 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate' The imitation of such a sound is called *avyaktā anukarana* That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called *dvyajavarārdha*, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved The phrase "when joined with *kri*, *bhū* and *asti*" is understood here The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (*ardha*) is at least (*avara*) of two syllables (*dvyach*)

Vārtika —When the affix डाच् is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added The force of the locative in डाचि is that of विषयसप्तमी and not परसप्तमी ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of *petitio principii* By adding *dach* and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables If it is, then *dach* is to be added Thus पटन् is a sound imitation word By reduplication it becomes पटन् पटन् ॥

Now applies the following *Vārtika* —

Vārtika —Of such a doubled sound imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final ञ्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute

Thus पटन् पटन् = पटप् पटन् = पट पटन्, with डाच् = पटपटा ॥

The final त् of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter प्, and then for two प's one is substituted by this *vārtika* Thus पटपटन् करोति = पटपटा करोति "he makes a sound like *patat patat*" So also with भवति and स्यात् ॥ So also वमस्मा करोति, भवति or स्यात् ॥ The final ञ् of पटपटन् is elided by VI 4 143 S 316 before the affix डाच् having an indicatory इ the real affix being आ ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe दृषत् करोति 'it makes or turns to stone' Why do we say 'after that half which consists of at least two vowels'? Observe अत् करोति 'he utters the exclamation srat' Why do we say 'at least'? Observe खरदखरदा कराति where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies But had the sūtra been "अर्धार्धात् half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables So also अपटपटा करोति ॥

The sūtra ought to have used the word अनेकाक्ष "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of dvyajavarārdhāt Thus before the affix डाच् the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (डाचि in the vārtika) this doubling being caused by something which follows Why do we say "when इति does not follow"? Observe पठिति करोति (VI 1 98 S 81) The च् of डाच् is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (swarita) accent Thus, पटपटौ + षेति ॥ Here first the अ of असि which was udātta, becomes anudātta by VIII 1 28 S 3935 Then by VIII 2 5 S 3658 औ of दा and अ of असि coalesce into an udātta आ, as पटपटासि ॥ But then comes in rule VIII 2 6 S 3659 which would make this आ optionally svarita, the indicatory च् prevents it Some read अक्षवराध्यात्, the च् however does not change the sense

२१२६ । कृञो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ । ५ । ४ । ५८ ॥

द्वितीयाविभ्यो डाच् स्यात्कृञ एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे । बहुलोक्तेरव्यक्तादुकरणादव्यस्य डाचि न द्विस्वप् । द्वितीय तृतीय कर्षण करोति द्वितीयाकरोति । तृतीयाकरोति । शम्बशब्द प्रतिलोमे । अनुलोम कृष्ट क्षेत्र पुन प्रतिलोम कर्षति शम्बाकरोति । बीजेन सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129 The affix dāch comes after the words dvitīya, tritīya, śamba, and bīja when connected with the verb kṛi, and meaning "to plough in such a way"

By force of this word diversely in the vārtika under the last sūtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else

The repetition of the word कृ in this sūtra indicates that the सू and अस्ति are not to be taken Thus द्वितीया करोति = द्वितीय कर्ष (=विजेखन) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field' So also तृतीया करोति शम्बा करोति 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before' = अनुलोम कृष्ट क्षेत्र पुन प्रतिलोम कृषति ॥ So also बीजा करोति = सहबीजेन विजेखन करोति ॥

Note —Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe द्वितीय करोति पदम् ॥

२१३० । सस्ययाश्च गुणान्ताया । ५ । ४ । ५९ ॥

कृञो योगे कृषौ डाच् स्यात् । द्विगुणाकरोति क्षत्रम् । क्षेत्रकर्म न द्विगुण कर्षण करोतीत्यर्थ ॥

2130 The affix dâch comes after a Numbera followed by the word guna, the sense being to plough so many times'

The word कृ is understood here Thus द्वियुगा or त्रियुगा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्वियुगं विलेखनं करोति क्षेत्रस्य ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough"? Observe द्वियुगा करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope"

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृपाविति निवृत्तम् । कृञो योगे डाच् स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131 The affix dâch comes after the word samaya when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'

The word कृ is understood here also The anuvṛtti of कृप ceases The getting of leisure from the duties is called समय or 'time', the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word यापना ॥ Thus समया करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (अथ मे पारवश्यं, श्व परश्वो वास्य समय इत्येव यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'

Note — Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe समय करोति "he makes time"

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादनिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति घृगम् । सपुङ्खशरप्रवेशनेन सपत्र करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पत्राकरोति । सपुङ्खशरस्याऽपरपार्श्वेन निर्गमनान्निष्पत्र करोतीत्यर्थः । अनिव्यथने किम् । सपत्र निष्पत्र वा कराति भूतलम् ॥

2132 The affix dâch comes after the words sapatra, and nishpatra followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is that of causing intense pain

The word कृ is understood here also The word ati-vyathana means "violent pain" Thus सपत्रा करोति घृगं व्याध = सपत्र शरमस्य शरीरे प्रवेशयति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body" So also निष्पत्रा करोति = शरीराच्च छरमपरपार्श्वे निष्क्रामयति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers" Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe सपत्र or निष्पत्र करोति भूतलम् ॥

२१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति शङ्खम् । निर्गतं कुलमन्तरवयवान् सङ्ग्रहो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहेश्च ॥

2133 The affix dâch comes after the words nishkula followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'

The verb कृ should be read into the sūtra The word निष्कृषण means to 'bring' the inner organs out or to eviscerate निष्कुला करोति शङ्गिमा "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite"

Note —Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel" ? Observe निष्कुलान् करोति शङ्गिमा "he makes the enemies family less"

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति गुरुम् । अनुकुलाचरणेनानन्दयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix dāch comes after the words sukha and priya, followed by कृ, when the meaning is ('to concede' 'gratify') 'to go with the grain'

The word आनुलोभ्य means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration' Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति गुरुम् = स्वाम्यादोर्ध्वतमापयति "tries to please the heart of the master &c"

Note —This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act Otherwise observe सुख करोति or प्रिय करोति श्लेषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c"

२१३५ । दुःखात्प्रातिलोभ्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वामिनम् पीडयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135 The affix dāch comes after the word duhkha followed by कृ, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene"

The verb कृ is understood and prātilomya means 'to oppose' or 'to act against another's wishes', "to pain the heart of one's master &c" As दुःखा करोति भूत्य स्वामिनम् "the servant pains the master"

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning to go against the grain'? Observe दुःख करोति कदम्बम् ॥

२१३६ । शलात्पाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

शलाकरोति मांसम् । शलेन पचयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136 The affix dāch comes after the word śula followed by कृ, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शले पचति = शला करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit",

Note —Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शूल करोति कदम्बम् "the bad food causes colic"

२१३७ । सत्यादशपथे । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्याकरोति भाण्डं वणिक् । क्रैतव्यमिति तद्यत्र करोतीत्यर्थः । शपथे तु सत्यं करोति विप्रः ॥

2137 The affix *dāch* comes after the word *satya*, followed by *kri*, when not meaning to swear

The word *सत्य* means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood' Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन द्यापयेद् विप्रम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited Thus *सत्या कराति वणिक् भाण्डम्* 'the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods: e he settles that he will purchase these wares' Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe *सत्य करोति विप्र* "the Brahmana swears"

२१३८ । मद्रात्परिवापणे । ५ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मद्रशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः । परिवापणं मुण्डनम् । मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यमुण्डनेन सत्करोतीत्यर्थः । मद्राक्षोर्त् वक्तव्यम् * ॥ मद्राकरोति । भर्त्य प्राप्तवत् । परिवापणं किम् ॥ मद्रकरोति । मद्रकरोति ॥

2138 The affix *dāch* comes after the word *madia* followed by *kri*, in the sense of 'to shave'

The word *परिवापण* means 'to shave' 'to raze' The word *मद्र* means 'auspicious' Thus *मङ्गल मुण्डन करोति = मद्रा करोति* ॥

Vart —So also after the word *मद्र* as *मद्रा करोति नापितं कुमार* "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion"

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave' Observe *मद्र* or *मद्र करोति* ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL

ON REITERATION

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

2139 From here upto VIII 1 15 S 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated"

Note — This is an *adhikāra sūtra* Whatever will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII 1 16 S 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense Thus VIII 1 4 S 2140 teaches 'when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each' Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense i e 'The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*' What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति 'he always cooks' Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीय 'every village is beautiful'

The sūtra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word form *sarva* is doubled' For then rules like VI 1 99 S 82 and VI 1 100 S 2128 will find no scope The word *sarva* has several meanings (1) the totality of things (वस्तु) as सर्वस्ववदति (2) the totality of modes (प्रकार) सर्वाङ्गीनोभिस्तु = सर्वप्रकार-मन्त्र भक्षयति, (3) the totality of members (अवयव) as सर्व पदेर्ग्रह ॥ In the present sūtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense namely *all the members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted The force of the genitive case in *sarvasya*, is that of *sthāna*, i e in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like परि &c there is doubling So one meaning of the sūtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted* In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness

Another meaning of the sūtra, however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not *ādeśa*, but *prayoga* That is to say, one word is *employed* twice In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute The very word form, पचति &c, is *employed* twice, i e is repeated twice or pronounced twice

The word *sarvasya* is employed in the sūtra for the sake of distinctness only Otherwise one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्तस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases

Obj The word पदस्य should be employed in the sūtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samāsa (compound), to taddhitas and to vākyas (sentences) Thus सप्तपर्णोऽष्टापदः ॥ Here there is the sense of vipsa with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves There ought to have been doubling, but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism Similarly द्विपदिका इदमिति, here also the sense is that of vipsa, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the sentence ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya So the word padasya, should be employed in the sūtra Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII 1 16 S 401

Ans We could not employ the word padasya in this sūtra, for then the rule would become very much restricted Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling, for सप्तपर्ण means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वाणि पर्वाणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य', so that the sense of vipsa is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the force of vipsa is there denoted by the taddhita affix itself, and so doubling is not necessary Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsa can take place with regard to a word, and not a sentence Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sūtra

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sūtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not So also, we have two forms द्वोग्धा and द्वोदा ॥ Here वृच् is added to the root वृह्, and ह् is optionally changed to च by VIII 2 77, S 354 and in the other alternative there is ड ॥ As च and ड are both asiddha (VIII 2 1 S 12) the doubling would take place without making this च or ड substitution So that having first doubled the word (something as द्वोद्वा द्वोद्वा) then optional च or ड change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like द्वोग्धा द्वादा, द्वोदा द्वोग्धा in doubling While the correct forms are द्वोदा द्वोदा, or द्वोग्धा द्वोधा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above Hence the necessity of the vārtika पूर्वभासिद्धीयमाद्विचने (See VIII 2 3 S 489 last vārtika)

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by सच् affix of सर्वभाष्यम् meaning 'सर्व कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तद्वि सर्व, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been first performed, then the word is doubled, so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयो । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्यं वीप्साया च शोले पदस्य द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं सिङ्गन्तेष्वव्ययसप्तककृदन्तेषु च । पचतिपचति । भुक्त्वाभुक्त्वा । वीप्सायाश्च, वृद्धवृद्ध सिङ्गति । ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ॥

2140 The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by *kṛit* affixes What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya" So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III 4 22 S 3343) Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually' भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or भोज भोज व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away' See III 4 22 S 3343 छुनीहि छुनीहीत्येवाद्यं छुनाति (See III 4 2 S 2825)

Note — The words formed by affixes *ktvā* and *namul* and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated While the words formed with the affix *बह्* (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition Thus पुन पुन पचति = पापचयते । And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated, as पापचयते पापचयने ॥ In the above, examples have been given of *nitya*, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable *kṛit* words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोज् ॥

Note — Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (*सुप्* formed words) As finite verbs (*सिङ्*) express *nitya*, so inflected nouns (*सुप्*) express *vīpsā* or a distributive sense What is meant by the word *vīpsā*? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (*vyāptum icchā*) an object through and through with a certain quality or action That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is *vīpsā* Thus वृक्ष वृक्ष सिचति "He waters every tree" ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीय 'every village is beautiful' So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीय, पुरुष पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of *nityatā*, and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितरात् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to *vīpsā*, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानम् ॥

२१४१ । परेर्वर्जने । ८ । १ । ५ ॥

परिपरि वक्त्रेभ्यो वृटो ह्य । वक्त्रान्परिहृत्येत्यर्थ ॥ परेर्वर्जने वा वचनम् ॥ * ॥ परिवक्त्रेभ्यः ॥

2141 The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'

As परि परि वक्त्रेभ्यो वृटो ह्य (I 4 88 and II 3 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga

Note — Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिचिच्छति ।

Vdt — Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परि परि वक्त्रे = परि वक्त्रेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as परिचिगर्त्तं वृटो ह्य, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here, in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone

Note —The word परि is here a Karmapravachanīya (I 4 85 S 596) and governs the fifth case by 11 3 11 In परिबिञ्चति the word is an upasarga

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधम सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्थोपरिहासमीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥ अध्यधि सुखम् । सुखस्थोपरिहासमीपे काले इत्यर्थः । अधोऽधो लोकम् । लोकस्याधस्तात्समीपे देशे इत्यर्थः ॥

2142 उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness

The word sāmīpya means 'proximity' whether in time or space As उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village" अध्यधिग्रामम्, अधोऽधो लोकम् "a place near a loka" Similarly अध्यधिसुखम् 'anything immediately following after pleasure' i.e. pain Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमा ॥ Why the word is not repeated here उपरि शिरसो घट धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्त सर्व एव वरिष्ठानि ।

अधोऽधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsā

२१४३ । वाक्यादिरामन्वितस्याऽसूयासमतिकापकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

असूयायाम्, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् । समतौ देवदेव बन्धोऽसि । कोपे दुर्विनीतदुर्विनीत इहानी ज्ञास्यासि । कुत्सने, धातुष्कधातुष्क वृथा ते धनु । भर्त्सने, चोरचोर घातयिष्यामि त्वाम् ॥

2143 A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker

A collocation of words, expressing one idea is called a sentence or vākya Thus (1) envy —सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!" (2) praise —देव देव बन्धोऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger —दुर्विनीत दुर्विनीत इहानी ज्ञास्यासि "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame —धातुष्क धातुष्क वृथा ते धनु "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow" (5) Threat—चोरचोर ३ घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा "O thief O thief I shall kill thee" The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII 2 103, in the case of the first four, in the case of 'threat', the second word or the āmredita becomes pluta by VIII 2 95 S 3614 Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as चोभन्ता खल्वसि माणवक ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उदरदेवदत्त ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लम् ॥

In some books, the *vākya* is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्य) ॥

२१४४ । एक बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

इदं क्त एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुब्लोपपुवङ्गावौ । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह इयोरपि सुपोलुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदायात्सुप् । एकैकयाहुत्या । इह पूर्वभाग पुवङ्गावा द्वयमह विशेष । न बहुव्रीहवित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिवत्त्वं मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलाभार्यम् । तेनातिदिष्टबहुव्रीहो सर्वनामतास्येवेति प्राञ्च । वस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते प्रत्याख्यातमेतत् । सूत्रमतस्यपि बहुव्रीह्यर्थेऽस्मादिके विग्रहनेषेधक न तु बहुव्रीहविविधातिशयगद्गैव नास्ति । एकैकस्मै दहि ॥

2144 When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrīhi compound

The making it a Bahuvrīhi is for the sake of eliding the case affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine Thus एकैकमक्षर पठति (not एकमेकम्) Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrīhi they become a prātipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case affix एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैकैकया) Here the first member has become masculine The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI 2 1 the case affix is elided by II 4 71 and masculinising by VI 3 34

Note —According to the Kāśikā this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrīhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sūtra I 1 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrīhi compound The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै देहि ॥ For sūtra I 1 29 applies to a compound which is really a Bahuvrīhi, and not to a word form which is treated like a Bahuvrīhi The repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi in that sūtra, though its anuvṛitti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent Thus by the following sūtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed Thus न न करोति, सुसुजागति ॥ This double word is treated like a Bahuvrīhi, but not for the purposes of accent For by VI 2 172 a Bahuvrīhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves —1st, VII 223 S 3734 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI 2 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI 2 172 S 3906 already mentioned 4th VIII 1 3 S 3670 by which the second member becomes anudātta The rule VI 2 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrīhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samasānta affixing Thus ऋक् ऋक् एप् (doubled by VIII 1 10 S 2145) do not get the samasānta affix अ by V 4 74

"In the sūtra न बहुव्रीहो (I 1 29 S 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrīhi, when its anuvṛitti was current from the preceding sūtra I 1 28

S 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrīhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrīhi like that of this sūtra VIII 1 9 S 2144) Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo Bahuvrīhis or analogical Bahuvrīhis, the prohibition of S 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanāman, and is declined as such" This is the opinion of the ancients But as a matter of fact, this whole sūtra I 1 29 has been overruled by the opinion of the Bhāshya author Patanjali Even in the opinion of the sūtra author Pāṇini, the prohibition of I 1 29 S 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrīhi compound and not to the Bahuvrīhi compound as such That is to say, a sarvanaman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrīhi compound So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vārtika under I 1 29 S. 222 So there can be no question of that sūtra applying to an analogical Bahuvrīhi, for such a Bahuvrīhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrīhis Therefore, we have एकैकस्येति and not एकैकाच्च इति ॥

२१४५। आवाधेन। ८। १। १० ॥

पीडाया घोत्याया हे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच। गतगत। विरहास्पीडयमानस्येयइति। बहुव्रीहिवच्चा-
वाधुष्युक्। गतगता। इह पुनश्चाव ॥

2145 A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrīhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed

Thus गतगत 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्ट, पतितपतित, in the masculine Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrīhi, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, here the first term becomes masculine and (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism) The accent is governed by VI 2 1 S 3735

२१४६। कर्मधारयबहुवचरेषु। ८। १। ११ ॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विवचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यम्। प्रयोजनं सुब्लोपपुनश्चावान्तोदात्तत्वानि ॥

2146 In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhāraya compound

The reason for making it a Karmadhāraya is to elide the case affix (II 4 71 S 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI 3 42 S 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI 2, 23 S 3757. or S 3734